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THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOR

1912

24633



891.05
J.R.A.S.



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

22 ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

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CONTENTS FOR 1912

ARTICLES

	PAGE
I. Description of the Province of Fārs, in Persia, at the beginning of the Twelfth Century A.D. Translated from the MS. of Ibn-al-Balkhī in the British Museum by G. LE STRANGE	1
II. The Tārīkh-Baghdād (Vol. XXVII) of the Khatīb Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Baghdādī. Short Account of the Biographies. By FRITZ KRENKOW	31
III. YASTIA XXX as the Document of Dualism. By Professor LAWRENCE MILLS	81
IV. A New Vannie Inscription. By the Rev. Professor A. H. SAYCE	107
V. Archaeological Exploration in India, 1910-11. By J. PH. VOGEL	113
VI. The Pictorial Aspects of Ancient Arabian Poetry. By Sir CHARLES J. LYALL, K.C.S.I., LL.D.	133
VII. On some Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. By Professor H. LÜDERS	153
VIII. Dr. M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish "Runic" Script from Miran and Tun-huang. Translated by VILHELM THOMSEN	181
IX. Description of the Province of Fārs, in Persia, at the beginning of the Twelfth Century A.D. Translated from the MS. of Ibn-al-Balkhī in the British Museum by G. LE STRANGE. (<i>Continued.</i>)	311
X. A propos de la Datation en Sogdien. Par R. GAUTHIOT.	341
XI. Documents Sanscrits de la Seconde Collection M. A. Stein. By L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. (<i>Continued.</i>)	355
XII. Goths in Ancient India. By STEN KONOW	379
XIII. Iranian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. By Dr. M. N. DHALLA	387
XIV. Jātakas at Bharaut. By E. HULTZSCH	399
XV. The Origin of Tragedy and the Ākhyāna. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L.	411

	PAGE
XVI. The Chinese Bronze known as the "Bushell Bowl" and its Inscription. By L. C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.	439
XVII. Notes on some Sūfi Lives. By H. F. AMEDROZ	551
XVIII. Catalogue of the Stein Collection of Sanskrit MSS. from Kashmir. Compiled by GERARD L. M. CLAUSON; with Introductory Note by Professor A. A. MACDONELL	587
XIX. Fragment final de la Nilakanṭhādharmaṇī en brāhmī et en transcription sogdienne. By L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN and R. GAUTHIOT	629
XX. The use of the Roman Character for Oriental Languages. By R. GRANT BROWN, I.C.S.	647
✓ XXI. The Secret of Kanishka. By J. KENNEDY	665
XXII. Some Talaing Inscriptions on Glazed Tiles. By C. O. BLAGDEN	689
XXIII. Description of the Province of Fārs, in Persia, at the beginning of the Twelfth Century A.D. Translated from the MS. of Ibn-al-Balkhī in the British Museum by G. LE STRANGE. (<i>Concluded.</i>)	865
XXIV. Notes on a Kurdish Dialect, Sulaimania (Southern Turkish Kurdistan). By E. B. SOANE	891
XXV. The Delta in the Middle Ages: a note on the branches of the Nile and the Kûrahs of Lower Egypt, with Map. By A. R. GUEST	941
✓ XXVI. The Secret of Kanishka. By J. KENNEDY. (<i>Concluded.</i>)	981
XXVII. A Funeral Elegy and a Family Tree inscribed on bone. By L. C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.	1021
XXVIII. A Cuneiform Tablet from Boghaz Keui with Docket in Hittite Hieroglyphics. By the Rev. Professor A. H. SAYCE	1029

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

Imaginative Yōjanas. By J. F. FLEET	229
The Date of the Death of Buddha. By J. F. FLEET	239
Mahishamandala. By L. RICE	241
Remarks on Mr. Rice's Note. By J. F. FLEET	245

A. 700-1





	PAGE
Verses relating to Gifts of Land cited in Indian Land Grants. By F. E. PARGITER	248
Note on the Age of the Purāṇas. By F. E. PARGITER	254
The Kambōjas. By G. A. G.	255
— By G. K. NARIMAN	255
Origin of Abhinavagupta's Paramārthasāra. By V. V. SOVANI	257
Bao = Vihāra. By C. O. BLAGDEN	261
The Ethiopic Senkessār. By I. GUIDI	261
Coronation Chronogram. By GEORGE RANKING	262
La Fondation De Goeje	262
The Kaṭapayādi Notation of the Second Ārya-Siddhānta. By J. F. FLEET	459
The Yōjana and the Parasang. By J. F. FLEET	462
Some Hindu Values of the Dimensions of the Earth. By J. F. FLEET	463
Cremation and Burial in the Rgveda. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH	470
The Paramārtha-sāra. By L. D. BARNETT	474
Ginger. By E. HULTZSCH	475
Verses relating to Gifts of Land. By E. HULTZSCH	476
Rāpnāth Edict of Aśoka. By F. W. THOMAS	477
The Birthplace of Bhakti. By A. GOVINDĀCĀRYA SVĀMIN	481
Another Note on the word <i>Bhagavān</i> . By A. GOVINDĀCĀRYA SVĀMIN	483
Two Corrected Readings in the Myazedi (Talāing) Inscription. By C. O. BLAGDEN	486
Shans and Buddhism of the Northern Canon. By W. W. COCHRANE	487
Shan Buddhism. By C. O. BLAGDEN	495
Shan Buddhism. By J. GEORGE SCOTT	496
The Pearl-diver of al-A'shā. By C. J. LYALL	499
The Appearance of the Prophet in Dreams. By I. GOLDZIEHER	503
The Meaning of the words Hoji Tāsh. By H. BEVERIDGE	507
"A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon." By VINCENT A. SMITH	508
International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archæology	508
International Congress of the History of Religions	508
Seals from Harappa. By J. F. FLEET	699

	PAGE
Note on the Sārnāth Inscription of Aśvaghosha. By ARTHUR VENIS	701
Remarks on Professor Venis' Note. By J. F. FLEET	703
Ancient Territorial Divisions of India. By J. F. FLEET	707
A Copper-plate Grant from East Bengal alleged to be Spurious. By F. E. PARGITER	710
Cūlikāpaśācika Prakrit. By F. E. PARGITER	711
Tengalai and Vadagalai. By A. GOVINDACHARYA SVĀMIN	714
Note by Dr. Grierson on the above. By G. A. G.	717
Kāśmīrī Almanacs. By G. A. GRIERSON	719
Notes on Vedic Syntax. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH	721
Age Criteria in the R̥gveda. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH	726
The Suffix <i>sat</i> . By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH	729
Supplementary Notes on the Mēghadūta. By E. HULTZSCH	734
The Buddhist Monastic terms <i>samatittika</i> , <i>sapadana</i> , and <i>uttari-bhāṅga</i> . By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE	736
Note on the Subhagabhikṣhukanyaya. By G. A. JACOB	742
Another misunderstood Simile. By G. A. JACOB	744
Another Version of the Dalai Lama's Seal. By A. H. FRANCKE	746
Arabian Poetry. By D. B. MACDONALD	748
Sībawaihi or Sībūyah. By C. J. LYALL	749
Romanic Letters for Indian Languages. By J. KNOWLES	751
The Bushell Bowl. By L. C. HOPKINS	752
The Use of the Planetary Names of the Days of the Week in India. By J. F. FLEET	1039
Note on the Purāṇas. By J. F. FLEET	1046
The Rūpnāth and Sārnāth Edicts of Aśoka. By E. HULTZSCH	1053
The Inscription on the Wardak Vase. By F. E. PARGITER	1060
Nilakaṇṭhādihārāṇī. By SYLVAIN LÉVI	1063
The Authenticity of the R̥tushimhāra. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH	1056
The Stanzas of Bharata. By BERTHOLD LAUFER	1070
Viśiṣṭādvaitam. By P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR	1073
Some Notes on Bengali. By J. D. A.	1074
Note on the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulasi Das. By R. P. DEWHURST	1078
Progress Report of the Linguistic Survey of India up to the end of the Year 1911. By GEORGE A. GRIERSON	1079
An Archaeological Collection for Munich	1085
Notes on some Šūfī Lives. By H. F. A.	1087

	PAGE
The Manuscripts of the Kitáb al-Lumá'. By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON	1090
The Bushell Bowl. By H. GIFFERICH	1091
Note on the above. By L. C. HOPKINS	1093
Ginger, etc. By F. W. THOMAS	1093

NOTICES OF BOOKS

GASTON WIET. Maqrizi: 'El-Mawâ'iz wa'l-I'tibâr fi dhikr el-Khitat wa'l-Âthâr. Reviewed by H. F. A.	263
Arabic Chrestomathy. By H. HIRSCHFELD	267
STEPHEN LANGDON, Ph.D. A Sumerian Grammar with Chrestomathy. By T. G. PINCHES	269
F. H. WEISSBACH. Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden. By T. G. PINCHES	271
A. T. OLMSTEAD, B. B. CHARLES, and J. E. WRENCH. Travels and Studies in the Nearer East. Vol. I, Part II: Hittite Inscriptions. By T. G. PINCHES	272
STEPHEN LANGDON. Tablets from the Archives of Drehem. By T. G. PINCHES	273
J. H. GUBBINS, C.M.G. The Progress of Japan, 1853-71. By F. VICTOR DICKINS	276
A. SEIDEL. Doits' - Bunten - Kyôkwasho. By F. VICTOR DICKINS	277
A. SEIDEL. Wörterbuch der deutsch-japanischen Umgangssprache. By F. VICTOR DICKINS	277
WILLIAM N. PORTER. A Year of Japanese Epigrams. By F. VICTOR DICKINS	278
DINESH CHANDRA SEN. The History of the Bengali Language and Literature. By H. BEVERIDGE	279
ALEXANDRA DAVID. Le Modernisme bouddhiste et le Bouddhisme du Bouddha. By C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS	285
M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR. The Brahmanic Systems of Religion and Philosophy. By L. D. B.	287
RICHARD GREENSTREE and EDWARD WILLIAMS BYRON NICHOLSON. Catalogue of Malay Manuscripts and Manuscripts relating to the Malay Language in the Bodleian Library. By C. O. BLAGDEN	287
Dr. A. BAUMSTARK. Oriens Christianus	290

(1) N. D. MIRONOFF. Bibliotheca Buddhica, XIII: Mahāvīyutpatti; by J. P. Minayef. 2nd ed., with index.	
(2) E. DENISON ROSS, Ph.D., F.A.S.B., and MAHĀMAHOPADHYĀYA SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀBHŪSANA, F.A.S.B. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1-127: Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary, being an edition and translation of the <i>Mahāvīyutpatti</i> , by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. Part I. By E. MÜLLER.	509
DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE. Epigraphia Zeylanica, being Lithic and other Inscriptions of Ceylon. Vol. I, Part V. By E. MÜLLER.	514
G. SCHULEMANN. Die Geschichte der Dalailamas. By L. A. WADDELL.	517
G. S. RANKING. Grammar of the Persian Language. Part I: Accidence, by J. T. Platts; revised and enlarged. Part II: Syntax. By J. S. HAIN.	519
Rev. J. MACGOWAN. Beauty: A Chinese Drama. By J. DYER BALL.	525
Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Acad. Inscriptionum et literarum humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars I: Inscriptiones phœnicias continens tom. ii, fasciculus quartus. By H. HIRSCHFELD.	526
J. DYER BALL, I.S.O. The Chinese at Home. By HARDY JOWETT.	529
VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S. ret. A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon. By M. LONGWORTH DAMES.	531
GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING and JULIUS VON NEGELEIN. The Parisistas of the Atharvaveda. Vol. I. By A. BERNIEDALE KEITH.	755
DEWAN BAHADUR L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L., LL.B. Indian Chronology (Solar, Lunar, and Planetary). By HERMANN JACOBI.	776
ROBERT SEWELL. Indian Chronography. By J. F. FLEET.	780
WILFRED H. SCHOFF. The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea. By J. F. FLEET.	783
L. P. TESSITORI. II "Rāmacaritamānasa" e il "Rāmāyana". By GEORGE A. GRIERSON.	794
L. D. BARNETT. Catalogues of books in Dravidian languages in the Library of the British Museum. By GEORGE A. GRIERSON.	798

	PAGE
NAGENDRANĀTH VASU. The Archaeological Survey of Mrayurabhanja. By L. D. BARNETT	802
HAR BILAS SARDX. Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive. By O. C.	804
R. P. DE. Bengali—Literary and Colloquial. By F. E. P.	806
Renward Brandstetters Monographien zur Indonesischen Sprachforschung. VIII. Gemeinindonesisch und Urindo- nesisch. By C. O. BLAGDEN	808
D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. The Irshād al-Arif ila Ma'rifat al-Adib, or Dictionary of Learned Men of Yāqūt. Vol. V. By I. GOLDZIHUR	812
EDUARD SACHAU. Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine. By H. HIRSCHFELD	817
W. J. HINKE, Ph.D. Selected Babylonian Kudurru Inscriptions. By T. G. PINCHES	826
Commandant GASTON CHOS. Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello. Deuxième livraison. By T. G. PINCHES	829
HARRI HOLMA. Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch- Babylonischen. By T. G. PINCHES	831
H. DE GENOUILLAC. Tablettes de Dréhem. By T. G. PINCHES	834
Kāthaka Samhitā, Book III. Edited by LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER. By A. BERTRIEDALE KEITH.	1095
MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA SUDHĀKAR DVIVEDI. Gaṇit ka Itihās, a History of Mathematics. First part, Arithmetic. By F. E. P.	1103
GEORGE A. GRIERSON. A Manual of the Kāshmīrī Language, comprising Grammar, Phrase-book, and Vocabularies. Vol. I: Grammar and Phrase-book. Vol. II: Kāshmīrī- English Vocabulary. By STEN KONOW	1105
P. T. SHRINIVAS IYENGAR. The Shiva-sūtra-vimarsinī of Kṣēmarāja. By L. D. BARNETT	1107
Trivandrum Sanskrit Series	1169
WILHELM GEIGER, Ph.D., and MABEL HAYNES BODE, Ph.D. The Mahāvamsa or The Great Chronicle of Ceylon. By J. F. FLEET	1110
FRIEDRICH HIRTH and W. W. ROCKHILL. Chau Ju-kua: his Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu Fan Chi. By L. C. HOPKINS	1114

	PAGE
C. SPAT. <i>Maleische Taal.</i> By R. O. WINSTEDT	1117
WILLIAM POPPER. <i>Abū'l Mahāsin ibn Taghri Birdi's Annals.</i> Vol. II, Part II. By A. R. G.	1120
LEONE CAETANI. <i>The Tajārib al-Umam, or History of Ibn</i> <i>Miskawaih.</i> Vol. I, to A.H. 37. By E. BLOCHET	1128
DUNCAN BLACK MACDONALD, D.D. <i>Aspects of Islam.—</i> Major ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD. <i>Islam, her Moral and</i> <i>Spiritual Value.</i> —CLAUD FIELD. <i>Mystics and Saints of</i> <i>Islam.</i> By H. HIRSCHFELD	1132
F. H. WEISSBACH. <i>Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius</i> <i>Hystaspis.</i> By T. G. PINCHES	1137
ARTHUR UGNAD. <i>Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine.</i> By T. G. PINCHES	1138
PERCY S. P. HANDCOCK. <i>Mesopotamian Archaeology.</i> By T. G. PINCHES	1140
CH. VIROLLEAUD. <i>L'Astrologie Chaldéenne.</i> By T. G. PINCHES	1142

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY	293, 541, 837, 1145
Triennial Gold Medal Presentation	837
Anniversary Meeting	810
Presentation of Public School Medal	1145
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS	294, 542, 854
TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY	545
DEATH OF SIR RAYMOND WEST	1454

OBITUARY NOTICE

WILLIAM IRVINE. By J. KENNEDY	299
---	-----

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY	305, 547, 859, 1155
------------------------------------	---------------------

INDEX FOR 1912	1157
TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT, ARABIC, AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.	
LIST OF MEMBERS.	
TITLE-PAGE AND CONTENTS FOR FIRST HALF-YEAR.	
TITLE-PAGE AND CONTENTS FOR SECOND HALF-YEAR.	
ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS FOR THE YEAR.	
TITLE-PAGE AND CONTENTS FOR THE YEAR	

JOURNAL
OF THE
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1912

I

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF FARS, IN
PERSIA, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWELFTH
CENTURY A.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE MS. OF IBN-AL-BALKHI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
BY G. LE STRANGE

INTRODUCTION

IN the Journal for the year 1902 a summary was given of the description of Persia and Mesopotamia found in the *Nuzhat-al-Qulab*, a geographical and cosmographical work written by Hamd-Allah Mustawfi in 740 (1340).¹ In the course of next year I hope to publish (in the series of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund) the Persian text of the geographical chapters of this work, and this will be followed by a full translation, with notes to elucidate geographical questions. Hamd-Allah, who is our earliest systematic geographer writing in Persian, collected his materials from the works of the earlier Arab geographers, and from various Persian monographs which had been written each to describe a single province of the Moslem Empire; and it is found that the texts of

¹ Published also separately in the Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. v. The map drawn to accompany this paper will serve to illustrate Ibn al-Balkhi.

some of these monographs, thereto adding somewhat of his own knowledge, after much curtailment and a re-arrangement of the order in the articles, he has transcribed almost verbatim, to form the various chapters of the *Nuzhat*. A good instance of this method of writing a new book is the chapter describing the provinces of Fārs and Shabānkārah, which in truth is little but a shortened transcript of the *Fārs Nāmāh*, a work written two centuries before the time of Hamd-Allah, and of which the British Museum possesses an excellent MS.

The name of the author of this *Fārs Nāmāh* is as yet unknown, but he states in his preface that his ancestor was a native of Balkh, and Ibn-al-Balkhī will serve as a convenient title by which to refer to him until his identity be better established. From the MS. all that appears is that the grandfather of Ibn-al-Balkhī (twice mentioned, fols. 2b and 63a) was Mustawfi, or Accountant for the Taxes, of Fārs about the year (4)92 under the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumārtagin, who had been sent to govern that province in the name of the Saljūq Sultan Bargiyāruq — 487-98 (1094-1104) — the son of Malik Shāh. Ibn-al-Balkhī, who accompanied his grandfather, was educated in Fārs, and becoming well acquainted with the physical and political condition of the country, was in due course of time commissioned by the brother and successor of Bargiyāruq, namely, Sultān Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Muḥammad, 498-511 (1104-17), to compose the present work. No exact date for its completion is given, but since the book was dedicated to this Sultan, who died in 511, and further that the Atabeg Chāuli is frequently mentioned in the text as still living, who we know died in 510 (1116), it follows that this *Fārs Nāmāh* must have been completed during the first decade of the sixth century A.H., equivalent to the twelfth A.D.

Two MSS. only of the work appear to exist in Europe. One a very old copy in the British Museum (Or. 5983),

apparently undated,¹ but by the writing and archaic spelling judged to be not later than the early fourteenth century (eighth A.H.). The other clearly a copy made of this MS., which belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and came there from the Schéfer Collection (Blochet, *Cat. MSS. Persans*, i, p. 309, No. 503, and Supplément, 1052), and which was written in 1273 (1856). The Paris copy is indeed of little use except to show how a Persian of the present day read the older MS., and as occasionally giving us a word that has disappeared, partially or wholly, in the mending process to which the B.M. MS. was subjected when it came a few years ago, after presentation in loose leaves, to be bound for the Museum use. In some outstanding cases where lacunæ occur I have been able to fill these in by a reference to the Geography of Hâfiz Abrû, the Secretary of Timur—of which the India Office and the Museum (Or. 1577) both possess good copies—who has copied most of the *Fârs Nāmāh* into the work he composed in 820 (1417). Further, of course, the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* very often serve to emend a reading.

The Museum MS. is written for the most part in double columns, a complicated system, which has led to the modern (Paris) copy having the articles very often transcribed out of order, through the carelessness of the copyist, who thus has given many towns (under their separate headings) to the wrong District (*Kūrah*). In the longer articles, however, the scribe of the Museum MS. has written across the page (i.e. in single column), and the order of this copy will be best understood by a reference to the following footnote.² The Persian text is in the

¹ Faintly written, and much disfigured by the mending, there is a colophon on fol. 90b which may possibly read: "and the transcription thereof was completed in the year 671" (A.D. 1271).

² If R. and L. be taken to indicate the right and left hand columns respectively, *a* and *b* standing for *recto* and *verso* of the folios, the Istakhr District begins with the R. column fol. 65a, following on with the R. columns of fols. 65b, 66a and b, then back to L. column of fol. 65a, followed by fols. 65b L., 66a L. and b L. Next, on 66b

B.M. MS. somewhat archaic, and in the spelling retains the older forms of *kī* for *kih*, *ānk*, and *chunānk*, for the modern *ānkih* and *chunānkih*. Further, we meet with a small number of words, mostly technical terms of revenue assessment, that are often wanting in the dictionaries, but the general meaning of which it is not difficult to come to from the context.

The Museum MS. at present consists of ninety folios. Fol. 1a begins with a short preface, followed by the dedication, fol. 2a, to "the Sultān—King of kings—whose glory shall never cease to increase, Ghīyāth-ad-Dunyā wa-d-Dīn Abū Shujā' Muḥammad son of Malik Shāh", who further is given the title of Qasīm-i-Amīr-al-Mūminīn, "the Associate (in the government) of the Caliph." The author then relates how his august master commissioned him to write the present work, "seeing that I had been brought up in Fārs, although by lineage descended from a native of Balkh . . . and knowing that I was well acquainted with the present condition of the people of Fārs . . . being well versed also in the events of their history, and exactly acquainted with the story of their kings and rulers, even from the days of Kayūmarth down to this present time." Then on fol. 3a, after a summary description of the province, and citing a few of the chief Traditions about Fārs ascribed to the Prophet Muḥammad, we start with the long line of the early Persian kings, whose history, much in epitome, closes with the last of the Sassanians and the rise of Islam, on fol. 60a. This part of the work is merely a Persian version of Ḥamzah Isfahānī, and contains, apparently, nothing new. Next very briefly the story of the Arab conquest of Fārs is

below, the MS. reads across for Istakhr City, fols. 67a and b and the top of 68a being all in one column. After this, again, 68a below goes back to the double column, the next article beginning 68a R., followed by 68b R., then back to 68a L. and 68b L., which gives the last town of the district.

narrated, ending with the reign of the Caliph 'Ali. Here follows an interesting account, fol. 62*a*, of the Qādis—chief justices—of Fārs, to which we shall return later, and then, fol. 63*b*, the Geographical Part (translated below) begins, concluding with the Itineraries, fol. 83*b*. The author afterwards returns, fol. 87*a*, to the history of Fārs, giving an account of the Shabānkārah tribes and the Kurds, and this narrating details of almost contemporary history is of importance, as facts and personages are mentioned not noted, apparently, elsewhere. A summary follows of the revenues of Fārs down to the time of the writer, and some of this too is new matter, for the author, as already said, was of a family of accountants, and wrote from first-hand knowledge. And, finally, fol. 90*b*, the MS. closes with a short note describing the days of the last Buyid rulers of Fārs, and the advent of the Saljūq Sultans.

In the following pages a complete translation will be given of the Geographical Part, but before coming to this it will be useful to summarize what our author has narrated about personages and events immediately preceding his own time, and more especially the account he gives of the Kurdish tribes and of the Shabānkārah, who, at a later date, gave their name to the eastern part of the Fārs province round Dārābjird. The reader will recall to mind how about the middle of the fourth (tenth) century, namely, a century and a half before the time of our author, the Buyids, under 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, from 338–72 (949–82) had been at the height of greatness: by the middle of the following century, however, this dynasty had collapsed before the rising power of the Saljūqs. Tugh̄rul Beg, the founder of the new dynasty, on his death in 455 (1063), had left as heir his nephew Alp Arslān, whose brother, Qāvurd, had already, during the lifetime of Tugh̄rul Beg, been put in possession of the government of some of the Eastern provinces, he thus ruling the most part of Persia

under his uncle and brother from 433 (1041) down to the date of his death in 465 (1072). Alp Arslān was succeeded as Great Saljūq by his son, Malik Shāh, 465-85 (1072-92), whose Wazīr was the famous Nizām-al-Mulk. Four of the sons of Malik Shāh in succession came to the throne, of whom, however, two only concern us here, and these have both been mentioned before, namely, the eldest, Bargiyāruq, 487-98 (1094-1104), in whose reign the grandfather of our author served as Revenue Accountant in Fārs; and Sultān Ghiyāth - ad - Dīn Muḥammad, his brother, 498-511 (1104-17), the patron of Ibn-al-Balkhī, and the prince to whom he dedicates his book. After the overthrow of the Buyids these Saljūq Sultans who ruled in their stead were wont to send their Atabegs, originally the *Governors* of their sons, to govern the outlying provinces, and the first of these, in Fārs, was the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumārtagīn, under whom the grandfather of Ibn-al-Balkhī, as already stated, had served. The next Atabeg was Fakhr-ad-Dīn Chāuli (or Jāuli in the Arab chronicles), who was still living when our author wrote.¹ This Chāuli was famous for his many great buildings, and further, he had after much fighting succeeded in restoring order throughout Fārs by curbing the power of the Shabānkārah and subduing the various affiliated Kurdish tribes.

¹ The exact dates of appointment of these two Atabegs, who are specifically noticed by Hāfiẓ Abrū, are not given by our authorities. Ibn-al-Athīr, however, states that Chāuli died in 510 (1116), and he reports him in Fārs as early as the year 493 (1099). This must have been the year of, or the year following, his appointment, for Ibn-al-Balkhī mentions Khumārtagīn as in Fārs in 492 (1098), and this probably was the year of his death. Ibn-al-Athīr names Khumārtagīn more than once in his chronicle from the years 450 (1058) to 485 (1092), but never with the title of Rukn-ad-Dawlah. He is called Najm-ad-Dawlah, surnamed Aṭ-Tughrāyī, and Ash-Sharābī (the Cupbearer); then he is referred to under the name of Khumārtagīn an-Nāib (the Lieutenant), who was Police Magistrate (Shahnah) of Baghdād in 482 (1089). Further, at about the same time there is mentioned Khumārtagīn-at-Tutushī, but possibly this is a different person.

This much of the general history of the fifth century (eleventh A.D.) being premised, we come to what Ibn-al-Balkhī himself relates, which is the more valuable as being the almost contemporary history of the author's own time. The last of the Buyids to exercise any real sovereignty in Fārs was (he says) Bākālījār or Bākālīnjār (for the name is given under both forms in the B.M. MS. of the *Fārs Nāmah*), otherwise Abū Kālījār or Abū Kālīnjār. In regard to the proper spelling of his name, it is to be remarked that in the Arab chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr it is given as Abū Kālījār, while in the MS. of the *Zīj-as-Sanjārī* in the British Museum¹ (likewise in Arabic) the name is clearly written as Abū Kālīzār. On the other hand, Hāfiẓ Abrū always writes Bā or Abū Kālīnjār, and this is the modern spelling (e.g. in the *Fārs Nāmah Nāsirī*). The original meaning of the name is apparently unknown, but from its form it would seem to have been a nickname. The *Fārs Nāmah*, unfortunately, does not state who was the father of Bākālījār. The Persian historians and Ibn-al-Athīr, however, agree in the statement that he was the son of Sulṭān-ad-Dawlah, son of Bahā-ad-Dawlah, and hence the great grandson of 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah.² The *Guzīdah* (p. 432)

¹ Or. 6669, consisting of astronomical and chronological tables, written by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Khāzinī for Sulṭān Sanjār (son of Malik Shāh), who died 552 (1157). The B.M. MS. appears to be a copy of the Autograph, and was written in 620 (1223). The folios are loose, and have not yet been set in order or numbered, but the one giving a table of the Buyid dynasty will easily be recognized, for it bears the heading *Jadwālul Mulūkī alī Bucaḡhī min ad-Dayālamati bi-l-'Irāqī*. Abū Kālīnjār is the spelling in the *Guzīdah* (Gibb, Facsimile, p. 416) and in the *Ḥabīb-as-Siyār* (Bombay Lithograph, ii, pt. 4, p. 55), both these histories being written in Persian. Among previous Buyid princes Šamsām-ad-Dawlah (son of 'Aḍud) had also borne the name of Abū Kālīzār, and this spelling with the long *i* in the second syllable is probably the one we should adopt. See also the note by Mr. Amedroz in J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 672.

² On the other hand the *Zīj*, which it will be remembered was written only a century after the death of Bākālīzār (Abū Kālīzār), gives a different account from that found in these later authorities. It is here stated that Abū Kālīzār al-Marzubān, surnamed 'Izz-al-Mulūk, was the

followed by the *Ḥabīb-as-Siyār* (ii, pt. 4, p. 55) gives Bākālījār the titles of 'Izz-al-Mulūk and 'Imād-li-Din Allah, the latter authority also adding the third title of Hisām-ad-Dawlah. Ibn-al-Balkhī, however, makes no mention of these honorary names (fol. 90*b*), and gives no dates. Our other authorities say this prince reigned from 415 to 440 (1024 to 1048), and at his death he left five sons. The eldest, to whom our author gives the name of Abū Naṣr, died soon after his father, being succeeded by his brother, called Abū Maṣṣūr, whose government was thrown into disorder by the meddling of his mother Khurāsūyah, a political busybody, who in the *Zīj* is referred to under the title of As-Sayyidah—"the Lady". Abū Maṣṣūr at first had governed according to the advice of his Wazīr, called the Ṣāhib 'Ādil (he had served Bākālījār, according to the *Ḥabīb*, in the same capacity), a man of mark who, Ibn-al-Balkhī writes, had given a fine library to the town of Firūzābād; but instigated by his mother, Abū Maṣṣūr put this Wazīr and his son to death, after which confusion became worse confounded throughout Fārs. Matters finally reached a crisis by the revolt of Faḍlūyah, the Shabānkārah chief, who managed to get the Lady Khurāsūyah into his power, and then shutting her up in a waterless hot-bath, suffocated her. Next Abū Maṣṣūr was taken prisoner, and brought to the Castle of Pahan Diz (near Shirāz), where before long he too met his death, and Fārs passed to the government of Faḍlūyah, and under the overlordship of the Saljūqs.¹

son of Sultān-ad-Dawlah, and that he left no descendants. It was his uncle, Jalāl-ad-Dawlah Abū Ṭāhir Shīr Zayd (brother of Sultān-ad-Dawlah and son of Bahā-ad-Dawlah), who was the father of the five last Buyid princes.

¹ Of Bākālījār's five sons Ibn-al-Balkhī (fol. 90*b*) only gives the names of two, Abū Naṣr, the eldest, and Malik Abū Maṣṣūr, the last of the Buyids. The *Zīj*, however, gives their names as follows. The eldest, Abū Naṣr of Ibn-al-Balkhī, is presumably the one the *Zīj* calls Amīr-al-Umrā Abū Shujā', and the last Buyid prince is named in the *Zīj* Al-Malik-al-'Azīz, Al-Malik-ar-Rahīm, Abū Maṣṣūr Khusrūh Firāz. The

The *Guzidah*, however, adds that after the death of this Abū Maṣṣūr in 448 (1056) his brother, Al-Malik Abū 'Alī, was given, during nearly forty years, nominal rank by the Saljūq Sultans, being allowed the privileges of the Kettledrum and Banner (*Ṭabl wa-'Alam*) until the date of his death in 487 (1094) in the reign of Sulṭān Bargiyāruq.

Ibn-al-Balkhī gives at some length (fols. 87a to 88b) the history of Faḍlūyah and his Shabānkārah tribesmen, with details of their descent and doings that apparently are not to be found in the accounts of other historians. The men of the Shabānkārah tribe (he writes) had originally been herdsmen in Fārs, until, with the progressive disorganization of the Buyid rule in the latter days, the Kurds had become a power in the land. At this time, according to our author, the Shabānkārah were divided among five tribes, namely, the Ismā'īlī, the Rāmānī, the Karzuvi, the Mas'ūdī, and the Shakānī. Of these, the Ismā'īlī were the noblest in descent, but the most important tribe was that of the Rāmānī (or Rāhānī, as the MS. may be read), of which Faḍlūyah¹ was chief. He inherited this dignity from his father 'Alī (ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb), and had in early youth, when only a neatherd, taken service under the Ṣāhib 'Adil, the Wazīr of the last Buyid prince, becoming a great warrior, and rising to command the army in Fārs. The fate of this Wazīr, and the subsequent imprisonment and death of this Buyid prince and his mother, have been narrated above, the outcome of which events being that Faḍlūyah found himself before long the virtual master of Fārs. The Saljūqs, however, had now become the ruling power in the Caliphate, and Qāvurd, brother of the reigning Sultan

three remaining sons were Al-Amīr Abū-l-Fawāris Khurshāh, then Al-Amīr Abū Dāmāh Rustam, and lastly Al-Amīr Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī. Ḥafīz Abrū names the last Buyid Malik-ar-Raḥīm Abū Naṣr, instead of Abū Maṣṣūr, as given by Ibn-al-Balkhī.

¹ Ḥafīz Abrū sometimes writes the name Faḍlūn, and this is the spelling given in Ibn-al-Athīr.

Alp Arslān, was sent into Fārs to bring that province to due order. Faḍlūyah, finding that matters were going against him, submitted, presented himself at the Court of Alp Arslān, and was thereupon re-established as deputy-governor of the province. He, however, had not yet learnt wisdom, for once more seeking to be independent, he revolted. The celebrated Nizām-al-Mulk, the Wazīr of Alp Arslān, thereupon besieged him, taking him prisoner in the Castle of Diz Khurshah, where he had sought refuge. From here he was sent to the castle of Iṣṭakhr, but managing in time to corrupt his guards, got this stronghold into his own hands. Sultan Alp Arslān on this lost patience, Faḍlūyah was hunted down and caught, and to avoid further trouble, after being put to death, his skin was stuffed with straw as a manifest warning to his neighbours.¹ Fārs, after the death of Faḍlūyah, was put under the rule of the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumār-tagīn, the patron of our author's grandfather, as already narrated, but Ibn-al-Balkhī adds that in his day some of the Rāmānī still were to be found living under a chief called Ibrāhīm ibn Razmān, also under a certain Mahamat, son of Abū Naṣr ibn Malāk, whose name was Shaybān.

According to Ibn-al-Balkhī, the noble tribe of the Ismā'īlī Shabānkārah were descended from Minūchahr, grandson of the celebrated Farīdūn, an ancient and mythical king of Persia, and the chiefs of the Ismā'īlī had aforetime been Ispahbads, or sub-kings, under the Sassanians. After the Arab conquest their tribe was settled in the Dasht Urd meadowlands, and in this neighbourhood remained, till the coming into those parts of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, some time between 421 and 432 (1030 and 1040). His general Nāsh Farrāsh,² finding the Ismā'īlī tribe in possession of

¹ See also Ibn-al-Athīr, x, 48. These events apparently took place in the year 464 (1071).

² Tāsh Farrāsh is probably the true reading of the name; see Ibn-al-Athīr, ix, 267, 289.

Isfahān, expelled them, causing them to migrate south to the lands round Kamah and Fārūq. The Buyids having reason to object to their presence here, they next wandered westward and ultimately settled round Dārābjird, where, in the times of Bākālījār, they were ruled by two brothers, Muḥammad and Namrad, the sons of Yahyā. The descendants of these two brothers, of course, quarrelled as to who should be chief of the tribe. Muḥammad had left two sons, Bayān and Salk, the latter again leaving a son called Ḥasūyah, while Namrad had a son called Mamā, who became the father of Ibrāhīm ibn Mamā. The first chief of the clan had been Muḥammad, the elder brother of Namrad; and he, our author states, in sign of his rank "was wont to strike (the Kettledrum) five times, the same becoming a custom among these people almost down to the present time, but which has now been forbidden by the Atabeg Chāuli" (successor in Fārs of the Atabeg Khumārtagīn). On the death of this Muḥammad the elder son Bayān succeeded, but was put to death by his uncle Namrad, who seized on the chiefship of the tribe, establishing himself in Dārābjird. Salk, Bayān's younger brother, thereupon called in the aid of Faḍlūyah, at this time ruling supreme throughout Fārs, as described above. Faḍlūyah re-established Salk in the chiefship, routed (and presumably killed) Namrad, and at the date when our author wrote, Ḥasūyah, son of Salk, was chief in his father's room, governing the towns of Ij, Fustajān, Iṣṭahbānāt, and Darakān, with other places of the Dārābjird district. But, as Ibn-al-Balkhī adds, between the cousins there could be no peace, Salk ibn Muḥammad, and his son Ḥasūyah after him, living in perpetual war with Mamā ibn Namrad and his son Ibrāhīm ibn Mamā, and this state of things still obtained at the time when our author wrote.

The three remaining Shabānkārah tribes were of less importance. The chief of the Karzuvi clan was a certain

Abū Sa'd, who is mentioned more than once in the geographical part of the work. Abū Sa'd was the son of a certain Muḥammad ibn Mamā; he took service under Faḍlūyah, and in the disorders of the last Buyid days obtained possession of Kāzirūn with its districts. All this country he held till the arrival of the Atabeg Chāuli in Fārs, who before long dispossessed him of Kāzirūn. Abū Sa'd, when our author wrote, was apparently already dead, having left a son named, after his early patron, Faḍlūyah (ibn Abū Sa'd), now become chief of the remnant of the Karzuvi clan.

Of the Mas'ūdi tribe, the chief had been a certain Amīruwayh, who, making himself powerful in the time of Faḍlūyah, was put in possession of the castle of Sahārah, near Firūzābād, together with some neighbouring fiefs. The Atabeg Khumārtagin, coming to Fārs, allowed him to hold all these under the Saljūq overlordship, and then Amīruwayh got into his possession the city of Firūzābād. Next the Mas'ūdi, now become a powerful tribe, seized most of the district of Shāpūr Khūrah, round Kāzirūn, in addition to the lands of Firūzābād. The rise to power of Abū Sa'd, the chief of the Karzuvi clan, however, proved the ruin of Amīruwayh and his people: fighting took place, and the town of Kāzirūn, held by Amīruwayh, having been taken by storm, Abū Sa'd forthwith put that chief to death. Amīruwayh left a son, Vishtāsf by name, and after Abū Sa'd had himself come to his end, and when the Atabeg Chāuli had Fārs firmly under rule, he confirmed Vishtāsf, who was related to Ḥasūyah of the Ismā'ili clan on the mother's side, in possession of Firūzābād, where he governed till his death. When our author wrote, the Mas'ūdi were ruled by a certain Siyāh Mīl, descended from this Vishtāsf. In the geographical part of the work he is stated to have held the castle of Būshkānāt, and there were also of this family the two sons of a certain Abū-l-Habaḥ, who still held rank in our

author's time. The last clan of the Shabānkārah to be mentioned is that of the Shakāni, who lived in the mountain-lands of the coast or hot region. They were for the most part robbers and highwaymen, Ibn-al-Balkhī states, but had been brought to order in recent times by the Atabeg Chāuli.

Our author next speaks of the Kurd tribes, who in Fārs were divided among the Five Ramms (clans)¹ named the Jilūyah (or Jilawayh), the Ramm-adh-Dhīwān, the Lawa-lījān, the Kariyān, and the Bazūyān, and these five clans had occupied, he says, originally one hundred thousand Jawmahs, villages or households. In the days of the Sassanians, according to Ibn-al-Balkhī, the Kurdish troops of the Great King had been the flower of the Persian armies; hence, at the time of the Moslem conquest, of the Kurd warriors all, save one man only, had fallen in the numerous battles against the Arab invaders. The one survivor, 'Alak by name, had subsequently become a Moslem, and some of his descendants were yet living when our author wrote. He adds that the Kurds settled in Fārs in his day were of a tribe that had been brought down there by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid from the neighbourhood of Isfahān.

Ibn-al-Balkhī closes this section of his book (fols. 88b-89b) with a short discussion as to how the Persians, who are a refractory folk, may best be governed, whether by force or by clemency. In regard to the Shabānkārah more especially, he remarks that you will certainly be

¹ In the B.M. MS. the word is clearly written, and with the vowel marked, *Ram* or *Ramm*. Possibly, but by no means certainly, in error the MSS. give it at times with initial *z*, written *Zamm*. See De Goeje in Glossary to BGA, iv, p. 250. *Jawmah*, otherwise *Hawmah* (the word is now pronounced *Hūmah*), means "a village", also "the chief town of a district"; but it must here stand for "a household". The above list of the Ramms Ibn-al-Balkhī has copied verbatim from *Iṣṭakhṛī* (pp. 98 and 99). For Ramm-adh-Dhīwān our MS. may read Az-Zabwān; Yāqūt has Az-Zizān, and Muqaddasī Az-Zirāz. For other variants see the notes to *Iṣṭakhṛī*, pp. 98, 99.

respected by any one of these turbulent tribesmen if by force you take his turban and then restore it, and this much more than if in the first instance you had generously given him a new turban of your own as a present, for doing which indeed he would only despise you.

Immediately following after the very meagre notice of the Moslem conquest of Persia Ibn-al-Balkhī has inserted a short account of the family of the Chief Justice of Fārs (fols. 62a-63b); a summary of these paragraphs will be of use, before passing to the translation of the Geographical Section of his work, where an allusion to the family of the Shirāz judge occurs. As is patent throughout his work, our author was an orthodox Sunnī, and he held in horror the Shī'ah tendencies of the Buyids, whose heterodox beliefs (he further avers) had always when possible been combated by the Qādīs of Shirāz. These judges were of a family come down in direct descent from Abū Burdah of the Arab tribe of Fazārah,¹ and during the reign of the Caliph Rāḍī, that is to say between 322 and 329 (934-40), the grandson of the grandson of this Abū Burdah, by name Abū Muḥammad 'Abd-Allah, was promoted from being Judge in Baghdād to be Qāḍī-al-Qudāt, or Chief Justice of Fārs, his jurisdiction being afterwards extended to include the outlying provinces of Kirmān and 'Omān, with the city of Tiz in Makrān. Ibn-al-Balkhī adds that the Qāḍī Abū Muḥammad, who had composed no less than eighteen works on jurisprudence, "had every care to order well, with good intent, both the (orthodox) Faith and the (Sunnī) Tradition, thus firmly laying the foundations in the matter of the Law." 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid prince of that day, in spite of his own strong inclination towards the Shī'ah doctrines, had honoured the Qāḍī with his trust and esteem, for,

¹ He is usually known as Abū Burdah son of Abū Mūsā-al-Ash'arī; and he was Qāḍī of Kūfah, and died in 103 (721). His father was a well-known Companion of the Prophet, and had been Governor of Baṣrah.

putting him to the proof, he had ever found him to be incorruptible. This Abū Muḥammad left five sons: Abū Naṣr, the youngest, succeeded him in the judgeship, of whom later; next Abū Dharr and Abū Zuhayr, who settled down as Dihqāns, or provincial nobles, in Kirmān; Abū Ṭāhir, who acted as his father's deputy in the Kirmān judgeship, and was called to the Sublime Court (*Dargāh-i-A'lā*, Baghdād presumably) for consultations on the affairs of that province; and lastly Abū-l-Ḥasan, who, after having been associated with his younger brother (Abū Naṣr) in the Fārs judgeship, was sent for by Sultan Maḥmūd, some time between 388 and 421 (998 and 1030), who appointed him Qādī at Ghaznah, and his descendants still held the office of judge there at the time when Ibn-al-Balkhī wrote. Abū Naṣr, the youngest of the Qādī Abū Muḥammad's five sons, as already said succeeded him as Judge of Fārs. He was a man of great learning and influence throughout the province, his power coming to be increased upon his marriage with the only daughter of the Mirdāsī chief, a family of local nobility. His son was named 'Abd-Allah, and when in due course he succeeded to the office of Chief Justice he became also, in his mother's right, the hereditary chief noble of the Fārs district. This power, judicial and tribal, Ibn-al-Balkhī adds, had afterwards passed to both his son and grandson, whose names our author does not specify, and the grandson was Judge of Shīrāz when our author wrote. The Judge 'Abd-Allah had flourished in the reign of Bākālījār, the penultimate Buyid prince, whose heterodox Shī'ah proclivities the orthodox 'Abd-Allah had always valiantly striven to combat; and further, to his exceeding honour, a brother of the Qādī 'Abd-Allah had through scruples of conscience always refused to be made judge in Isfahān. But, as our author writes, "in the days of Bākālījār, the sect of the Seven Imāms had become very rampant," and to the grief of Qādī Abd-Allah the Buyid prince now

appeared to be paying great attention to the preaching of a certain Shi'ah missionary named Abū Naṣr ibn 'Amrān, whom the people also were beginning to look upon as a prophet. The pious zeal of the judge becoming inflamed by the disastrous influence which the missionary was getting to exercise over Bākālījār, with much astuteness demanded a private audience, and succeeded in persuading the Buyid prince that the missionary, having succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of the troops, was now inciting them to revolt against the Government. Bākālījār thereupon, without pausing to inquire, ordered out a hundred men of his Persian horse-guards and a hundred of his Turk pages, putting them under the orders of a trustworthy person supplied by the Qādi 'Abd-Allah. This officer managed matters promptly and cleverly. The missionary was seized and carried many days on horseback without rest or delay, being at length set free on the further side of the Euphrates, where a decree was forthwith published that it were lawful to slay him if he repassed that stream eastward.

With this anecdote our author concludes his notice of the Chief Justices, and next comes the description of the province of Fārs (fols. 63b-86b), which will be found translated in the pages which follow. For a general description of the province and its towns, I may refer the reader to the chapter on Fārs in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. References to the earlier Arab geographers are to the texts printed in the volumes of the *Biblioteca Geographorum Arabicorum* (BGA.) of De Goeje. For the present condition of the province I have consulted the (modern) *Fārs Nāmah Nāsirī* (referred to as FNN.), written by Hājī Mirzā Ḥasan Ṭabīb of Shirāz (folio lithograph, Tihirān, A.H. 1313, A.D. 1895), of which the great map, in Persian, on the scale of about ten miles to the inch, gives us the position of every village and stream throughout the province. This work has enabled me to

identify many names written defectively in the manuscript, and also to verify the fact in regard to the names which, in the lapse of eight centuries since Ibn-al-Balkhī wrote, have disappeared leaving no trace.¹ And it may be remarked that in many cases the name of an ancient town, or village, that has disappeared, is preserved in the modern district: and sometimes vice versa.

THE PROVINCE OF FARS

Section giving the description of Fārs.—This land, after the coming of Islām, became the first camping-ground of the Arab armies, but in the days of the old Persian kings Fārs was the centre of their government and the original seat of their power. For at that time all the countries from the banks of the Oxus to the borders of the Euphrates went by the name of the Land of the Persians; all here were the cities of the Persians, and all the world paid them taxes and tribute. When, however, Islām arose and Fārs came to be conquered, this province became the camping-ground of [one of the armies of] 'Irāq, for no sooner had the Moslems come hither than they took up their quarters permanently in the land, on the one part the troops from Kūfah, on the other those from Baṣrah, and from this base they went forth to the conquest of all lands and to subjugate the [eastern] world. Afterwards they gave the names of these two townships, whence originally the armies of Islām had been recruited, to the conquered provinces. Now, the army from Kūfah had taken possession of Quhistān and Jibāl, [with all the country from] Isfahān to Ray and Dāmghān [going north] to Ṭabaristān; these provinces, therefore, were given the name of Māh Kūfah, and in the [registers of] taxes this name still occurs. The army from Baṣrah, on the other

¹ This map, which is difficult to procure, I have had on loan from Mr. A. G. Ellis, to whom I am also indebted for having in the first instance brought the *Fārs Nāmāh-i-Nāṣirī* to my notice.

hand, had conquered Bahrayn and 'Omān, with Tiz in Makrān, also Kirmān, Fārs, and Khūzistān, with the adjacent lands and the Arab districts that lie on the frontier; and so all this region came to be known as Māh Baṣrah, and in the registers this name too occurs. Fārs, therefore, is one of the Baṣrah camping-grounds, for it was conquered by the army from Baṣrah, and it came to be called Māh-al-Baṣrah, and the name is so written in the registers.

The extent of Fārs, with its districts, is 150 leagues in length by 150 leagues in breadth. In regard to the positions of the angles [of its frontier line], these, as shown in the figure on the margin of the manuscript¹ lie at the four cardinal points, east, west, north, and south, and not at the corners [to the N.E., N.W., S.E., and S.W.]. Thus, the shape of the province is a square [or lozenge], of which the angles are to the four main points of the compass, while the four sides lie cross-wise facing the intervening compass-points, all of which will be clearly understood if the accompanying figure drawn [on the margin of the manuscript], and which represents the outline of the province, be carefully considered. The frontier lands at these four angles of Fārs are as follows: To the north the [province here] adjoins Isfahān, the frontier between Isfahān and Fārs being at Yazdikhwāst, and then come Yazd, Abar-qūyah, and [on the other side] Sumayram. The eastern angle of Fārs is towards Kirmān, in the direction of Sirjān, the frontier being at Rūdān. This place Rūdān was originally in the Fārs province, but in the reign of the late Sulṭān Alp Arslān, when the frontier came to be re-established between Fārs and Kirmān, at the time that Qāvurd [his brother was made governor of Fārs], Rūdān was then counted as of Kirmān. The angle to the south lies on the seashore at the frontier of Kirmān,

¹ This figure of a lozenge is wanting in both manuscripts.

and the districts of Huzū are at this place; and next comes the Sif [or Coast District] lying along the sea. The western angle of Fārs is towards Khūzistān, in the direction of the Sea of 'Omān, the frontier being near Arrajān [which should of right be counted] as of the province of Fārs. However, at the time when [the Buyid prince] Bākālījār¹ was driven from his kingdom, the governor of that district was a certain Wazīr, Abu-l-'Alā by name, and he, making common cause with Hazār Asp² [the chief of that frontier], delivered over Arrajān into his hands. Hence it has come about that since the time when Khūzistān [about 443 (1051)] on the first establishment of the present [Saljūq] dynasty, was placed under the governorship of Hazār Asp, Arrajān has been included in the Khūzistān province.

Description of the Kūrahs [Districts] of Fārs.—The province of Fārs contains five [Districts or] Kūrahs, and each Kūrah is called after the name of the king who first established it; these districts therefore stand thus: the Ištakhīr Kūrah, that of Dārābjird, that of Ardashīr Khūrah,³ of Shāpūr Khūrah, and of Qubād Khūrah; and each one of these five Kūrahs contains various cities and sub-districts, as will be fully detailed in what follows.

THE ISTAKHR DISTRICT

The name of this district is from [the capital, Persepolis] Ištakhīr, which same was the first city to be built in Fārs, and it was founded by [the mythical king] Kayūmarth. The Kūrah extends over a total area of 50 leagues in the

¹ In the manuscript, as already said, spelt thus and alternatively Bākālīnjār. See Introduction, p. 7.

² Hazār Asp ibn Bankīr ibn 'Iyād Tāj-al-Mulk (Ibn-al-Athīr, ix, 392).

³ Always written in the MS. *khūrah*, the Arabic form being *khurrah*, meaning "the Glory" of Ardashīr, Shāpūr, and Qubād. As a matter of fact only these three last Kūrahs bear the names of kings. The five Kūrahs are those given by Ištakhīrī (p. 97) except that he calls Qubād Khurrah the Kūrah of Arrajān.

breadth by 50 in length. Its frontiers in the length are at Yazd [on the east] and at Hazār Dirakht ["the Thousand Trees," on the west],¹ and in the breadth extend from Qūhistān² to Nāyriz. The chief cities of the Kūrah are the following.

Yazd.—This city, with its dependent towns Maybud, Nāyīn, Kathah [Old Yazd], and Fahraj, with some others, belongs to Fārs, and it lies on the frontier of the Iṣṭakhr Kūrah. Yazd has its water from underground channels [*kārīz*]; its climate is temperate, but by reason that the city stands on the border of the [Great] Desert, it is at times hot. Fruits of all kinds grow well, and pomegranates are in greater abundance here than anywhere else, those of Maybud being the best in quality. In Fahraj the water-melons are excellent, sweet, and so large that two of them are a load for any beast.³ In the districts round silk is produced, for the mulberry-tree here is abundant. Further, they manufacture excellent cloths in brocade, also of the kind named *mushṭī*, *farakh*,⁴ and the like, for in [Yazd] they rear goats only, no sheep, and the hair from these is very strong. The people [of Yazd] are all of the Sunnī sect, orthodox, pious, and strict [in religious observance]. The coin in use here is known as

¹ The MSS. have, probably in error, Hazār va Dirakht, "Thousand and a Tree." The place named is possibly connected with Hazār, chief town of the Hazār District, with a mosque (*minbar*) mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī, p. 102 (also p. 123, l. 1, where *Harāt* in the text is in error for Hazār), and IH. 182, 194. Muqaddasī (p. 458) writes the name Azār Sābūr, in Qudāmāh (p. 196) it is given as Nay Sābūr. The present village of Hazār lies 2½ leagues south-east of Bayḍā (FNN. 185), which agrees with the Itineraries (Ist. 132, IH. 201, Muq. 458), where it is placed half-way between Māyīn and Shīrāz.

² The village near Isfīdān, see next page.

³ The MS. here has a hole in the paper: text completed from Hāfiẓ Abrū (India Office MS., fol. 76a, B.M. 86a).

⁴ *Mushṭī* is mentioned in Muqaddasī (p. 323) as the name of a stuff made in Nishāpūr. De Goeje (*Glossary*, BGA. iv, 355) explains that the name came from the instrument (*mushṭ*) used in its manufacture. What the *farakh* stuff was is uncertain; possibly we should read *farajī*, given in the dictionaries as the name of a garment worn by Shaykhā.

the Amīrī gold piece, and three of these dinārs go to the red dinār.¹

Greater and Lesser Urd.—A meadow-land, 30 leagues in length by 3 in breadth. In this meadow-land there are districts that are full of villages with fiefs paying the state and the land taxes.² The chief town of those districts is Bajjah.³ The climate here is extremely cold, hence there are neither trees nor gardens. Both in the plain and in the hills around are many springs. In this district also is a village [called *Kushk-i-Zard*⁴], of the state-domains, and this is the frontier village of the district. All these places are most populous, and to this district also belong the villages of Dih Gawz, Abādah, and Shūristān.⁵

*Kūrad and Kallār.*⁶—Kūrad is a small town, Kallār a large village; and a wide district lies round them, producing corn crops, for the climate here is very cold. There are running streams, and the source of the River Kur is in this district. It is most populous.

*Isfidān and Qūhistān.*⁷—Both these places are much

¹ Namely, the "Abbasid dinār" of the Caliphate, worth about half a sovereign.

² *Mulki wa kharājī*.

³ The name Urd is no longer known. Bajjah, the chief town (or *Jawmah*), is possibly Bāzbachah, 5½ leagues north of Aspās (FNN. 220. Ist. 103, Maq. 424). The word *Jawmah*, already referred to (p. 13), often written in the MSS., whether in error or not, *Hawmah*, is used in Ibn-al-Balkhī for "the chief town" of a district. In modern Persian *hāmah* is the district round a town, e.g. the *hāmah* of Shīrāz (FNN. 190).

⁴ MS. blank restored conjecturally from Hamd-Allah Mustawfi.

⁵ Dih Gawz is modern Dih Girdū, "Nut Village" (FNN. 220). This Abādah is now known as "of Iqlid", to distinguish it from the village of the same name near Lake Bakhtigān (FNN. 168). Shūristān is modern Shūlgistān (FNN. 168), which Isṭakhrī (p. 103) gives as Sarvistān, "Cypress Village."

⁶ Kūrad, according to the Itineraries, lay 5 leagues north of Kallār. Neither place now exists.

⁷ Isfidān, which is not mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably the modern Isfadrān (FNN. 221). Qūhistān, which generally means "a mountain district" or "the hill country", is here the name of a village, probably near Isfadrān, but no longer to be found on the map. It is given above as on the western frontier.

like Kūrad. The climate here is extremely cold; and in the neighbourhood there is a cavern in the mountain that can be used as a place of refuge.

Yazdikhwāst.—This place, with Dih Gawz, Shūristān, Abādah [above mentioned], and other villages of these parts are all of the cold district, growing corn but no fruit. There are running streams and springs here, but at Shūristān ["the Salt Village"] the water is brackish.

Khābrāz and Sarvāt.—[Both these are] small towns, having many districts round them, of which they are the chief places. The climate here is cold but temperate; there are running streams and springs, and fruit of all kinds is grown plentifully. The district is populous, and in the chief town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.¹

Khābrak and Qālī.—Khābrak is a large village and Qālī a meadow-land, some [5 or 6]² leagues in length. The climate here is cold but healthy; also there are hunting-grounds. Their water is from the river [Purvāb], which is very wholesome. The district is populous, and near by is the village of Khuvār, the climate and water of which

¹ There is some confusion about these two places and the next two mentioned. Khābrāz appears to be modern Khābriz, lying 3 leagues south-west of Arsinjān (FNN. 173). No village of Sarvāt now exists, and the name is given by Istakhri (p. 103, also IH. 182) as Sarvāb, and in the present MS. it is often written so that it might be read Purvāb, the name of the river. Sarvāt, however, is given below as near Kamah, modern Kamīn, hence it probably stood to the southward of modern Kallak. The district round this, along the eastern bank of the Purvāb River, was apparently the meadow land of Qālī, a name that has disappeared from the map. This also is the case with Khābrak, but Khuvār near which it stood exists, as Qal'ah Khār (1 league to the south-east of Arsinjān), and Khābrak, given later in the MS. under the form Khāfrak, must have been one of the chief villages of the Khāfrak Districts, Upper and Lower, which are well known (FNN. 174, 300). The mosque for the Friday prayers so frequently mentioned [literally "congregational mosque and pulpit"; *jāmi' wa minbar*] is a phrase taken from Istakhri and other earlier Arab geographers who give long lists of towns with or without a *minbar* or "pulpit", to indicate their approximate importance and size.

² Added from Hāfiz Abrū, and see the previous note.

are as aforesaid, and here too there is a castle called *Qal'ah Khuvār*.

Māyīn.—A small town in the hill country, lying at the foot of a pass, at a point where many roads meet. The climate is cold, and the water from running streams excellent. They have corn and fruit, but in no great quantities. Most of the people here are thieves and robbers.

Abarqūyah.—*Abarqūyah* is a small town, with a broad district round it, having a temperate climate, somewhat cooler than that of Yazd. Its water is from running streams partly, and in part from underground channels. There are corn-lands, and much fruit is grown. It is a pleasant place, with an invigorating climate, but other crops [beyond those above mentioned] do not grow here. The town is populous, and there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Iqlid.—A small town, with a fortress; also a mosque for the Friday prayers. The climate is cool, for it lies in the cold country, and is both temperate and invigorating. The water is good, being from running streams. Fruits of all kinds are cultivated here, and there are corn-lands, but no other crops are grown. The place is very populous.¹

Surmaq and Arjumān.—[Both are] small towns, with their districts, that resemble in every way *Iqlid*. They also grow here apricots: the equal thereof for excellence and sweetness will not be found anywhere else in all the world, and the dried apricots from this place are exported to other lands. The district is very populous.

Rān Greater and Lesser.²—These are meadow-lands,

¹ *Māyīn*, *Abarqūyah*, now called *Abarqūh*, and *Iqlid* are all well-known places; so too *Surmaq* and *Arjumān*, now written *Sūrmaq* and *Argumān* (FNN. 169, 171, 291). In the text of *Iṣṭakhrī* (p. 101) *Arjumān* is wrongly given as *Arkhumān* or *Urkhūmān* (variant here right). Our Paris MS. gives *Urjān* or *Uzjān*, in error, which must not be mistaken for *Uzjān* of *Yāqūt*, i, 197.

² *Rān* District is no longer found on the map, but its position north of *Māyīn* is confirmed by the *Itinerary*. It is not the modern *Rivin* (spelt the same) of FNN. 272, which lay in *Kūh Gilāyah*.

16 leagues in length by 2 in width. There are many districts among these meadows, where are fiefs and crown lands¹; and the chief town lies among gardens. The climate is cold, their water is from springs, and they have hardly any fruit, nothing being grown except corn. You go from here to the pass above Māyīn, a fearful road, by reason of the footpads, who infest all the villages of that district.

Kāmīrūz.²—A district lying on the banks of [the River Kur]. There is here a great forest of oak-trees, with medlars and willows. Lions are met with in great numbers, very fierce and bold, and in no other place [in Fārs] are they so numerous. The climate is cold, but temperate, and they get their water from the river [Kur], which is excellent and digestible. The chief town of the district is [Tīr Māyījān],³ but most of its villages are now in ruin.

Kamah, Fārūq, and Lasīrā.⁴—[Three] small towns, with many villages and their districts. The climate here is cold but temperate. There are many fine running streams, and much fruit of all kinds is grown. Hunting-grounds abound near by. All the district is populous, and in the chief town is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Šāhah and Harāh.⁵—Two small towns; the climate here is temperate, but running streams are scarce. In Šāhah they get iron, and of the steel make swords and other blades, which [after the name of the town] are

¹ *Iqtā' wa mulki*.

² FNN. 256. The chief town of the district, now, is called Pālangari.

³ Blank: see Itinerary. Ištakhri does not mention its chief town.

⁴ Kamah town is probably the present Kalīlak, the capital of the Kamīn District: Fārūq exists, in the Upper Khafrak District; but Lasīrā, or Basīrā (as the name is spelt later), is no longer to be found on the map (FNN. 260, 300).

⁵ Šāhah is modern Chāhak, as further shown by the name of the Chāhaki swords. Harāt, as the name is written in the Arab geographers, also exists (FNN. 181, 301).

called Chāhākī. Both these towns are populous, each having a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Bavvān and Marvast.¹—Bavvān is a small town, with a mosque for Friday prayers; and Marvast is like it. There are fruit orchards, so extensive that their trees make a forest. These two towns lie near the districts of Kirmān. The climate is temperate, and there are running streams; also, both places are very populous.

Abraj.²—A large village lying at the foot of a hill. This hill is their sure refuge, and they have dug their houses, [building them] one above another in its flank. An abundant stream flows down from its summit, and the water for the whole district is taken from this.

Iṣṭakhr.³ and *Marvdasht*.—Iṣṭakhr in the days of the ancient Persian kings was their capital. It was, in fact, first founded by Kayūmarth, and after him each king on his accession added something to the city, more especially Tahmūrath, who built here many palaces. When Jamshīd came to be king of [Persia and] the whole world, he made Iṣṭakhr such an enormous city that its limits extended from Hafrak or Khafrak [on the east] to the further parts of Rāmjird [on the west], its area measuring 4 leagues in length by 10 in breadth. Within the circuit of the city there were three castles, one Qal'ah

¹ Bavvān (not to be confused with the valley of Bavvān, mentioned below) was the chief town of the district still known as the Bavvānāt. Of this the capital now is Sūriyān, but Bavvān town is more probably to be identified with modern Muzayjān, which in the Arab geographers is spelt Murayzījan (FNN. 181, Ist. 101, Muq. 424). The town of Marvast must not be confounded with the Marvdasht district, as is too often the case in the MSS. The town exists (FNN. 301); and it is probably the place mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102), where for *Marvaj* in the text we should read the variant Marūst or Marvast given in the note. (In BGA. iv, 390, the emendation that this should be read *Marvdasht* is certainly in error.) Neither Marvdasht district nor Marvast town is mentioned by any of the other Arab geographers.

² Abraj is now the name of the district of which the chief town is Dashtak (FNN. 170).

³ Persepolis (FNN. 203).

Iṣṭakhr, the second Qal'ah *Shikastah* [the Broken Castle], and the third Qal'ah *Shakanvân*. These were known as the Three Domes.¹ Next he built a palace at the foot of the hill, the equal of which was not to be found in the whole world; and the description thereof is after this wise. At the foot of the hill [north of Iṣṭakhr] Jamshid laid out a platform of solid stone that was black in colour, the platform being four-sided, one side against the hill foot and the other three sides towards the plain, and the height of the platform was on all sides 30 ells. In the fore-face thereof he built two stairways, so easy of ascent that horsemen could ride up without difficulty. Then upon the platform he erected columns of solid blocks in white stone, so finely worked that even in wood it might be impossible to make the like by turner's art or by carving; and these columns were very tall. Some were after one pattern, while others were differently carved; and among the rest there were two pillars in particular which stood before the threshold [of the palace], these being square in shape, and formed of a white stone that resembled marble. Nowhere else in all the province of Fârs is any stone like this found, and no one knows whence these blocks were brought. This stone is [a stiptic] for wounds, hence they break off pieces thereof, and when any one has received a hurt they file some piece of the stone down, and laying [the powder] on the wound it forthwith is staunched. The wonder is however these great stones were set up here, for each pillar measures more than 30 ells round and about, being also more than 40 ells in height; and each is built up of only two or [at most] three blocks. Further, there is

¹ *Siḥ Gunbadân*.—At fol. 15b of the MS. the author writes that in the castle of Iṣṭakhr Jamshid kept his treasury [*khazānah*], in the castle of *Shikastah* his storehouse [*farrādh-khānah*], and in the castle of *Shakanvân* he established his armoury [*zarrād-khānah*]. This last name is sometimes written *Shankavân*.

to be seen here the figure of [the steed] *Burâq*,¹ and the figure is after this fashion: the face is as the face of a man with a beard and curly hair, with a crown set on the head, but the body, with the fore and hind legs, are those of a bull, and the tail is a bull's tail. Now all these columns had borne originally upper stories erected on their summits, but of these buildings no trace now remains. Round and about lie mounds of clay, and the people going up there dig out this clay and wash it; and they find in among the clay Indian *tutty*,² which same is a medicament for the eyes; but no one knows how this has here come to be mixed up with the clay. In *Iṣṭakhr* everywhere and about may be seen the sculptured portrait of *Jamshīd*, [and he is represented] as a powerful man with a well-grown beard, a handsome face, and curly hair. In many places his likeness has been so set that he faces [south to] the sun. In one hand he holds a staff, and in the other a censer, in which incense is burning, and he is worshipping the sun. In other places he is represented with his left hand grasping the neck of a lion, or else seizing a wild ass by the head, or again he is taking a unicorn [or rhinoceros] by the horn, while in his right hand he holds a hunting-knife, which he has plunged into the belly of the lion or unicorn aforesaid. In the hill [above *Iṣṭakhr*] they have made a hot-bath, cutting tanks in the solid rock; and the water which flows into these tanks from the sides and the ceilings is from a natural hot spring, which goes to prove that the source of the water lies in a sulphur-bed. On the hill-summit [beyond *Iṣṭakhr*] are many great *Dakhmahs*,³ to which the people have given the name of the Prison of the Wind.

¹ On which the Prophet *Muḥammad* made his Night Journey to Heaven. See *Qurān*, ch. xvii, where, however, the name of the steed is not mentioned.

² *Tutty*, which is crude zinc oxide, is found in many parts of Persia.

³ So-called Towers of Silence, where the dead were exposed by the *Guebres*.

The Marvdasht District¹ in part was built over by the houses of the city [of *Iṣṭakhr*], but the greater portion was occupied by the gardens of Jamshid's palaces. The River *Purvāb* is the celebrated stream that flows past *Iṣṭakhr* and through the Marvdasht district; its waters are wholesome to drink. The climate of *Iṣṭakhr* is cold but temperate, and resembles that of *Isfahān*. In the early days of Islām when *Iṣṭakhr* was first conquered [by the Arabs], once and twice even the people revolted treacherously, which led to a massacre of the inhabitants, as has been already mentioned in the first [historical] part of the present work, and the city was laid in ruins. Then long after this, in the latter part of the reign of *Bākājār* [the *Būyid*], there was a certain *Wazīr* who, being at enmity with another [noble], set out to contend with him. Upon this the *Amīr Qutulmish*² came up with a [third] army, and they [fought], demolishing all that remained of [ancient] *Iṣṭakhr*, and pillaged the whole township. Wherefore at the present time *Iṣṭakhr* is become a mere village, with only a hundred men for population. The River *Kur* [as already said] flows through [the plain of] Marvdasht; its source is near *Kallār*, and it flows out into Lake *Bakhtigān*, the description of which will come in its proper place. Near *Iṣṭakhr* is seen the mountain of *Nafasht*, on which was preserved the Book of *Zand*,³ which [the prophet] *Zoroaster* revealed.

Rāmjird.⁴—A district lying on the banks of the [*Kur*]

¹ FNN. 293, but, as already said (note to p. 25), not mentioned by the Arab geographers.

² The *Amīr Qutulmish*, surnamed *Shahāb-ad-Dawlah*, was the son of an uncle of *Tughrul Beg*. He was the contemporary and rival of *Sultān Alp Arslān*, and died in 456 (1064). (*Ibn-al-Athīr*, x, 23, 24.) He was the ancestor of the later *Saljūq* Sultans who ruled in *Qāniyah* (*Iconium*).

³ This mountain and its connexion with the revelation of the *Zand* Avesta does not appear to be mentioned by any other authority. No Arab geographer seems to have noticed the name, and nothing about it is given by *F. Rosenberg* in his translation of the *Zaratusht Nāmāh* (*Le Livre de Zoroastre*, St. Petersburg, 1904).

⁴ FNN. 214.

River. In this part of the stream they had in former days erected a dam in order to secure a sufficiency of water to irrigate the lands, but in the times of disorder [when the Arabs overran Persia] this dam fell to ruin, and all the district of Rāmjird went out of cultivation. In recent years the Atabeg Chāuli has rebuilt this dam, and the country round has again been brought under cultivation. This dam is named [after the Atabeg whose surname is Fakhr-ad-Dawlah] the Fakhrisān. The climate of the district is cold but temperate, and there are corn-lands giving abundant crops, but no fruit is grown.

Qutruh.¹—A small town with a temperate climate. There are running streams, and both corn and fruit are grown. It is now under the rule of Hasūyah.² There are iron-mines here, and the district is populous.

Khayrah and Nayriz.³—These are two small towns, and Nayriz possesses a castle. They grow grapes here abundantly, and most of the grapes they dry to make raisins. The climate is temperate, and there are running streams. In each town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers, for they are very populous. Near by is the district governed by Hasūyah, and in Khayrah there is a very strongly fortified castle⁴ on a hill-top.

Upper and Lower Kirbāl.⁵—[In these districts] they have built three dams across the Kur River, whose waters serve to irrigate their lands. Of these districts parts are of the hot region, parts of the cold, and there are corn-lands.

Baydā.⁶—A small but well-built town, and the soil here

¹ FNN. 308. Now spelt Qatrā.

² Chief of the Ismā'ili tribe; see Introduction (p. 11).

³ Khayrah, a stage in the Itineraries, must have been the chief hamlet of the Khir district, which lies on the south of Lake Bakhtigān to the north of Iṣṭahbānāt (FNN. 178 and 199). Nayriz, now pronounced Niriz, is a town and district to the east of the lake (FNN. 305).

⁴ Tīr-i-Khudā; see below.

⁵ FNN. 256.

⁶ Now called the Hill of Baydā, *Tall Baydā* in Arabic meaning "the White Hill" (FNN. 183). The name is pronounced Bayzā by the Persians.

is white, and it is from this fact that the place has its name. Before the gate of the town there stretches out a fine meadow-land, 10 leagues in length by 10 leagues in width, and in all the country round there is none other to equal it. There are many dependent districts, and the fruit grown here is excellent, being of all kinds. The climate is cold but temperate, and running streams of good water abound. The town is populous, with a mosque for the Friday prayers. In the neighbourhood of Baydā lie the two [villages of] Āsh and Tūr.¹

Abādah.²—A small town, having a strongly fortified castle. The climate is temperate, and its water is derived from the overflow of the Kur River, for near by lies the lake [of Bakhtigān]. Grapes in abundance grow here. The district [governed by] Hasūyah is near here, and it is very populous.

Khurramah.³—A small but pleasant town, with a temperate climate and running streams. Fruit and corn grow abundantly. There is a castle here, on the hill-top, which is very strongly fortified and known as Qal'ah Khurramah; in the town is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Dih Mārd and Rādān.⁴—Two villages lying at no great distance from Bavvān. The climate is cold, and in the first-named village myrtles grow abundantly.

¹ Neither appears to exist at the present day; cf. Itinerary for their position.

² The southern Abādah, now known as Abādah Tashk (FNN. 170).

³ Now called Khirāmah (FNN. 257).

⁴ Dih Mārd, which still exists (FNN. 170), is called in Arabic Qariyat al-Ās, both names signifying "Myrtle Village"; and it was known to the earlier geographers also as Būdanjān. Rādān, or Rādhan, is mentioned by Istakhri (p. 102) as a village with no mosque for the Friday prayer. Muqaddasi (p. 457) gives it as lying between Harāt and Shahr-i-Bābak, one stage from either place; it no longer appears to be marked on the map. Rādān must not be confounded with Rūdān, on the eastern frontier of Fārs.

II

THE TARIKH-BAGHDAD (VOL. XXVII) OF THE KHATIB ABU BAKR AHMAD B. 'ALI B. THABIT AL- BAGHDADI¹

SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BIOGRAPHIES

By FRITZ KRENKOW

AMONG the recent acquisitions of the India Office Library is a volume of the *Tārīḥ Baghdād* of the Ḥaṭīb² containing biographies of men with the names of 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī. The MS. is acephalous, the end is missing, and many leaves have been lost, so that an edition of the whole text is out of the question. Paper and writing point to the beginning of the seventh century of the Hīrah. This volume of the extensive biographical dictionary of the Ḥaṭīb does not appear to exist in other European libraries, the greater portion of the work having been lost. Salmon published in 1904 the geographical introduction of the book with a French translation; in his introduction he gives an account of the known MSS. and a biography of the author. With regard to the MSS. enumerated by Salmon, it must be noted that Amar (JA., vol. xi, 237, 1908) has shown that the MSS. Bibl. Nat. 2130 and 2131 are not the original work of the Ḥaṭīb, but parts of an amplification of his work by Ibn an-Naǧǧār (d. 643 A.H.). The fact that No. 2131 is called the twenty-eighth volume, and contains biographies of men named 'Alī following later, according to the alphabetical arrangement of the Ḥaṭīb, than those contained in the India Office MS., seems to prove that the latter is a portion of the twenty-seventh volume.

¹ For biographies of the author I refer readers to the introduction of the work of Salmon, mentioned below, and the long account found in *Yāqūt, Iršād*, i, 246-60.

² Arab. 1134.

With the utmost liberality the authorities at the India Office sent me the codex for perusal at home, for which I express here my sincerest thanks and the faint hope that other public libraries in this country may some day make similar arrangements, which would greatly assist Oriental studies and place English students on a similar footing to that enjoyed by scholars on the Continent. This enabled me to make a complete copy of the MS., which I shall be pleased to place at the disposal of scholars who cannot consult the India Office MS.

The MS. is written in kurrāsahs of ten leaves each, and the following table will show at a glance which leaves are lost or misplaced:—

I missing.										
II	x	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
III	10	x	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
IV	x	19	20	x	23	24	x	[21	22]	x
V	x	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
VI	x	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
VII	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
VIII	92	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61
IX	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71
X	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81
XI	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	x	90
XII	91	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101
XIII to XVII, only the following leaves preserved; it is doubtful to which kurrāsa they belong: 104, 105, 102, 103; 106; 107, 108.										
XVIII	x	x	x	x	109	x	x	x	x	x
XIX	x	110	x	111	112	113	114	x	115	116
XX	x	117	118	119	120	121	122	x	131	x
XXI	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	132	x
XXII	x	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141
XXIII	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	x
XXIV	x	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159
XXV	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	x	x

In spite of so many defects the volume contains some interesting details. Far from being a history, the aim of the *Ḥaṭīb* is in the first instance to give the names of traditionists as fully as possible, then he quotes the authorities of each person and his principal pupils; after this he gives opinions of his own teachers with regard to the trustworthiness of the men whose biographies are recorded, and not seldom a tradition, or traditions, which are recorded on their authority, pointing out forgeries and errors, always giving the authority of one of his teachers but never his own opinion. Here he appears strongly opposed to 'Alide traditions. I have omitted this portion as a rule in the subsequent pages as it would have made my article too long, and I have contented myself with giving such details which I thought might be of general interest; I have given dates wherever they are recorded. We even glean some additional details about the author himself, as e.g. in the biography of his father (No. 220). Interesting is the biography of Abū-l-Farağ al-Iṣbahānī, which I have added in the Arabic text, as this is the only biography in which anything like a full account of the works of any of the authors named is given. A very long account is given of the grammarian al-Kisā'i, which proves, though the *Ḥaṭīb* is quite unconscious of it, that he was a mixture of a charlatan and a man of learning, conceited, and never sure of his own knowledge. Al-Kisā'i plays the often repeated trick of claiming to have received the authority for his statements, which were disputed, in a dream from the prophet.¹

The MS. frequently lacks the diacritical points just in names of persons and places where they are absolutely necessary, and vowels are put occasionally in words where they are generally understood. The former defect entailed

¹ I refer the reader to the Appendix, in which I try to justify my remarks here.

a good deal of research, and I have been able to fix most, though not all, of the names by the aid of the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* of as-Sam'ānī, of which the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund are preparing a facsimile edition, and which it is to be hoped will soon be in the hands of students. In the footnotes I have indicated where I have found biographies of the men named in other works of biography,¹ the principal of which are—

al-Maqdisī, *Mağma' bain ar-Rigāl*, ed. Haidarābād, 1323.

aḍ-Ḍahabī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Huffāz*, ed. Haidarābād, no date.

Ibn Ḥağar, *Taqrib at-Taḥḍīb*, ed. Lucknow, 1321.

Ibn Ḥağar, *Taḥḍīb at-Taḥḍīb*, Haidarābād, 1326, vol. vii.

Ibn Ḥallikān, ed. Cairo, 1310.

The following list of biographies in the order in which they are found in the MS. will show the scope of the volume, and I must at the outset remark that I give all names ending with the letters *ay*, in the Persian pronunciation *āyah*. Sam'ānī, who had frequent opportunity of meeting men with similar names, insists upon this spelling. Names of this class point to Persian origin, and were without a shadow of doubt pronounced in this way by those who bore them, and we should cease to follow the pedantry of Arab grammarians who try to make these foreign names conform with rules of Arab speech. Only Sib-būyah means "apple-scented",² not Sibawaihi; similarly, we must read Būyah for Bawaihi; Niftūyah for Niftawaihi; Miskūyah for Miskawaihi, etc.

'UMAR

1. 'Umar b. Hārūn al-Balḥī, died 194 A.H. (Beginning lost.) [Fol. 1A.]

1. Taqrib, 282; Ḍahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*, i, 311; Mizān, ii, No. 2154; Taḥḍīb, vii, 501.

¹ I have not made an attempt to be exhaustive in these notes, as many works of reference are not at my disposal.

² I am moreover inclined to think that this translation is wrong also; the duplicated B is never mentioned, and we must read Sibūyah after the analogy of other similar names.

2. 'Umar b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Qais Abū Ḥaṣṣ al-Abbār al-Kūfī. [Fol. 1B.]
2. Taqrīb, 280; Tahdīb, vii, 473.
3. 'Umar b. Ḥaṣṣ Abū Ḥaṣṣ al-'Abdī al-Baṣrī, died 198 A.H.
[Fol. 3A.]
3. Mizān, ii, No. 1994.
4. 'Umar b. Šabīb b. 'Umar al-Musli, a native of al-Kūfa.
[Fol. 5A.]
4. Mizān, ii, No. 2054; Taqrīb, 279; Tahdīb, vii, 461 (died 202 A.H.)
5. 'Umar b. Ḥabīb al-'Adawī, a native of al-Baṣra.
[Fol. 6B.]

Anecdote containing an account of a dispute about the trustworthiness of Abū Huraira as traditionist in the presence of ar-Rašid.

When under Hārūn he was Qādī of ar-Ruṣāfa, he had occasion to summon 'Abd aṣ-Šamad b. 'Alī¹ to appear in a case brought against him. The latter refused to appear, whereupon 'Umar ceased sitting in court. Hārūn, having heard of this, commanded 'Abd aṣ-Šamad to appear, and 'Umar, having regard to the dignity of 'Abd aṣ-Šamad, had the road from his castle to the mosque of ar-Ruṣāfa laid with felt carpets. When 'Abd aṣ-Šamad appeared in the mosque he made as though he would sit by the side of 'Umar, but the latter forced him to sit with his adversary. We are not told what was the nature of the claim, but the judge found against 'Abd aṣ-Šamad.

'Umar forms part of a deputation to al-Ma'mūn from al-Baṣra; while they are in the audience hall a man is brought and the Caliph commands him to be beheaded there and then. 'Umar intercedes, though he is the youngest of the deputation, and obtains pardon for the prisoner by quoting a tradition which he had heard from Hārūn after al-Manṣūr after Ibn Abbās. He asks al-Ma'mūn why he does

¹ An uncle of the Caliph Hārūn.

not transmit traditions, and the Caliph answers that sovereignty and transmitting traditions to the people do not go well together.

This account appears to be apocryphal, as 'Umar was appointed judge for the eastern part of Baghdād by al-Manṣūr, and to the same office in al-Baṣra by Hārūn.

(The end of the biography is unfortunately lost.)

5. Mizān, ii, No. 1986; Taqrīb, 277; Taḥḍīb, vii, 431 (died 206 or 207 A.H.).
6. 'Umar b. Sa'īd Abū Ḥafṣ al-Quraṣī ad-Dimaṣqī, died the 3rd of Dū-l-Qa'da, 225 A.H., over 80 years old. (Beginning missing.) [Fol. 11A.]
6. Taḥḍīb, vii, 453.
7. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥālid b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū Ḥafṣ, known as al-Kurdī. [Fol. 11B.]
7. Sam'ānī, 479A; Mizān, ii, No. 1963.
8. 'Umar b. Zurāra Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥadathī. [Fol. 12A.]
- 8A. 'Umar b. Zurāra an-Niṣāpūri, mentioned at the end of the biography to distinguish him from his namesake. [Fol. 12B.]
9. 'Umar b. al-Faraġ Abū 'Aun al-Hāsimī al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 13A.]
10. 'Umar b. Ismā'il b. Muġālid b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī, a native of al-Kūfa. [Fol. 13A.]
10. Taqrīb, 277; Taḥḍīb, vii, 427.
11. 'Umar b. aṣ-Ṣabāḥ b. 'Umar b. 'Alī Abū Ḥafṣ, settled in ar-Raqqā, where he died 237 A.H. [Fol. 15A.]
12. 'Umar b. Abī-l-Ḥārith Ḥunġa b. 'Amir as-Sa'dī al-Buḥārī, died 250 A.H. in Baghdād. [Fol. 15B.]
12. Maqdisī, Maġma', p. 343, No. 1296.
13. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. az-Zubair Abū Ḥafṣ al-Asadī, known as Ibn at-Tall, died in Ṣawwāl, 250 A.H. [Fol. 16A.]
14. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ad-Darir. [Fol. 17A.]
15. 'Umar b. Naṣr Abū Ḥafṣ al-Anṣārī an-Nahrawānī. [Fol. 17B.]

16. 'Umar b. Šabba b. 'Ubaida b. Zaid Abū Zaid an-Numairi al-Baṣrī, born on Sunday, 1st of Raḡab, 173 A.H., died on Thursday, the 25th of Ġumādā ii, 262 A.H. [Fol. 17B.]
16. Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, ii, 98; Taqrīb, 279; Taḥḍīb, vii, 460.
17. 'Umar b. Maṣṣūr b. Naṣr Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kātib. [Fol. 19B.]
18. 'Umar b. Šālīḥ b. 'Isā al-Madā'ini. [Fol. 20A.]
19. 'Umar b. Sulaimān Abū Ḥafṣ, the schoolmaster. [Fol. 20A.]
20. 'Umar b. Mudrik Abū Ḥafṣ ar-Rāzi, the Qāḍi; some say he came from Balḥ. (End of biography lost.) [Fol. 20B.]
20. Mizān, ii, No. 2131.
21. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm Abū Bakr al-Hāfiẓ, known as Abu-l-Āḍān, died at Sāmīrā in Muḥarram, 290 A.H., at the age of 63 years. (Beginning of biography lost.) [Fol. 21A.]
21. Taqrīb, 277; Taḥḍīb, vii, 424.
22. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abān b. Abī Ḥamza, known as Ibn az-Zayyāt. [Fol. 21A.]
23. 'Umar b. al-Walid b. Abān al-Karābisi. [Fol. 21A.]
24. 'Umar b. Dā'ūd b. Sa'dān Abū Ḥafṣ an-Niṣāpūri. [Fol. 21B.]
25. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ Abū Bakr as-Sadūsi, died in Šafar, 293 A.H. [Fol. 21B.]
26. 'Umar b. Ya'qūb b. Yaḥyā Abū Ḥafṣ ar-Raqqī. [Fol. 22A.]
27. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Biṣr b. as-Sari Abū-l-Ḥusain, known as Ibn as-Sunni. (End of biography is lost.) [Fol. 22A.]
28. Three lines of a biography, the beginning of which is lost. This traditionist transmitted after Zaid b. al-Ḥabbāb. [Fol. 23A.]
29. 'Umar b. Yāsir b. al-Yās Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Aṭṭār. [Fol. 23A.]
30. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam (or 'Abd al-Ḥakam) Abū Ḥafṣ, known as an-Nasā'i. [Fol. 23A.]
31. 'Umar b. Muḥammad Abū Ḥafṣ, known as aš-Šaṭawī, died Rabī' i, 279 A.H. [Fol. 23B.]

32. 'Umar b. Mūsā Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ġallā'. [Fol. 24A.]
33. 'Umar b. Mūsā b. Fairūz Abū Ḥafṣ al-Maḥramī,
known as at-Tawwazī. (End of biography lost.)
[Fol. 24A.]
34. 'Umar b. Ayyūb as-Saqāṭi, died 302 or 303 A.H.
(Beginning lost.) [Fol. 25A.]
35. 'Umar b. Ḥālid b. Yazid b. al-Ġārūd Abū Ḥafṣ aṣ-
Ṣa'irī, was alive in 304 A.H. [Fol. 25A.]
35. Sam'ānī, 335a.
36. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. al-Ḥakam Abū Ḥafṣ
al-Ma'arri al-Kāghidī, died 305 A.H. [Fol. 26A.]
37. 'Umar b. Wāṣil, a Baṣrī, in the opinion of the Ḥaṭīb,
who settled in Baghdād. [Fol. 26A.]
37. Mizān, ii, No. 2159.
38. 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan b. Naṣr b. Ṭarḥān Abū Ḥufais
al-Qāḍi al-Ḥalabī, came to Baghdād. He died in
306 A.H. on his return journey from Baghdād to
Halab, it is said at Hit. [Fol. 27A.]
39. 'Umar b. Ṭāhir b. Abī Qurra al-Warrāq. [Fol. 27B.]
40. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ b. Muḥammad al-Maḥramī. [Fol. 28A.]
41. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Mu'arik Abū Ḥafṣ.
[Fol. 28A.]
42. 'Umar b. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ḥāsimī, was
superintendent of prayer at the great mosque of
ar-Ruṣāfa till his death in Safar, 307 A.H. [Fol. 28A.]
43. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Bakkāz Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qāfilānī,
died 308 A.H. [Fol. 28B.]
44. 'Umar b. Rizq-Allāh b. al-Ḥaġġāġ, was alive in 308 A.H.
[Fol. 28B.]
45. 'Umar b. Sahl b. Yazid Abu-l-Qāsim ad-Daqqāq at-
Tustarī. [Fol. 29A.]
46. 'Umar b. Sahl b. Maḥlad Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bazzāz. [Fol. 29B.]
47. 'Umar b. Ismā'il b. Salama Abū Ḥafṣ, known as Ibn
Abi Ghailān ath-Thaqafi, died 309 A.H. [Fol. 29B.]
48. 'Umar b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Hammād
b. Ḥassān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Yazdād Abu-l-Qāsim,

known as Ibn Abī Ḥassān az-Ziyādī, died 314 A.H.
[Fol. 29B.]

49. 'Umar b. al-'Alā' b. Mālik Abū Bakr, the Qur'ān-reader. [Fol. 30A.]

50. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Sa'īd Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḡauharī, known as as-Sadābī. [Fol. 30B.]

50. Mizān, ii, No. 2118; Sam'ānī, 295A.

51. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Šu'aib Abū Ḥafṣ aṣ-Šabūnī. [Fol. 31A.]

52. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Sanūyah b. Muqarrin b. ar-Rabī' Abū Aḥmad al-Marwazī. [Fol. 31B.]

53. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Musayyib b. Darīs Abū Ḥafṣ, known as an-Niṣāpūrī, died 321 A.H. [Fol. 31B.]

54. 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḡa'd b. 'Ubaid Abū 'Āsim al-Ḡauharī, brother of Sulaimān and 'Alī; he died 323 A.H. [Fol. 32A.]

55. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbād b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥannāt, or al-Ḥayyāt. [Fol. 32A.]

55. The Ḥaṭīb is in doubt whether الحياط or الحياط is correct.

56. 'Umar b. al-Husain b. Sūrīn Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qaṭṭān, a native of Dair al-'Āqūl. [Fol. 32B.]

56. Sam'ānī, 317A.

57. 'Umar b. Ḡa'far b. Aḥmad b. al-Faraḡ Abū Ḥafṣ al-Waṣṣā'. [Fol. 32B.]

58. 'Umar b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Sulaimān aṣ-Ṣaffār. [Fol. 33A.]

59. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḡauharī, known as Ibn 'Allak al-Marwazī, came to Baghdād on his pilgrimage in 322 A.H. (End missing.) [Fol. 33B.]

59. Sam'ānī, 397A; Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, iii, 65.

60. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ismā'il, known as ad-Darbī Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qaṭṭān, died in 327 A.H. [Fol. 34A.]

60. Sam'ānī, 224A.

61. 'Umar b. 'Iṣām b. al-Ḡarrāḥ Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥafīz, died 328 A.H. [Fol. 34A.]

62. 'Umar b. Abi 'Umar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. Ismā'il b. Hammād b. Zaid b. Dirham Abū-l-Husain al-Azdi; he filled the office of Qāḍi of Baghdād as deputy of his father, and was confirmed in the office after the decease of the latter; the period from the time he filled his father's place till his death was 17 years 20 days.

He received his first appointment from al-Muqtadir-Billāh on the 15th of Ramadān, 310 A.H., after he had been appointed by his father as his deputy when he was only 20 years of age; afterwards his father got him appointments as Qāḍi in places outside the city of Baghdād, but during the lifetime of his father he was again Qāḍi of the capital. He judged according to the school of Mālik and the people of al-Madīna, though he was also well versed in the doctrines of the other schools. He also composed a Musnad, a portion of which the Ḥatib had seen. Abū-l-Farağ al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyya relates that he was waiting upon Abū-l-Husain 'Umar b. Abi 'Umar when a raven settled upon a date-palm in the court and croaked; a Bedouin who was present remarked that the Qāḍi would die in seven days. Shortly after a servant came out and asked them to enter. When they reached his presence he appeared ill, and told them that he was troubled with a dream he had had, which seemed to forbode his end. On the seventh day after this he was buried. 'Umar b. Abi 'Umar died on Thursday, the 16th of Ša'bān, 328 A.H.; his son Abū Naṣr said the prayers over him, and he was buried in a house close to his dwelling. [Fols. 34B-37B.]

62. Ibn Farḥūn, Dībāğ, 189.

63. 'Umar b. Yūsuf Abū Ḥafṣ, known as al-Bāqilānī. [Fol. 37B.]

64. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣaukī ad-Da'ā', a native of Sāmarrā, died 328 A.H. [Fol. 37B.]
65. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Maṣṣūr Abū Bakr. [Fol. 37B.]
66. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Abi-l-Yamān Abū Bakr, or Abū Ḥafṣ at-Tammār, a native of the eastern part of Baghdād; he died on Thursday, the 27th of Ṣa'bān, 329 A.H. [Fol. 38A.]
67. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Hārūn Abul-Qāsim al-ʿAṭṭār al-ʿAskari, was a native of Sāmarrā and settled in Baghdād. [Fol. 38A.]
68. 'Umar b. Sa'd b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū Bakr al-Qarāṭisī. [Fol. 38B.]
69. 'Umar b. Dā'ūd b. Sulaimān b. 'Anbasa Abū Ḥafṣ al-Anmāṭī, a native of Marw, known as al-'Umānī, died in Rabī' ii, 331 A.H. [Fol. 38B.]
70. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd-Allāh Abu-l-Qāsim al-Hurfi, author of the book al-Muhtaṣar fil Fiqh according to the teaching of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. The Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain stated that 'Umar had composed many works and elucidations (تخریجات) on the rites of his school which were not published, because he left Baghdād when the followers of Ibn Ḥanbal were persecuted, leaving his books behind him. They are said to have been deposited in the Darb Sulaimān, but the house in which they were kept was burnt and with it all his books, which were not copied on account of his being far away. He died in Damascus in 334 A.H., where he was buried. His grave has fallen into decay. [Fol. 39A.]
71. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Maṣṣūr Abū Ḥafṣ, known as Ibn Abī Ḥaithama; he is stated to have promulgated traditions at Ṭarsūs, where he had come for the purpose of ransoming prisoners. [Fol. 40A.]

72. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sa'īd Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥayyāt, a brother of Abū Bakr 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sa'īd, and maternal uncle of Ibn al-Ġi'ānī; he died in Baghdād in 335 A.H. [Fol. 40B.]
73. 'Umar b. Abī Saiḥ Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥurfī. [Fol. 40B.]
74. 'Umar b. Bayān (?) al-Anmāṭī. [Fol. 41A.]
75. 'Umar b. 'Imrān b. Ḥubaiš ad-Ḍarrāb, father of Abū 'Abd-Allāh b. ad-Ḍarīr. [Fol. 41A.]
76. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb b. ar-Rummān Abū Bakr al-Bazzāz, known as Ghulām az-Zandarūdī, father of Ḥaidara b. 'Umar, died on Thursday, the 28th of Raġab, 339 A.H. [Fol. 41A.]
77. 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Mālīk b. Aṣras b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Munġab Abu-l-Ḥusain aṣ-Ṣaibānī, known as Ibn al-Uṣnānī. He was Qāḍī in Syria and later three days in Baghdād, then he was deposed. He was born in Baghdād in 259 or early in 260 A.H. A tradition is recorded which he recited in his own house in Raġab, 339 A.H. Al-Muqtadir removed Abū Ġa'far Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. al-Buhlūl from the office of judge in the city of al-Manṣūr on Thursday, the 19th of Rabī' ii, 316 A.H., and appointed 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan the same day; he sat as judge on the Saturday following, but on Sunday he was relieved of his office. Before this he had already filled a similar post in Syria; he was, however, principally a traditionist, and for some time was at the head of the office of accounts in Baghdād.¹ He was accused of forging traditions, and died on Thursday, the 18th of Du-l-Ḥiġġa, 339 A.H. [Fol. 41B.]
77. Sam'ānī, 40A; Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, iii, 68, ult.; Mizān, ii, No. 1990.
78. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Raġā' Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Ukbarī, died 329 A.H. [Fol. 44A.]
79. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Mahdī b. Mas'ūd b. an-Nu'mān

- b. Dīnār b. 'Abd-Allāh, father of Abu-l-Ḥasan ad-Dāraqutnī. [Fol. 44A.]
80. 'Umar b. Yahyā b. Dā'ūd Abu-l-Qāsim al-Bazzāz as-Sāmarrī, known as Ibn al-Faḥḥām. [Fol. 44B.]
81. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥammād Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Faqīh. [Fol. 44B.]
82. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Dīnār Abu-l-Qāsim al-Fārisī al-Bazzāz, died the 23rd of Ġumādā i, 341 A.H. [Fol. 44B.]
83. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Šihāb Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Ukbarī. [Fol. 45B.]
84. 'Umar b. Zakariyā b. Bayān Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bazzāz, known as Šāḥib al-Madīnī, died on Thursday, the 3rd of Raġab, 346 A.H. [Fol. 46A.]
85. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Abū Bakr al-Ḥaššab. [Fol. 46B.]
86. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ Abu-ṭ-Tayyib al-Muṭarriz. [Fol. 46B.]
87. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sulaimān Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Aṭṭar, known as Ibn al-Haddād, settled in Egypt. He died on Tuesday, the 23rd of Du-l-Qa'da, 346 A.H. [Fol. 46B.]
88. 'Umar b. Muḥammad Abū Ḥafṣ at-Tallī 'Ukbarī al-Ḥaṭīb, used to forge traditions. [Fol. 47A.]
89. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ma'mar Muḥammad b. Ḥuzaz b. Sahl b. al-Haitham Abū Bakr ad-Dūri as-Šaffār, had a shop near the Bāb aṭ-Ṭāq in the quarter of the coppersmiths. Died on Thursday, the 7th of Rabī' i, 350 A.H. [Fol. 47B.]
90. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ḥafṣ al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 48B.]
90. Mizān, ii, No. 1970.
91. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. as-Šabāḥ Abū Bakr, the Qur'ān-reader, died in Ša'bān, 352 A.H. [Fol. 48B.]
92. 'Umar b. Ġa'far b. Muḥammad b. Salm b. Rāšid Abu-l-Qāsim al-Ḥuttalī, elder brother of Aḥmad b. Ġa'far,

was born on the 15th of Ġumādā i, 271 A.H., died on Thursday, the 27th of Ša'bān, 356 A.H.; he was buried in the cemetery of al-Ḥaizurān. [Fol. 48B.]

92. As-Sam'ānī, fol. 189A, gives 291 (writing in figures) as the date of his birth, and calls him 'Umar b. Ġa'far b. Aḥmad b. Salm.

93. 'Umar b. Ġa'far b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Abi-s-Sarī Abū Ḥafṣ al-Warrāq al-Baṣrī, came at an early age to Baghdād and stayed there for many years until his death. He made selections of traditions which were eagerly copied; these caused ad-Dāraquṭnī to write a treatise addressed to his friend Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Ḥārikī, in which he pointed out his mistakes. This is stated to be an excellent book, while a similar work by Abū Bakr al-Ġī'ānī on the same subject is said¹ to have missed the mark in most places. Several examples of disputed traditions are given. 'Umar b. Ġa'far al-Baṣrī died on Friday, the 2nd of Ġumādā i, 357 A.H.; he was born in 280 A.H. [Fol. 49B.]

93. Dahabī, *Tabaqāt*, iii, 146.

94. 'Umar b. Aktam b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayyān b. Bišr Abū Bišr al-Asadī, was Qāḍī of Baghdād under the Caliph al-Muṭī', holding this office through Abū-s-Sā'ib 'Utba b. 'Ubaid-Allāh, whom he succeeded in the office of Qāḍī-l-Quḍāt. They were the first two Šāfi'ī lawyers who held this office.

When al-Muṭī' and Mu'izz ad-Daula Aḥmad b. Būyah conquered al-Baṣra in the month Rabi' ii, 336 A.H.,¹ the Qāḍī Abu-s-Sā'ib 'Utba b. 'Ubaid-Allāh went to al-Baṣra to congratulate them, and his secretary was at the time Abū Bišr 'Umar b. Aktam; his grandfather had been a man of note and had been Qāḍī in various places, among which Iṣfahān and the Šarqīyya quarter of Baghdād are

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Bulāq* edition, viii, 168, gives the 24th of Rabi' ii as the date when Abū-l-Qāsim al-Baridī fled from al-Baṣra and the city surrendered.

named. Abū Bišr 'Umar had received an excellent education, and judges accepted his witness (!); later he served as secretary to Qādis. When Abu-s-Sā'ib left the capital to go to al-Baṣra he appointed him as judge over the Šarqīyya. At al-Baṣra Abu-s-Sā'ib was appointed Qāḍī over the whole land, and letters to this effect were sent to the capital. He then appointed 'Umar Qāḍī over the whole of Baghdād as his deputy. 'Umar applied himself to his office to the satisfaction of all, but when Abū-s-Sā'ib returned to Baghdād he resumed his office, and 'Umar returned to the position of secretary as before. This post he held till the death of Abu-s-Sā'ib, which happened in Rabī' ii, 350 A.H., when 'Umar b. Aktam received the post, which he had to renounce when Abul-'Abbās b. Abi-š-Šawārib was appointed in the month of Ša'bān of the same year. When the latter was dismissed in the year 352 A.H., Abū Bišr 'Umar b. Aktam was again appointed in the month of Raḡab of the same year, and filled the post till he was relieved of it in Ša'bān, 356 A.H., when he retired to his home and lived there until he died. The period of his last tenure of office was four years and some days. He died on Wednesday, the 5th of Gumādā ii, 357, and was born in 284 A.H. [Fol. 53B.]

94. Subkī, ii, 313.

95. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Husain Abu-l-Qāsim aš-Šūfī al-Baghdādi, known as Muqla, settled in Egypt. [Fol. 55A.]

96. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamma Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥallāl, a Mu'addal, died the last day of the year 360 and was buried 1st of Muḥarram, 361 A.H. [Fol. 55A.]

96. Sam'ānī, 178A, margin.

97. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Abī 'Azza al-'Aṭṭār,

brother of 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, known as al-Muzakkiyān, died the end of Raġab, 362 A.H. [Fol. 55B.]

97. The biography of his brother 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm is unfortunately lost; the strange laqab المزكيان may have been explained or pointed in that biography.

98. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith Abū 'Abd-Allāh, the Qāḍī, known as Ibn Ṣāqq al-Quḍbānī.¹ A tradition heard from him in 362 A.H. is quoted, but not the date of his death. [Fol. 56A.]

99. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ġa'far Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bundār, known as Ibn Qatūmā an-Nahruwānī, a Mu'addal. A tradition heard from him in Baghdād in 362 A.H. is quoted. [Fol. 56B.]

100. 'Umar b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥārūn Abū Bakr al-Bazzāz, a native of Sāmarrā, settled in Baghdād in the Ṭaifūr square; he died in Muḥarram, 363 A.H. [Fol. 57A.]

101. 'Umar b. Anas b. Ḥamid Abū Bakr al-Mauṣili, settled in Baghdād, died in Ġumādā i, 363 A.H. [Fol. 57B.]

102. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abū-l-Ḥusain, a Māliki Qāḍī, one of the Shaikhs of ad-Dāraquṭnī. [Fol. 58A.]

103. 'Umar b. Idrīs Abū 'Abd-Allāh aṣ-Ṣālihi al-Fāmi, a native of the village Fāmiya, near Wāsiṭ, not far from Fam as-Ṣulḥ, settled in Baghdād, where he heard a tradition as early as 289 A.H. [Fol. 58B.]

103. Sam'ānī, fol. 408b, l. 10, calls him al-Balḥī and the village Fāmah.

104. 'Umar b. Yūsuf b. 'Abdak Abū Ḥafṣ al-Barūġirdi, was a traditionist at Baghdād. [Fol. 59A.]

105. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥatīm Abū-l-Qāsim al-Bazzāz, known as Ibn at-Tirmidī, died in the beginning of 364 A.H. [Fol. 59A.]

106. 'Umar b. Nūḥ b. Ḥalaf b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣaib b. Nūḥ b. 'Isā b. Bariq b. Mālik b. Ghauth Abū-l-Qāsim

¹ Both names not pointed; the nisba occurs three times in the same form.

al-Bağalī al-Bundār, born 277 A.H. Al-Birqānī relates that he came one day to him to read some traditions; at the time of his arrival a certain portion of the fascicle had been gone through and he copied the remainder. Later he went to Abū Mansūr Ibn al-Karhī¹ to copy the portion which he had missed. A long time after, when 'Umar b. Nūḥ had become blind, he went to him with a view of verifying his copy, explaining that Ibn al-Karhī might have pointed some words wrongly. 'Umar invited him to read his copy to him, but when he came to a certain tradition 'Umar said that this was not correct, and gave the right reading. Al-Birqānī replied that his copy had exactly as he had read, and there was no doubt that this was the reading of Ibn al-Karhī. 'Umar then told a maid to fetch a certain parcel of papers, which she brought. Then he turned over one fascicle after the other, considering as he touched the straps with which they were tied, till he found one, when he asked al-Birqānī to read the titles. He read the titles till they found the required fascicle. When he read it he found the tradition just as 'Umar b. Nūḥ had said. In his amazement al-Birqānī asked him how he had acquired such a marvellous memory, and he replied that in years past he had gone to some villages to read his traditions, and had thus remembered some of them. [Fol. 60A.]

107. 'Umar b. Bašrān b. Muḥammad b. Bišr b. Mahrān b. 'Abd-Allāh Abū Ḥafṣ as-Sukkari; he died before Ibn an-Naḥḥās, whose death happened in 368 A.H. [Fol. 61A.]

107. Dahabī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, iii, 176, says he lived till 367 A.H., apparently derived from this statement.

¹ Died 388 A.H. Sam'ānī, fol. 478b, ll. 9-11.

108. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Fayyād Abū Bakr. [Fol. 61B.]
109. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥumaid b. Bahta Abū Ḥafṣ al-Munāṣir, born 265 A.H., died 367 A.H. [Fol. 61B.]
110. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Abū Ḥafṣ, Wakil of the Caliph al-Muttaqī, known as Abū Nu'aim or Ibn Nu'aim, died in Ṣafar, 369 A.H. [Fol. 62A.]
111. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. as-Sirāğ Abū Ḥafṣ aṣ-Ṣāhid, died in 369 A.H. [Fol. 62B.]
112. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ṣihāb Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Ukbarī. [Fol. 62B.]
113. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. as-Sūs Abū Ḥafṣ, or Abu-l-Qāsim. Only a tradition on al-Burāq. [Fol. 63A.]
114. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kātib. [Fol. 63B.]
115. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Saif b. Muḥammad b. Ġa'far b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Sulaimān Abū-l-Qāsim al-Kātib. Later in life he removed to al-Baṣra, where he died the 23rd of Ġumādā i, 374 A.H. [Fol. 64A.]
116. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. al-Laith b. Banān b. Ḥidāṣ Abū Muḥammad, died on Saturday, the 9th of Rağab, 374 A.H., and was buried in the cemetery of Bāb Ḥarb. [Fol. 64B.]
117. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yahyā b. Mūsā b. Yūnus b. Anānūs Abū Ḥafṣ an-Nāqid, known as Ibn az-Zayyāt. He was born 286 A.H., and died on Sunday, the 15th of Ġumādā ii, 375 A.H. [Fol. 65A.]
117. Dahabī, Tabaqāt, iii, 192.
118. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Yūnus Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qaṭṭān, a native of Dūr al-Quṭn. Al-Ġauhari heard traditions from him in 376 A.H. [Fol. 65B.]
119. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muqbil Abū-l-Qāsim, known as Ibn ath-Thallāğ, came to Samarqand in 376 A.H. [Fol. 66A.]

120. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḥālid Abu-l-Qāsim al-Baḡalī, known as Ibn Sunbuk. Resided near the Bāb al-Azağğ, and the Qāḍī Abū-s-Sā'ib used to accept his witness; later Abū Muḥammad b. Ma'rūf appointed him as deputy for minor decisions in the Sūq ath-Thalāthā and the Harīm of the Dār al-Ḥilāfa. He used to claim descent from Garīr b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Baḡalī; the documents, according to his own statement, were in the possession of a cousin of his, who kept them concealed. He was born in Baghdād in Rabī' i, 291 A.H., and copied his first traditions in 300 A.H. He died on Tuesday, the 16th of Raḡab, 376 A.H. [Fol. 66B.]
121. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. as-Sarī b. Sahl b. Ḥālid b. al-Baḥtārī Abū Bakr al-Warrāq, known as Ibn Abī Ṭāhir. He was also known as al-Ġundipūrī. He used to say that he was born in 290 A.H., and he died in Rabī' ii, 378 A.H. [Fol. 67B.]
121. Mizān, ii, No. 2112.
122. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hamaḍānī, father of Abū Ghānim 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Umar aṣ-Širāzī, settled in Baghdād, died towards the end of Raḡab, 379 A.H. [Fol. 68B.]
123. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Hārūn b. al-Farağ b. ar-Rabī' Abū Ḥafṣ, known as Ibn al-Ġurri, died the night of Sunday, the 3rd of Raḡab, 382 A.H. [Fol. 69A.]
124. 'Umar b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Zādān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Zādān Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qāḍī al-Qazwīnī, came to Baghdād when performing the pilgrimage in 384 A.H. He was a descendant of Abū 'Umar al-Kindī. [Fol. 69B.]
125. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. Azdād b. Surāb b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū Ḥafṣ, known as Ibn Šāhin, settled in the Šarqī side of Baghdād in the neighbourhood of

al-Mu'tariḍ. He himself stated that his family came originally from Marwarūd in Ḥorāsān. He was born in Ṣafar, 297 A.H., and the first traditions, as far as he remembered, he wrote down in 308 A.H. when he was 11 years of age.

The Ḥaṭīb here mentions that three of his Ṣaiḥs had commenced their studies of tradition at the same early age, namely—

(a) Abu-l-Qāsim 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, born in Ramaḍān, 214 A.H., died 317 A.H.; he wrote his first traditions in 225 A.H.

(b) Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣā'id, born 228 A.H., died the end of 318 A.H.; he wrote his first traditions in 239 A.H.

(c) 'Abd-Allāh b. Sulaimān b. al-Aṣ'ath, born 230 A.H., wrote his first traditions in Egypt in 241 A.H.; he died the end of 316 A.H.

I also, says the Ḥaṭīb, was 11 years of age when I wrote my first traditions in Muḥarram, 403 A.H., for I was born on Thursday, the 23rd of Ġumādā ii, of the year 392 A.H.

Ibn Ṣāḥin stated that he had composed 330 works, among them—

- (1) The large Tafsīr in 1,000 fascicles.
- (2) The Musnad, 1,500 fascicles.
- (3) The Tārīḥ, 150 fascicles.
- (4) Az-Zubd, 100 fascicles.

The first time he appeared as a teacher of traditions was in al-Baṣra in 332 A.H. He used to say that he had used up 400 *roṭl* of ink, or, in another account, ink to the value of 700 dirhams, and the price of ink used to be 4 *roṭl* for one dirham, and, the recorder adds, he wrote a great deal after this. He spoke Arabic incorrectly and had only very little knowledge of law (*fiqh*), and

could not distinguish between the various schools. He used to say, "I am *Muḥammadī-l-Madhab*." He took his great Tafsīr to ad-Dāraqutnī, asking him to correct any mistakes, who found that he had absorbed in his work the Tafsīr of Abu-l-Ġārūd; then, when referring to this commentary incidentally in his work, he quoted "Abu-l-Ġārūd" on the authority of Ziyād b. al-Mundir, which latter name was the name of Abu-l-Ġārūd. He was considered *weak*, no doubt because he asserted that he was in the habit of copying, but did not take the trouble to collate again what he had written down. He died, according to al-'Atīqī, on Sunday, the 11th of Du-l-Ḥiġġa, 385 A.H., and was buried near the Bāb Ḥarb, close to the grave of Aḥmad b. Hanbal. Others say he died on Sunday, the 12th of Du-l-Ḥiġġa. [Fol. 70A.]

125. Dahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*, iii, 195.
126. 'Umar b. Muḥammad Abū-l-Qāsim aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Munāḥilī, settled in Damascus. [Fol. 74A.]
127. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl Abū Ḥafṣ al-Barmakī, died in Ġumādā i, 389 A.H. [Fol. 74A.]
128. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Kathīr b. Hārūn b. Mahrān Abū Ḥafṣ al-Muqri', known as al-Kattānī, settled near the Nahr ad-Daġāġ, died on Monday, the 11th of Raġab, 390 A.H., aged 90 years. [Fol. 74B.]
128. Dahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*, iii, 218.
129. 'Umar b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Muqri', friend of Abū Bakr b. Muġāhid, had the laqab Wabra, and was known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād. He used to read tradition in the Ġāmi' of ar-Ruṣāfa, and lived in the Sūq Yahyā. [Fol. 75A.]
130. 'Umar b. Rukān b. Aḥmad b. Rukān b. Yahyā b. Maīmūn b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Dīnār Abū Ḥafṣ at-Taimār, died 393 A.H. [Fol. 75B.]

131. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd Abū Sa'id as-Siġistānī, settled at Nisāpūr but came to Baghdād, where he read tradition when on the way to perform the pilgrimage. He died in Mecca. [Fol. 76A.]
132. 'Umar b. Thābit b. al-Qāsim Abu-l-Qāsim al-Ḥanbalī, the Sūfī, nicknamed Kutla, read traditions in Baghdād. [Fol. 76B.]
133. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥalaf b. Naġīb Abu-l-Qāsim ad-Daqqāq. [Fol. 77A.]
134. 'Umar b. Rūḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abbād Abū Bakr an-Nahruwānī, known as Ibn al-Bābanā'i, was originally an adherent of the Ḥanbalī school, but reading some Mu'tazilī books he became imbued with their doctrines. He died in Ġumādā i, 404 A.H. [Fol. 77A.]
134. Sam'ānī, 56A, ult.
135. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Yahyā b. al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Yahyā b. al-Ḥusain b. Zaid b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib Abū 'Alī al-'Alawī al-Kūfī, settled in Baghdād. He died on Wednesday, the 3rd of Raġab, 413 A.H. [Fol. 77B.]
136. 'Umar b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar b. Ta'wīd Abū Ḥafṣ ad-Dallāl, died in 415 A.H. [Fol. 77B.]
137. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdūyah b. Sadūs b. 'Alī b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Ubaid-Allāh b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd Abū Ḥāzim al-Ḥudālī al-'Abdawī (or 'Abdūyī), came to Baghdād in 389 A.H. on the way to Mecca; he died in Nisāpūr the day of the 'Īd al-Fiṭr in 417 A.H. [Fol. 78A.]
137. Sam'ānī, 381A; Dababī, Ṭabaqāt, iii, 272.
138. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bazzāz, known as Ibn Abī 'Amr, a native of 'Ukbarā, where the Ḥatīb heard traditions from him in 410 A.H. He was born in 320 A.H. and died 417 A.H. [Fol. 79A.]

139. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Allāh Abu-l-Faḍl b. Abī Sa'd, a native of Herāt, came to Baghdād when on his pilgrimage. He was born in 348 and died 426 A.H. [Fol. 79B.]
140. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'id b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Biḡād b. Mūsā b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ Abū Ṭālib az-Zuhri, the Shafi'i lawyer, known as Ibn Hamāma. He stated himself that the traditionists named his ancestor Biḡād, while historians called him Niḡād. He was born in the middle of Dū-l-Qa'da, 347 A.H., and died the night of Monday, the 9th of Ġumādā ii, in 434 A.H., and was buried on the 10th of the same month in the cemetery of ad-Dair. [Fol. 80A.]
140. Subkī, *Tabaqāt*, iii, 7.
141. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās b. 'Īsā b. al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Abu-l-Qāsim al-Hāsimī, known as Ibn Bakrān, an elder brother of Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad. He was born in 354 A.H. and died on Sunday, the 7th of Du-l-Qa'da, 439 A.H. [Fol. 81B.]
142. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid-Allah b. Qaz'a Abū Ṭālib, the school teacher, known as Ibn ad-Dalw, a brother of 'Ubaid - Allāh b. Muḥammad an-Naḡḡār, resided in Bustān Umm Ġa'far. He died the night of Saturday, the 6th of Šawwāl, 446 A.H., and was buried early on the following Sunday in the cemetery of the Bāb ad-Dair. [Fol. 82A.]
143. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusain b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, brother of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain al-Haffāf, was born 363 A.H., died the middle of Du-l-Qa'da, 450 A.H. [Fol. 82A.]
144. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Wāthiq-billāh Abū Muḥammad al - Hāsimī, resided near the Bāb

al-Basra. He was born in 375 A.H. and died on Sunday, the 10th of Šawwāl, 453 A.H. [Fol. 82B.]

‘UTHMĀN

145. ‘Uthmān b. Talḥa b. ‘Umar b. ‘Ubaid-Allāh b. Ma‘mar b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar b. Ka‘b at-Taimī, a native of al-Madīna; he was Qāḍī of his native city, and came to Baghdād in the reign of al-Mahdī. When asked to assume the office of Qāḍī he refused to accept it, and only when threatened with flogging in public consented to act. When al-Mahdī came on his pilgrimage to al-Madīna he came to him and asked to be relieved of the office of Qāḍī. While he held that post he refused to accept any payment, saying that he did not like to enrich himself by this hateful office. [Fol. 82B.]
146. ‘Uthmān b. Maṭar Abu-l-Faḍl aš-Šaibānī al-Bašrī, came to Baghdād and read traditions. All critics declare him weak. [Fol. 84A.]
146. Mizān, ii, No. 1491; Taqrīb, 261; Tahḍīb, vii, 154.
147. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū ‘Amr az-Zuhri, a descendant of Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqās, known as al-Mālikī and as al-Waqqāšī. He was a native of the Ḥiǧāz, but came to Baghdād; died in the reign of Hārūn ar-Rašīd. [Fol. 85B.]
147. Ḍahabī, Mizān, ii, No. 1457; Taqrīb, 260; Tahḍīb, vii, 133.
148. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar b. Fāris b. Laqīṭ b. Qais Abū Muḥammad, or Abū ‘Adī al-Bašrī, came to Baghdād, and died the 23rd of Rabī‘ i, 209 A.H., according to most authorities; others give 207 and 208 A.H. [Fol. 87A.]
148. Ḍahabī, Mizān, ii, No. 1471; Taqrīb, 261; Maqdisī, Maǧma‘, p. 378; Ḍahabī, Ṭabaqāt, i, 346; Tahḍīb, vii, 142.
149. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abi-l-‘Āš Abū ‘Amr al-Qurašī al-Umawī. This is his genealogy according

to al-Hākīm Abū 'Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Bayyī' an-Niṣāpūrī,¹ while others trace his origin to the Caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, as follows: 'Uthmān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Anbasa b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. He travelled in Egypt, Syria, the Ḥiǧāz, to Baghdād, al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra, and Ḥorāsān. He settled in Niṣāpūr and died there. Here a leaf is missing, and fol. 90A contains only some traditions recorded on his authority. [Fol. 89A.]

149. Mizān, ii, No. 1449.

150. 'Uthman b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Abū-l-Ḥasan al-'Absī al-Kūfī, known as Ibn Abī Šaiba, the elder brother of Abū Bakr and al-Qāsim; he travelled to Mecca and ar-Rai, composed a Musnad and a Tafsīr, and settled in Baghdād. He died the 3rd of Muḥarram, 239 A.H.; his hair never lost its colour and he was not obliged to dye it. [Fol. 90A.]
(Fol. 92 does not belong to this biography; it should follow after fol. 52.)

150. Dahabī, Mizān, ii, No. 1443; Taqrīb, 261; Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, ii, 30; Maqdisī, Maǧma', p. 349; Tahdīb, vii, 194.

151. 'Uthmān b. al-Mubārak Abū Sa'id al-Anbārī.
[Fol. 94B.]
152. 'Uthman b. Hišām b. al-Faḍl b. Dalham. [Fol. 95A.]
153. 'Uthman b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Abī Zuhair, brother of Šā'iqā, i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm (who died 250 A.H.). [Fol. 95B.]
154. 'Uthmān b. Šāliḥ b. Sa'd b. Yaḥyā Abu-l-Qāsim al-Ḥayyāt al-Ḥuḷqānī, died 256 A.H. Six lines of Raǧaz are quoted on his authority which the prophet is said to have uttered on the day of al-Ahrāb. [Fol. 95B.]
154. Taqrīb, 259, ult.; Tahdīb, vii, 122.

¹ Born 321 A.H., died 405. Cf. Sam'ānī, 99n; Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, iii, 242.

155. 'Uthman b. Ma'bad b. Nūh al-Muqri', died on Wednesday, the 24th of Šafar, 261 A.H. [Fol. 96B.]
156. 'Uthmān b. Sa'id al-Baghdādī; he was a friend of the Qādī Muḥammad b. Samā'a, who died in 261 A.H. [Fol. 97B.]
157. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. aš-Šabāh, a nephew of al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. aš-Šabāh az-Za'farānī, was a native of Baghdād and came to Iṣfahān in 276 A.H. [Fol. 98A.]
158. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ath-Thalġ (?) Abū 'Umar al-Burġumī, known as ad-Dā'igh, a native of al-Baṣra, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 98A.]
159. 'Uthmān b. Yahyā b. 'Amr b. Bayān b. Farrūh al-Ādamī. [Fol. 98B.]
160. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān Abū 'Amr al-Ḥarrānī, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 99A.]
161. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Šu'aib Abū 'Amr al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 99A.]
162. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Šu'aib b. 'Adī b. Humām Abū Bakr as-Samsār, brother of Muḥammad b. 'Alī. [Fol. 99A.]
163. 'Uthmān b. Sa'id b. Baššār Abū-l-Qāsim al-Aḥwal al-Anmāṭī, a jurist of the Šāfi'ī school, died in Šawwāl, 288 A.H. [Fol. 99B.]
163. Subkī, *Tabaqāt*, ii, 52; Ibn Ḥallikān, i, 211.
164. 'Uthmān b. Sa'id, a nephew of 'Alī b. Dā'ūd al-Qanṭarī. [Fol. 100A.]
165. 'Uthmān b. Naṣr al-Baghdādī; he left Baghdād, and his traditions are recorded by foreigners only (according to one Isnād apparently in Persia). [Fol. 101A.]
166. 'Uthmān b. Naṣr Abū 'Abd-Allāh at-Tā'i, emigrated to Barda'a; perhaps he has been mentioned before (viz. under No. 165). A tradition of his heard in 295 A.H. in Mayānaġ is recorded. [Fol. 100B.]
167. 'Uthmān b. Sa'id Abū 'Amr at-Tammār, heard a tradition, which is recorded, in 256 A.H. [Fol. 101A.]

168. 'Uthmān b. Sahl b. Maḥlad al-Bazzāz, or, as it is said, al-Ādamī. (Only the beginning of biography, remainder is lost.) [Fol. 101B.]
169. 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥattāb b. 'Abd-Allāh Abū 'Umar al-Balawī al-Aṣaḡḡ al-Maghribī, known as Abu-d-Dunyā; he was a notorious liar, claiming to have heard traditions from 'Alī. He claimed to have been born in the beginning of the reign of Abū Bakr, and that he came with his father to al-Kūfa during the reign of 'Alī and witnessed the battle of Ṣiffin. Several other lies are recorded. He came from a town in the Maghrib called Mazmada,¹ and died in Baghdād 327 A.H. (This leaf and the following are much damaged.) [Fol. 104A.]
169. Dahabī, Mizān, ii, No. 1425; Tabaqāt, iii, 50.
170. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdūyah b. 'Amr Abū 'Amr al-Bazzāz al-Kabṣī, died on Wednesday, 1st of . . . 328 A.H. (The correct sequence of leaves is 104, 105, 102, 103.) [Fol. 105B.]
170. Sam'ānī, 474A, l. 3.
171. 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥasan b. . . . b. Zaid Abū 'Amr. [Fol. 102A.]
172. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb b. Ḥamdān Abū 'Abd-Allāh al-Baghdādī, resided at Tinnīs in Egypt. [Fol. 102A.]
173. 'Uthmān b. Ġa'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Haitham b. 'Abd-Allāh, known as ad-Dinawarī. [Fol. 102B.]
174. 'Uthmān b. Ġa'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdak Abū 'Amr ad-Dinawarī, was alive in 329 A.H. [Fol. 102B.]
175. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū 'Amr, resided at Baghdād. [Fol. 103A.]
176. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmād b. Abī Šamla ad-Dinawarī al-Warrāq, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 103A.]

¹ I believe in this name of a town the name of the Maṣmūda Berber tribe is hidden.

177. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad Abū 'Amr al-'Uthmānī. [Fol. 103A.]
178. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās b. Gibril Abū 'Amr al-Warrāq, known as aš-Šam'ī. (The end of the biography, containing the date of his death, is lost.) [Fol. 103B.]
179. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad b. as-Sammāk (only an odd leaf, part of which is cut away; the beginning and end of the biography are lost); he was alive in 344 A.H., in which year a tradition of his is recorded. [Fol. 106A.]
179. *Dahabī, Mizān, ii, No. 1411.*
180. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad Abū 'Amr al-Qārī al-Maḥramī, died in Dīnawar in 393 A.H. (Only the last five lines of the biography are preserved, giving the date of his death.) [Fol. 107A.]
181. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad b. ad-Dalīl al-Qaṭṭān. [Fol. 107A.]
182. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Qutaiba, the school teacher. [Fol. 107A.]
183. 'Uthmān b. 'Isā Abū 'Amr al-Bāqilānī, was a pious man, a kind of hermit. (The end of the biography giving the date of his death is lost.) [Fol. 107A.]

'ALĪ

184. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Amr al-Kūfī, came to Baghdād in [2]13 A.H. (Only the six last lines of the biography preserved, the leaf is much damaged.) [Fol. 108A.]
185. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Haitham b. Ḥalīd Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Bazzāz, a Mu'addal, died 3 . . A.H. [Fol. 108A.]
186. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl Abu-l-Qāsim al-Qaṭṭān. [Fol. 108B.]
187. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Laith, the Warrāq of Ibn Maḥlad. [Fol. 108B.]
188. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 108B.]
189. 'Alī b. Aḥmad Abu-l-Husain al-Ḥarrānī. (Only the first three lines of the biography, the date 348,

on fol. 109A, does not belong to this biography.)
[Fol. 108B.]

190. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī Abu-l-Ḥasan ar-Raffā', known as Ibn Abī Qais; he resided in the Darb al-Bāriziyyin of the Sūq al-'Ataş on the eastern side of Baghdād, died in Ġumādā ii, 352 A.H. [Fol. 109A.]
190. Mizān, ii, No. 1693.
191. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Īsā Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ansārī al-Ḥazraġī, settled in Egypt. He was born in Muḥarram, 280 A.H., and died in Egypt in Rabi' i, 355 A.H. [Fol. 109A.]
192. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Farrūḥ Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Warrāq al-Wā'iz, known as Ghulām al-Misrī. (End of biography lost.) [Fol. 109B.]
193. 'Alī b. Ismā'il, known as 'Alūyah al-Bazzāz, died on Monday, the 13th of Ṣafar, 271 A.H. Ibn Qānī' says 270, but this is less approved. (Beginning of biography is lost.) [Fol. 110A.]
194. 'Alī b. Ismā'il b. al-Ḥasan, known as the Ghulām of Aḥmad b. Hanbal. [Fol. 110A.]
195. 'Alī b. Ismā'il Abu-l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabari, came to Baghdād. (End of biography is lost.) [Fol. 110B.]
196. 'Alī b. Ismā'il Abu-l-Qāsim Aṣ-Ṣaffār al-Uṭrūš al-Baghdādī, resided at Qanṭarat al-Baradān, a suburb of Baghdād, where he died in Raġab, 307 A.H. (Beginning lost.) [Fol. 111A.]
197. 'Alī b. Ismā'il b. Ka'b ad-Daqqāq, died 314 A.H. [Fol. 111A.]
198. 'Alī b. Ismā'il b. Hammād Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Bazzāz. [Fol. 111B.]
199. 'Alī b. Ismā'il b. Abī Bišr Ishāq b. Sālim b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Mūsā b. Bilāl b. Abī Burda b. Abī Mūsā Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Aṣ'arī, the Mutakallim, author of books and works in refutation of the heretics and others, whether they be Mu'tazilis, Rāfiḍis, Ḥarīġis, etc. He was a native of al-Baṣra

and settled in Baghdād, where he used to sit every Friday in the mosque of ar-Ruṣāfa in the circle of the jurist Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī. Some people of al-Baṣra say that he was born in 260 A.H. and died after 330 A.H. According to others he died in Baghdād after 320 A.H., or in 330 A.H., and was buried in the Maṣra'at ar-Rawāyā in a piece of ground next on one side to a mosque (*masjid*) close to a bath, to the left of those who pass from the market (*sūq*) to the Tigris. [Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. Hazm al-Andalusī states that he died in 324 A.H., and that he had composed fifty-five works.¹] Abu-l-Ḥasan used to derive his income from a small estate which had been left by Bilāl b. Abī Burda to his descendants, the revenue of which was nineteen dirhams annually. [Fol. 112A.]

199. Subkī, ii, 245-301; Ibn Farḥūn, Dībāḡ, 195.

200. 'Alī b. Ismā'il Abu-l-Ḥasan an-Naubahṭī. Two verses which he transmitted on the authority of Tha'lab are quoted. [Fol. 113A.]

201. 'Alī b. Ismā'il b. 'Ubaid-Allāh b. Ismā'il Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Anbārī, settled in Baghdād, where traditions were heard from him in 375 A.H. [Fol. 113B.]

202. 'Alī b. Ishāq as-Sulamī Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Marwazī ad-Darakānī, a companion of 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Mubārak, came to Baghdād and died in 213 A.H. [Fol. 113B.]

202. Sam'ānī, 217a, l. 13; Taqrīb, 269; Tabḍīb, vii, 282.

203. 'Alī b. Ishāq b. 'Īsā b. Zātiyā Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Maḥramī, became blind towards the end of his life. (End of biography is lost.) [Fol. 114B.]

203. Sam'ānī, 266a (where it is stated that he died in Ġumādā i, 306 A.H.); Mizān, ii, No. 1708.

¹ This appears to be a later gloss which has been entered by the scribe in the text, otherwise it is remarkable that the Ḥatīb should quote a contemporary Spaniard for the date of death of a man who had died in Baghdād. Ibn Hazm died 456 A.H., seven years before the Ḥatīb.

204. 'Ali b. Isrā'il. [Fol. 115A.]
205. 'Ali b. Abi Umayya b. 'Amr, a Maulā of the Banū Umayya b. 'Abd-Šams, a brother of Muḥammad b. Abi Umayya. Both were poets. [Fol. 115A.]
206. 'Ali b. Umayya b. Abi Umayya the Kātib, brother of Muḥammad b. Umayya and nephew of Muḥammad and 'Ali, the sons of Abū Umayya, also a poet. [Fol. 115B.]
206. Agh. xx, 63 ff.
207. 'Ali b. Ayyūb b. al-Ḥusain b. Ayyūb b. Ustād Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Qummī, known as Ibn aš-Šarībān (?), settled in Baghdād. He had heard from al-Mutanabbī his diwān except the Širāziyyāt (i.e. the poems in praise of 'Aḍud ad-Daula). He belonged to the Rāfiḍī sect, and was born in Širāz in 347 A.H. He died at Baghdād in 430 A.H. [Fol. 116A.]
207. Mizān, ii, No. 1711.
208. 'Ali b. Baḥr b. Barri Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Qattān, a native of Fārs; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is named among his pupils. [Fol. 116B.]
208. Taqrīb, 269, states that he died 234 A.H.; Dahabī, Tabaqāt, ii, 55; Tahḍīb, vii, 284.
209. 'Ali b. Bahrām b. Yazīd Abū Ġuḥaifa al-Muzanī al-ʿAṭṭār, a native of North Africa, came to the 'Irāq, where he settled and died. [Fol. 117A.]
210. 'Ali b. Baṭḥā' at-Tamīmī. [Fol. 117B.]
211. 'Ali b. Bakr Abu-l-Ḥasan, a native of Baghdād, went to Egypt, where he died in Dū-l-Ḥiġġa, 285 A.H. [Fol. 117B.]
212. 'Ali b. Barri b. Zangūyah b. Māhān Abu-l-Ḥasan ad-Dinawari, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 117B.]
213. 'Ali b. Bunān b. as-Sindī al-ʿĀqūlī (in a tradition ad-Dair-ʿĀqūlī). [Fol. 118A.]
214. 'Ali b. Buḥār Abu-l-Ḥasan ar-Rāzī; ad-Dāraquṭnī studied under him in Dār al-Quṭn. [Fol. 118B.]
215. 'Ali b. Bašrān b. Muḥammad b. Saif al-Qazzāz [Fol. 119A.]

216. 'Alī b. Badr Abu-l-Ḥasan, resided in the eastern side of Baghdād. [Fol. 119A.]
217. 'Alī b. Turkān Abu-l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūfī; he emigrated with his brother Sa'īd to ar-Ramla. [Fol. 119B.]
218. 'Alī b. Thābit Abū Ahmad or Abū-l-Ḥasan, a Maulā of al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Hāsimī; he was a Ġazārī who settled in Baghdād. Others say he came from Ḥorāsān; another account states he came from al-Ġazīra, i.e. Mesopotamia. [Fol. 119B.]
218. Taqrīb, 269.
219. 'Alī b. Thābit b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'il Abū-l-Ḥasan an-Nu'mānī, used to reside in Baghdād as client of the Qādī al-Muḥāmili. [Fol. 121B.]
220. 'Alī b. Thābit b. Aḥmad b. Maḥdī Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Ḥaṭīb ("my father, may God be satisfied with him!" says the author), was for about twenty years Imām and Ḥaṭīb in the pulpit at Darzīngān. He used to say that he descended from pure Arabs, and that his tribe were horsemen settled at al-Ḥuṣāsa in the neighbourhood of the River Euphrates. He died on Sunday, the middle of Šawwāl, 412 A.H., and was buried the same day in the cemetery of the Bāb Harb. [Fol. 122A.]

220. As this biography is short I give the text here:—

عليّ بن ثابت بن أحمد بن مهدي أبو الحسن الخطيب والذي
رضي الله عنه كان أحد حقاظ القرآن قرأ على أبي حفص الكنانيّ
وتولى الإمامة و الخطابة على منبر بدر زنجان محوا من عشرين
سنة وكان يذكر أن أصله من العرب وإن له عشيرة يركبون الخيول
مستكنهم بالخصاصة من نواحي الفرات وتوفي يوم الأحد للثلاث
من شوال سنة اثنى عشرة وأربع مائة ودفن من يومه في مقبرة
باب حرب *

221. 'Alī b. Ġabala b. Muslim b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abu-l-Ḥasan, the poet known by the name of al-'Akawwak; praised al-Ma'mūn, Ḥumaid b. 'Abd

al-Hamid at-Tūsī, Abū Dulaf al-Iḡlī, and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. (Only the beginning of biography preserved.) [Fol. 122B.]

221. Ibn Ḥallikān, i, 348; poems of his are quoted frequently in works dealing with poetry.

222. 'Alī b. Ḥafṣ al-Madā'ini. (Only one tradition after Šu'ba, the beginning is lost.) [Fol. 123A.]

223. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Bukair b. Wāsil Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ḥadrami, a cousin of Muḥammad b. Bukair. [Fol. 123A.]

224. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Bišr b. Hārūn at-Tirmidī, read traditions in Baghdād. [Fol. 123A.]

225. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubaid b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Iyās Abu-l-Ḥasan aš-Šaibānī, known as Ibn al-A'rābī, was chiefly versed in Adab and historical accounts. [Fol. 123B.]

226. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Musāfir Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ḥayyāt, died on Wednesday, the 11th of Ramaḍān, 276 A.H. [Fol. 124A.]

227. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa b. Yazīd al-'Abdī, died at Sāmira in 277 A.H. [Fol. 124A.]

228. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdūya Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ḥazzāz, used to live in the Šārī' Ibn Ḥudaib in Baghdād, where he died on the 13th of Dū-l-Ḥiġga, 277 A.H. [Fol. 124B.]

229. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Bayān Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Muqri', known as al-Bāqilānī, died in 284 A.H. [Fol. 125B.]

230. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Qutaiba b. Ġabala Abū Muḥammad al-Qaṭṭān. [Fol. 126A.]

231. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Yāsīn b. Ġubair. [Fol. 126B.]

232. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Abi-l-'Anbar Abu-l-Qāsim, a cousin of Šurāih b. Yūnus, a native of Marwarūd. [Fol. 127A.]

233. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Šālih aš-Šā'igh. [Fol. 127A.]

234. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan at-Tūsī, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 127B.]

235. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaimān b. Šurāih b. Ishāq

- Abu-l-Hasan al-Qāfilānī al-Qatīrī, died in Muḥarram, 306 A.H. [Fol. 127B.]
236. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. Hārūn al-Hanbalī al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 128A.]
237. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. Sahl al-Baḡalī. [Fol. 128B.]
238. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ġa'd b. 'Ubaid Abu-l-Ġa'd al-Ġauharī, brother of Sulaimān and 'Umar,¹ settled in Egypt, where he was at the head of the office of public accounts. [Fol. 128B.]
239. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. al-Ġunaid Abū 'Abd-Allāh al-Bazzāz an-Niṣapūrī, settled in Baghdād. [Fol. 129A.]
240. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān al-'Ukbarī. A tradition of the Prophet about "my brother" Jesus. When the Jews wanted to kill him, Gabriel came with the Muḥammadan creed written on his wings to teach him a prayer enabling him to escape. [Fol. 129B.]
241. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. al-'Alā' Abu-l-Qāsim as-Samsār, brother of Muḥammad b. al-Hasan. [Fol. 130A.]
242. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Mughīra Abū Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq, died in Du-l-Qa'da, 317. (Fol. 131 is in the wrong place; it belongs probably to the gap before fol. 123. The narrative goes without interruption from fol. 130B to fol. 132A.) [Fol. 130B.]
243. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. Šaḡīq (beginning and end missing; he died in 215 A.H., Maqdisī, Maḡma', fols. 353-4). [Fol. 131A.]
243. Maqdisī, Maḡma', 353; Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, i, 339; Taqrīb, 270.
244. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. al-Hārith b. Baḥr b. Sulaimān b. Ghailān Abu-l-Qāsim, known as al-Marūdī. [Fol. 132A.]
245. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. Hārūn b. Rustam Abū-l-Hasan as-Saqaṭī, was alive in 322 A.H. [Fol. 132B.]
246. 'Alī b. al-Hasan al-Maḥramī (only the first three lines

¹ See No. 54.

of the biography; here is a gap of two leaves; fol. 133 begins with two lines of a traditionist who stayed in Baghdād for some time, but returned to his native country at the end of 332 or early in 333 A.H.). [Fol. 132B.]

247. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Dulail b. Ismā'il b. Maimūn Abū-l-Ḥasan ad-Dallāl, was born in Raḡab, 268 A.H., and died in Ġumādā i, 353 A.H. [Fol. 133A.]
248. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Ubaid-Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ḥāsimī. [Fol. 133A.]
249. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Allāh Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Balḥī, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 133B.]
250. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ġaṣṣās, was born in 290, and died on Thursday, the 1st of Rabi' ii, 367. He had confused ideas, and claimed the authorship of several books like the book of az-Zağğāğ (probably the Ma'ānī-l-Qur'ān are meant) and the Ma'ānī-l-Qur'ān of Qutrūb. His creed was not above suspicion.¹ [Fol. 134A.]
251. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Zakariyā Abu-l-Qāsim al-Warrāq, the poet, was a pupil of the historian aṭ-Ṭabarī. [Fol. 134A.]
252. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ġa'far Abū-l-Ḥusain al-Bazzāz, known as Ibn Kurainib and as Ibn al-'Aṭṭār al-Maḥramī, was born in 298 A.H., wrote his first traditions down in 307 A.H., and then travelled to Syria, where he copied traditions in 330 A.H. and later. Then he visited the Qāḍī Abu-l-Ḥusain 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Uṣnānī,² who was delivering traditions on the authority of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Alawī, known as Ibn Mu'ayya, after Fāṭima, the daughter of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān

¹ وكان في مذهبه شيء

² See No. 77.

b. Šarik an-Nuḥa'i. 'Alī said that he had heard these traditions directly from Fāṭima and her sister Umm al-Ḥasan. Ibn al-Ušnānī inquired where he had heard them, to which Ibn Kurainib replied: "In al-Kūfa in the year 314 A.H., where I was introduced to them both by Abū-l-'Abbās Ibn 'Aqda. She handed to us a parcel of writings by the hand of her grandfather 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Šarik, with traditions on the authority of his father, and I paid her ten dirhams." Ibn al-Ušnānī was amazed, and exclaimed that Abū-l-'Abbās Ibn 'Aqda had charged him one thousand dinārs for traditions which he had heard from Ibn Mu'ayya on her authority, while he, 'Alī, had received them directly from Fāṭima for practically nothing. 'Alī replied that that was his good fortune. He was, however, in bad repute that he used to acquire old volumes, cutting away the first leaf containing the true Isnāds and substituting fresh headings in which he claimed to have heard the traditions himself. He died on Tuesday, the 24th of Šafar, or, according to another account, in Rabī' i of the year 376 A.H. [Fol. 134B.]

252. Mizān, ii, No. 1729.

253. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muṭarrif b. Baḥr b. Tamīm b. Yahya Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī al-Ġarrāḥī, died on Tuesday, the 4th of Ġumādā ii, 376 A.H.; he is stated to have been born in 298 A.H. [Fol. 136B.]

254. 'Alī b. al-Qāḍī Abī Tammām az-Zabībī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b. Sulaimān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Abū-l-Qāsim al-Ḥāsimī, was Naqīb of the 'Abbāsides. He was born in 327 A.H., and died in Du-l-Qa'da, 384 A.H. At-Tanūḥī said: He and my

father were born and died in the same year.
[Fol. 137A.]

255. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan Abu-l-Ḥasan, known as Ibn ar-Rāzī, used to claim that he had heard the chronicle of Ibn Abī Ḥaithama from the author himself, which was disbelieved, but he had the chronicle of Ibn Hirāš. He died on Tuesday, the 25th of Rabī' ii, 391 A.H. [Fol. 138A.]
256. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Ali Abū-l-Ḥasan aš-Šaibānī. [Fol. 139B.]
257. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Hafṣ b. Muslim b. Yazīd b. 'Ali Abū Naṣr al-Haraṣī an-Niṣāpūrī, brother of the Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Ḥirī, came to Baghdād in 396 A.H. [Fol. 139B.]
258. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Ali b. Aḥmad Abu-l-Ḥasan ad-Dallāl, known as Ibn-Naḥḥālī (?). The Ḥaṭīb heard a tradition from him in 410 A.H. [Fol. 139B.]
259. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar Abu-l-Farağ an-Nahruwānī, the Ḥaṭīb of the chief mosque in Nahruwān. The Ḥaṭīb met him on his journey to Niṣāpūr in 415 A.H.; he died in 425 A.H. [Fol. 140A.]
260. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntāb Abu-l-Qāsim, known as Ibn Abī 'Uthmān ad-Daqqāq. He was born in Dū-l-Ḥiğga, 355 A.H., and died on Saturday, the 27th of Rabī' i, 440 A.H. [Fol. 140A.]
261. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Ali Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Muqri' as-Saqlatūnī, died on Sunday, the 9th of Rabī' ii, 449 A.H. [Fol. 140B.]
262. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan Abu-l-Qāsim, known as Ibn al-Maslama, was a Mu'addal, later he became secretary of the Caliph al-Qā'im, who made him Wazīr, and gave him the titles Ra'īs ar-Ru'asā' Šaraf-al-Wuzarā' Ġamāl al-Warā. He was born 397 A.H., and was

killed on Monday, the 28th of *Du-l-Ḥiğga*, 450 A.H., by *Abū-l-Ḥārith al-Basāsiri*; later *al-Basāsiri* was killed and his head carried about in *Baghdād* on the 15th of *Du-l-Ḥiğga*, 451, and his body was nailed to the cross in front of the *Dār an-Nūbi* of the *Dār al-Hilāfa*. [Fol. 141A.]

263. 'Ali b. al-Ḥusain b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥazīn b. Za'lān Abu-l-Ḥasan, known as Ibn Iškāb, an elder brother of Muḥammad Ibn Iškāb. He died on Wednesday, the 25th of *Šawwāl*, 261 A.H. There were about ten months between his death and that of his brother, who died before him. They used to reside in the eastern part of *Baghdād*, near the *Bāb-Ḥorāsān*. [Fol. 142A.]

263. *Ṭāğ al-'Arūs*, i, B, 41, شُكْب.

264. 'Ali b. al-Ḥusain b. Šahrayār Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī. He is mentioned by Ibn Mindah in the *Kitāb al-Asmā' wal-Kunā*. [Fol. 144A.]

265. 'Ali b. al-Ḥusain b. Yazīd aṣ-Šudā'i, a native of al-Kūfa, died in 286 A.H. [Fol. 144A.]

265. *Sam'ānī*, 350A.

266. 'Ali b. al-Ḥusain Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Bazzāz, a native of *Sāmarrā*. [Fol. 144B.]

267. 'Ali b. al-Ḥusain aṣ-Šūfī al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 145A.]

268. 'Ali b. al-Ḥusain b. Hayyān b. 'Ammār b. Wāqid Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Marwazī, died on the 4th of *Ġumādā ii*, 305 A.H. [Fol. 145A.]

269. 'Ali b. al-Ḥusain Abu-l-Ḥasan aṣ-Saqatī. [Fol. 145B.]

270. 'Ali b. al-Ḥusain b. Ḥarb b. 'Isā Abū 'Ubaid, known as Ibn-Ḥarbūyah, the *Qādi* of Egypt; his kunya was Abū 'Ubaid; he came to Egypt to assume the office of *Qādi*, and stayed there for a long time. He was relieved of this post in 311 A.H. He had sent a messenger to *Baghdād* submitting his resignation, locked up the door of his house, and refused to act as judge any longer. After his

retirement he used to deliver traditions in public gatherings. Later he returned to Baghdād, where he died the night of Thursday, the 17th of Šāfar, 319 A.H. He was buried the following morning in his own house, and Abū Sa'īd al-Iṣṭahri said the prayers over his body. [Fol. 146A.]

270. Subkī, ii, 301-7; Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, iii, 24; Taqrīb, 270.

271. 'Alī b. al-Husain b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Abū-l-Ḥasan az-Zayyāt, was alive in 320 A.H. [Fol. 148B.]

272. 'Alī b. al-Husain b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Haitham b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Marwān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī-l-Āṣ Abū-l-Farağ al-Umawī, the Kātib, known as al-Iṣbahānī. A number of his works are enumerated, which I need not repeat here as I think it best to give the Arabic text of the biography, since it is one of the earliest accounts of the author of the Kitāb al-Aghānī which have come down to us. It is interesting that an-Naubahṭi calls him one of the greatest liars, because he used to buy large quantities of books and then quote from them. This is, from our point of view, decidedly a gain, as the eye is always a far surer guide than the ear, especially if the writer worked from good copies; moreover, it was only possible in this manner for Abū-l-Farağ to give us those many precious narrations stored up in the Kitāb al-Aghānī. According to the most accredited account he died on Wednesday, the 14th of Du-l-Ḥiğga, 356 A.H., while his birth is placed in 284 A.H. [Fol. 148B.]

272. Tha'ālibī, Yatima, ii, 278; Ibn Ḥallikān, i, 334. An extract of this biography taken from the Tārīḥ-Baghdād is found on the last page of the lithographed edition of the Maqatīl at-Talibiyyin printed in Teheran 1304 A.H., from which it appears that this volume of the Tārīḥ may exist also in Persia.

عَلِيُّ بْنُ الْحُسَيْنِ

ابن محمد بن أحمد بن الهيثم بن عبد الرحمن بن مروان بن عبد
الله بن مروان بن محمد بن مروان بن الحكم بن أبي العاص أبو الفرج
الأموي الكاتب المعروف بالإصمباني * حدثني التتوخي حدثنا أبو
اسحاق إبراهيم بن أحمد بن محمد الطبري بنسبه هذا * حدث
عن محمد بن عبد الله الحضرمي مطين و محمد بن جعفر القمات
و الحسين بن عمر بن أبي الأحوص الثقفي و علي بن العباس
المقانع و علي بن اسحاق بن زاطيا و أبي حبيب الربيع و محمد بن
العباس الترمذي و من بعدهم * وكان عالماً بأيام الناس و الأنساب
و السيرة و كان شاعراً محسناً و الغالب عليه رواية الأخبار و الآداب
و صنّف كتباً كثيرة منها الأغاني الكبير و مقاتل الطالبين و أخبار
الإمام الشواعر و كتاب الحانات و كتاب الديارات و آداب الغرباء
و غير ذلك فهذه تصانيفه التي وقعت إلينا * و حصل له ببلاد
الأندلس مصنفات لم تقع إلينا منها كتاب نسب بني عبد شمس
و كتاب أيام العرب ذكر فيه ألفاً و سبع مائة يوم و كتاب التغديل
و الانتصاف في مآثر العرب و مثالبها و كتاب جمهرة النسب و كتاب
نسب بني شيمان و كتاب نسب المهبالية و نسب بني تغلب
و نسب بني كلاب و كتاب الفيان و كتاب الغلمان المعنيين و كتاب
مجرد الأغاني * روى عنه الدارقطني و أبو اسحاق الطبري و ابراهيم
بن مخلد و محمد بن أبي الفوارس و حدثنا عنه علي بن أحمد
الرزاز و أبو علي بن دوما ولم يكن سماع ابن دوما منه صحيحاً *
حدثنا الحسن بن الحسين النعالي قال قال أبو الفرج الإصمباني
بلغ أبا الحسن جملة أن مذكرت بن محمد الشيباني الشاعر ذكره
بسوء في مجلس كنت حاضرته فكتب إليّ

* أَبَا فَرَجٍ أَهْجَى لَدَيْكَ وَ يُعْتَدَى * عَلَى فَلَا مَحْمَى لِدَاكَ وَ تَعَصَّبَ *
 * لَعَمْرُكَ مَا أَنْصَفْتَنِي فِي مَوَدَّتِي * فَكُنْ مُعْتَبَا إِنْ الْأَكَاكِمَ تُعْتَبُ *
 فكَتَبْتُ إِلَيْهِ

* حَجَبْتُ لِمَا بُلِّغْتَ عَنِّي بَاطِلًا * فَظَنَنْتُ لَنِي فِيهِ عَمْرُكَ¹ أَعْجَبَ *
 * تُكَلِّتُ إِذَا نَفْسِي وَ عِزِّي وَ أَسْرَتِي * بِفَقْدِي وَلَا أَدْرِكُتُ مَا كُنْتُ أَكَلْبُ *
 * فَكَيْفَ بَعْدَ لَا حَظَّ لِي فِي لِقَائِهِ * وَسَيِّئَانِ عِنْدِي وَصْلُهُ وَ التَّجَدُّبُ *
 * فَثِقَ بِأَنْحَ أَصْفَاكَ مَخْضَ مَوَدَّتِي * يَشَاكِلُ وَثَقَا مَا بَدَا وَ الْمُغَيَّبُ *

حدثنا التتوخي عن أبيه قال ومن الرواة المنسعين الذين شاهدناهم أبو الفرج علي بن الحسين الإصبهاني فإنه كان يحفظ من الشعر والأغاني والأخبار والآثار والحديث المسند والنسب ما لم أر قط من يحفظه مثله وكان شديد الاختصاص بهذه الأشياء ويحفظون ما يحفظ منها من علوم آخر منها اللغة والحو والمخارف والسير والمغازي ومن آله المنادمة شيئاً كثيراً مثل علم الجوارح والبيطرة ونسب من الطب والتجوم والأشربة وغير ذلك * حدثني أبو عبد الله الحسين بن محمد بن القاسم بن طباطبا العلوي قال سمعت أبا محمد الحسن بن الحسين النوبختي يقول كان أبو الفرج الإصبهاني أكذب الناس كان يدخل سوق الوراقين وهي عامرة والدكاكين مملوءة بالكتب فيشتري شيئاً كثيراً من الصحف ويحملها إلى بيته ثم يكون رواياته كلها منها * قال العلوي وكان أبو الحسن البتي يقول لم يكن أحد أوثق من أبي الفرج الإصبهاني * سمعت أبا نعيم المحافض يقول توفي أبو الفرج علي بن الحسين الإصبهاني الكاتب ببغداد سنة سبع وخمسين وثلاثمائة * قال محمد بن أبي الفوارس توفي أبو الفرج الإصبهاني يوم الأربعاء لأربع عشرة خلون من ذي الحجة سنة ست وخمسين وثلاثمائة ومولده سنة أربع وثمانين ومائتين وكان قبل أن يموت خلط وكان أمويًا وكان يتشيع وهذا القول هو الصحيح في وفاته * * *

¹ The MS. has لعمركَ.

273. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Hāsim Abu-l-Hasan al-Warrāq al-Baghdādī, settled in Damascus. [Fol. 150B.]
274. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Ismā'il b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il Abu-l-Qāsim ad-Dabbī al-Maḥāmili. (Only the first three lines of biography preserved.) [Fol. 150B.]
275. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abu-l-Hasan, companion of Abu-l-Faḍl Ibn Dūdān al-Hāsimi al-'Abbāsī, died on the 1st of Du-l-Ḥiġga, 432 A.H. [Fol. 151A.]
276. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ġa'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib Abu-l-Qāsim al-'Alawī, had the laqab al-Murtaḍā. He was Naqīb of the Tālibis, a poet who made many poems, a Mutakallim, and composed works on Šī'ah tenets. He was born in 355 A.H., and died on Sunday, the 25th of Rabī' i, 436 A.H., and was buried the same evening in his house. [Fol. 151A.]
276. Mizān, ii, No. 1749; Ibn Ḥallikān, i, 336. It is remarkable that the Ḥatīb has only a very few lines for him, and does not mention one of his works by title.
277. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm Abu-l-Qāsim at-Tāġir, a native of al-Baṣra. He went frequently to al-Baṣra, al-Kūfa, Mecca, and the Yaman. He stayed in Mecca for a long time, and the Ḥatīb heard traditions from him there. He was born in 379 A.H., and died at Baghdād in Muḥarram, 449 A.H. [Fol. 151B.]
278. 'Alī b. Ḥamza Abu-l-Hasan al-Asadī, known as al-Kisā'i, the grammarian, and one of the great Qur'ān-readers. He came from al-Kūfa and settled in Baghdād, where he was tutor of the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rašīd and of his son al-Amin after him. He used to deliver the Qur'ān for a considerable time after the reading of Ḥamza az-Zayyāt, under

whom he had studied; then he chose a reading of his own and lectured to students in accordance with his interpretation at Baghdād, ar-Raqqa, and other places. He composed works on the Ma'ānī-l-Qur'ān and al-Āthār-fil-Qirā'āt. According to aṣ-Ṣūlī his name was 'Alī b. Hamza b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Bahman b. Fairūz, and he was a Maulā of the Banū Asad. According to al-Farrā' he began to learn grammar when old, because he was on one occasion reminded of having made a grammatical mistake. This reproof stung; he went to Mu'ād al-Harrā' and studied under him. Subsequently he went to al-Baṣra to study under al-Ḥalīl. An Arab told him he had made a mistake in doing so, as correct speech could be found among people of Asad and Tamīm at al-Kūfa. He inquired from al-Ḥalīl where he had acquired his learning, and was told that he had gained it from the Bedouins of the Ḥiǧāz, Naǧd, and the Tihāma. This induced him to travel in Arabia, and before he returned he had used up fifteen flasks of ink, besides what he had stored up in his memory. His first act after his return was to go to al-Baṣra to see al-Ḥalīl. When he arrived al-Ḥalīl had died and Yūnus was occupying his place; Yūnus was amazed at the learning of al-Kisā'i. Asked why he was named Kisā'i, he replied because he was clad in a *kisā'* when performing the pilgrimage; according to another account the Qur'ān-reader Hamza gave him this name because he wore a *kisā'* when he first attended his lectures. Here follow some of the readings of al-Kisā'i, e.g. ¹ أَفَأَكَلَهُ الدُّنْبُ where he read ذُنْب without hamza, supporting his reading with the most flimsy arguments, one

¹ Sūra 12, v. 17.

of them being that everyone would read حَوْتُ without hamza also; another argument is that the verb اسْتَدَاب is also pronounced without hamza, and thus mixing up the roots ذَاب and ذوب; as a third argument he quotes a verse which is an evident forgery, where the plural آذِب occurs—

أَيُّهَا الذِّيبُ وَأَبْنَةُ وَأَبُوهُ * أَأَنْتَ عِمْدِي مِنْ آذِبٍ خَارِيَاتٍ

In another anecdote al-Kisā'i corrects the teacher of ar-Raṣīd in the presence of al-Mahdī, giving مَكِّ as the correct imperative for "use the tooth-pick". Next follows a discussion on saying طَالِق three times. A third tale, which appears apocryphal, given on the authority of Abū Ḥatīm as-Siġistānī, states how a governor of al-Kūfa came to al-Baṣra and found that the learned men there specialized in one single branch of learning. He stated that al-Kisā'i was equally well versed in all sciences. Al-Kisā'i makes, in spite of his learning, mistakes which a man of very slight attainments would not make. He explains that his tongue runs away with him. Al-Kisā'i relates that he had seen the prophet in a dream, who taught him certain readings. After the death of al-Kisā'i a man used to speak lightly of him. After a few days he too had a dream; he had seen al-Kisā'i in heavenly glory because the Lord had forgiven his sins on account of his readings of the Qur'ān. An Arab of the desert declares al-Kisā'i more learned than any Arab because he knows the difference between the kind of stars called دُرِّي and دِرِّي. Abū 'Umar ad-Dūri used to say that he had read the book Ma'ānī-l-Qur'ān of al-Kisā'i under Abū Mishāl, at-Ṭuwāl,

Salama, and others at Baghdād in the mosque as-Sawwāqīn, when Abū Mishāl said that anyone who had read it ten times would still be longing to read it again. One day al-Kisā'i complained that Yaḥyā b. Hālīd had found fault with him because he was slow in answering grammatical questions, yet, he remarked, if I answer straight away I am liable to make a slip. He was told that he should not fear anyone, but speak what he wanted, as there was nobody who could correct him. Al-Kisā'i, seizing his tongue, said, "May God cut thee off if thou wert to speak what I do not know!"

As might be expected of a vain fellow, he dressed after the manner of the nobles of his time.¹ His salary under Hārūn ar-Rašīd either was insufficient or it was not paid promptly; some verses addressed to the Caliph brought in a large present. Then follows a silly poem on the advantages of learning grammar and the disgrace of not being able to speak correctly. There is uncertainty about the date of his death, the most accepted account being that he accompanied ar-Rašīd on a journey to Ḥorāsān, and died on the road at a place called Ranabūyah, near ar-Rai, in the year 182 A.H., on the same day as the jurist Muḥammad b. al-Hasan. Other accounts give 183 and 189 A.H., and as places where his death took place ar-Rai and Tūs. Al-Yazīdī composed an elegy upon his death, of which four verses are cited. Abū Mishāl relates that he saw al-Kisā'i after his death in a dream, his face shining like a full moon. He asked him how God had dealt with him, upon which al-Kisā'i replied that He had

¹ فرآه بعض علماء الكوفيين و عليه جزيئات عظام فقال له
يا أبا الحسن ما هذا الزرق قال أدب من آداب السلاطان لا يثلم
ديننا ولا يدخل في بدعة ولا يخرج من سنة *

forgiven his sins on account of his Qur'ān readings; questioned about the reader Ḥamza az-Zayyāt, al-Kisā'i stated that the former was so high in heaven that he appeared to them only like a small glittering star. A parallel account joins Sufyān ath-Thaurī with Ḥamza in this exalted position. [Fols. 152A-163B.]

278. Zubaidī, *Ṭabaqāt* MS., Brit. Mus. Or. 3041, fol. 13b; Ibn Ḥallikān, i, 330; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 81; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, 236, and many other works.

279. 'Alī b. Ḥarmala at-Taimī, of Taim ar-Ribāb, a Kūfī who was Qaḍī-l-Quḍāt at Baghdād under ar-Rašīd in succession to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. He had studied law under Abū Ḥanifa and Abū Yūsuf. [Fol. 163B.]

280. 'Alī b. Ḥaṣṣ Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī. [Fol. 163B.]

281. 'Alī b. Ḥaṣṣ Abu-l-Ḥasan aš-Šanqī. [Fol. 164B.]

282. 'Alī b. Ḥadīd b. Ḥakīm al-Madā'inī. [Fol. 165A.]

283. 'Alī b. Ḥuḡr b. Iyās b. Muqātil b. Muḥadiš Abu-l-Ḥasan as-Sa'dī, resided originally in Baghdād, but removed to Marw, where he read traditions till he was named after his place of residence al-Marwazī. He was born in 154 A.H., and left Baghdād when 33 years of age. He used to say that at that time he cherished the wish that he might live another thirty-three years and then publish some of the learning he had acquired, but when he had been spared that time he still had the same desire to wait another thirty-three years. He died the evening of Wednesday, the middle of Ġumādā i, 244 A.H.

283. Maqdisī, *Maḡma'*, p. 354; Dahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 36; Taqrīb, 269.

284. 'Alī b. Ḥarb b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥayyān b. Māzin b. al-Ghaḍūba aṭ-Ṭā'i al-Mausili. His ancestor Māzin¹ came to the Prophet. 'Alī travelled

¹ Cf. *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, iv, 269.

in the Hīgāz, to Baghdād, al-Kūfa, and al-Basra. (The biography is not complete, and the MS. ends fol. 168B abruptly.) [Fol. 167B.]

The following leaves contain two portions of the Kitāb al-Iḡāz wal-Iḡāz of ath-Tha'ālibī, fols. 169-77, corresponding to pp. 69¹⁷-72⁸ of the edition of this work published in *Hams Rasā'il*, Const. 1301, while fols. 172-84 are found pp. 46⁴-55²¹. Paper and writing of this portion are later; the text is beautifully written with many vowels which are not always correct.

APPENDIX

THE APPEARANCE OF THE PROPHET IN DREAMS

Time after time we encounter in works of biography and history accounts where persons who are eager to give special weight to their own statements, disputed by others, claim to have seen the Prophet in a dream and to have received the authority for their statements from him. These appearances of the Prophet in a dream have played in the Muslim world a rôle similar to that of letters fallen from heaven in Christian countries.¹

The justification for receiving authority from the Prophet in a dream is based upon a series of traditions, which with slight variations run as follows:² "Who sees me in a dream has seen me (actually), for the Devil does not assume my form." The difficulty here is to ascertain for whom these traditions were intended, whether for all

¹ I remember as a boy that the trick with a letter from heaven was tried with the peasant population near my home, but it failed.

² من رآني في المنام فقد رآني فإن الشيطان لا يتمثل بي.
The traditions bearing on my subject are found in the following works: Sunan of Abū Dā'ūd, ed. Lucknow, 1312, ii, p. 303; Sunan of Ibn Mā'ja, ed. Lucknow, p. 287; and especially Šamā'il of at-Tirmidī (at the end of the Ḡāmi'), ed. Lucknow, 1310. I have not looked up the other collections of traditions, as these three authors are of undisputed authority and sufficient for my purpose.

coming generations or only for those persons who knew Muhammad personally and could distinguish his form from that of any other person. This point early caused a difference of opinion, and a marginal note in Ibn Māga, p. 287, states that the learned Qāḍī of Sabta (Ceuta) 'Iyād held the opinion¹ that it could only refer to persons who knew Muhammad, which is however refuted. We get probably nearer the original form of the tradition as it is quoted in the Sunan of Abū Dā'ūd, ii, 303⁶, on the authority of Abū Huraira, where we read: *مَنْ رَأَى فِي الْمَنَامِ فِيسِيرَانِي فِي الْيَقَظَةِ*, "Who sees me in a dream will see me when awake." This tradition is followed immediately by what appears to be an amendment on the authority of 'Ikrima, after Ibn 'Abbās, as follows: *مَنْ رَأَى فِي الْمَنَامِ فِيسِيرَانِي فِي الْيَقَظَةِ وَلَا يَتَمَثَّلُ الشَّيْطَانُ بِي*, "Who sees me in a dream has seen me when awake, for the Devil does not assume my likeness." The commentator explains the words *فِي الْيَقَظَةِ* as referring to the Resurrection. That this is not the bearing of the tradition is proved by several traditions found in the *Šamā'il* of at-Tirmidī. 'Āsim b. Kulaib, on the authority of his father, states that the latter had heard from Abū Huraira this tradition in its usual form: "Who sees me in a dream has seen me (actually), for the Devil does not assume my likeness." His father went to Ibn 'Abbās and told him that the Prophet had appeared to him in a dream, and mentioned al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī, as resembling the apparition. Ibn 'Abbās replied, "Yes, he used to look like him." We see here that to verify whether he had seen the Prophet in his vision or not he has to go to Ibn 'Abbās, who knew how the Prophet looked, and point out a man then living, and he was not certain until he was told that al-Ḥasan resembled the Prophet. Another tradition states that Yazīd al-Fārisi had seen the Prophet in a vision in the lifetime

¹ I have not found a passage relating to these traditions in his *Šifa'*.

of Ibn 'Abbās. He goes to him and tells him of his dream. Ibn 'Abbās replies: "The apostle of God used to say, 'The Devil is not able to assume my likeness, therefore whoever sees me in a dream has seen me.'" Then he asks him if he is able to describe the person who appeared in the vision. Replying in the affirmative he gives a description which is not very lucid. 'Auf b. Abī Ġamīla, who heard this tradition from Yazīd al-Fārisī, says: "I do not know what to make of this description," ولا أدري ما كان مع هذا
النعمة.

We see from these traditions that the original form as preserved by Abū Dā'ūd points to the lifetime of the Prophet, when it was possible to see him in person when awake after the dream, and that after his death it was considered imperative to make sure that the apparition actually resembled the Prophet. This could only be done by making inquiries from persons who had personally known Muḥammad. When these persons had passed away, the possibility whether the dreamer had seen the Prophet or the Devil could not be determined any longer, and as a person who has had a dream cannot bring a second witness, the weight attached to such claimed vision was misplaced. Nevertheless, these traditions have been abused by unscrupulous persons who were eager to carry their ideas through against all just opposition. I am inclined to believe that al-Kisā'i by appealing to the authority of his vision was only able to get his readings of the Qur'ān accepted, though well-informed contemporaries had their doubts and expressed them.

III

YASNA XXX AS THE DOCUMENT OF DUALISM

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS

I HAVE elsewhere (see SBE. xxxi) thus designated this chapter. Yet, as in the case of the "eschatology" and of the "moral idea", I by no means intend here to imply that either of those concepts or this "Dualism" had never been mooted elsewhere in any obscure form at any period previous to the composition of this Yasna XXX. The most of such ideas as these issue inevitably from the human consciousness in many places in the course of ages; here, however, they are definitively grasped and pointed in synoptic statement, whereas elsewhere they were, if at all, loosely surmised, and to be gathered only through inference. I call attention to this chief doctrine of the piece with especial care on account of its epoch-making importance as offering the initiative in the above sense to all analogous subsequent suggestion.

TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTS

1. (a) And now I will proclaim, O (ye who are) coming-and-wishing-¹ (to-be-taught), those animadversions² which (are the mental-instructions) for the one (desiring to be) thoroughly informed.³

¹ *Išēntō*, "coming-with-desire"; that the idea of "coming" is involved in *išēntō*, to the ind. *iš*, is the more probable from the parallel expressions in Yasna XLV, 1, "from near and from far." One writer long since corrected (?) to *Mazdā θvā* = "Thou, O Mazda". This precludes a voc. in *išēntō*; yet see the following second personals, with which the voc. is harmonious.

² Some render as if the faculty of "memory" were here especially involved; "memorable things." I cannot quite see this; the "animadversions" were, however, to be regarded as "memorable".

³ Recalling *v(a)ḥdišō* of Yasna XLVI, 19, I formerly preferred "to the-all-knowing one"; this I would now put in the alternative.

(b) both the praise-songs for *Ahura*, and the sacrificial-offerings¹ of *Vohu Manah*² (the Good Mind's follower),

(c) and the joyful counsels (held) with *Aša's*³ (just truthfulness), and what-two-(doctrines⁴ are those) whereby propitious results are (or "may be") seen through the lights (on high, and on holy altar).⁵

2. (a) Hear ye (then) with your ears; behold ye the flames⁶ with the best mind;—

¹ *Yasnyā* far more naturally renders "offerings", "sacrifices" than "prayers"; for the latter see rather the forms of *iš, yās*. *Yasnyā* is properly *yasniyā*, as *ē* is merely the result of a perhaps false epenthesis; *ē* is = *a + i*, the latter *i* being anticipated from the terminal *y*, of which it may be considered to be an element.

² That is, "offerings to the Archangel by the one inspired by him," as offered to him in the "spirit which he represents", i.e. offerings "deeply sincere and earnest, with good will". The interior sense is not lost in the proper name, or in the word as otherwise understood, though, wherever possible, *Vohu Manah* should be understood as the "correct citizen in whom V. M. dwells"; and so, analogously, of *Aša*, this word should often be taken to represent "the Holy Community" in whom *Aša* (*Arša*) was dominant. This treatment would be more realistic, and at Yasna L, 2, we are constrained to adhere to such an interpretation of *Vohu Manah*. This was the favourite point of procedure preferred by a great Vedist, who suggested so much for the *Gāthas*. Wherever a realistic result of treatment is possible we should resort to it, as being the more critical.

³ So, "joyful counsels which have truth as their basis and inspiration," *humāzdrā Aša* (*Arša*), i.e. "ind. *su + mand + tra*" (I write *Aša*, as the more correct *Arša* is not euphonic). An instr. should not be expected amidst nom. acc. neut. pl.'s, except where it is unavoidable, as in the case of *Aša* here. Otherwise, where intellectual action on the part of the subject of the sentence is involved, all terms expressing "thought", "speech", and "action" demand a semi-adverbial *Aša* or *Vohu Manaūhā* in the instr. being the form of any such word which may be so taken; here personality seems also indicated.

⁴ So my former alternative as now preferred to *yācā* when read as = *yācā* = "I beseech"; *y(a)ēcā*, as the lost acc. dual. neut., is better, referring to the "two main divisions" of the creation, of "good and evil", of which the statement immediately follows.

⁵ "Propitious indications from the heavenly bodies," or "from the altar flames". Some others, following very old suggestions, render "the rapture(?)"; but the more realistic and objective rendering is rather the more scientific; *urvar-* is *vrar-*, to ind. *vraja* as *urvan* is *ruvan*, etc.

⁶ Some others, "Hear the best things, the illustrious(?) with the mind." *Vahišā* has indeed the place of an acc. pl. neut., but it is rather characteristic in its application to *Aša* (*Arša*) elsewhere, and so the more

(b) at this decision as to faiths man and man, (each) for himself¹ (deciding),

(c) in presence of² the great endeavour-of-the-Cause (be) awake to this our teaching.³

3. (a) Thus are the two first⁴ spirits (primeval), who, natural here for "Vohū" *Manahhā*. Some render "with enlightened mind" behold, but "the flames upon the altar" or "the flaming heavenly bodies" is a far more realistic suggestion; and the "carried over" sense should be always only reluctantly followed anywhere. Cf. Ved. *śuśā*, *śuśi*. Recall RV. ii, 35 (226), 8, *yó apav ā śuśinā daiśyena rāva'jasra urviyā vi b'āti*, "shines with heavenly light," not "with pure Godhead" (!); RV. iv, 2 (298), 16, . . . *śuśid ayan* . . . *aruṇir āpa vran*; see also 17 . . . *śuśintō Agnim*. The "carried over" sense "illustrious" is a bad guess with *av(a)śnatā* close by; see also *darasatā* with *raośbīś*; "seeing" and "looking" demand "flame" here, and not "mental enlightenment"; "lights," "stars," and "flames" are homogeneous to "sight". Realism should dominate our detailed exegesis wherever possible.

¹ "For his own person."

² So with Ved. *pdrā*, but possibly = "before"; cf. Yasna XIX, 1, (3).

³ Or, *sazdyāi to sad* (!), "to our favouring," "that it may eventuate to our favour," cf. Haug, "in our favour," but the most immediate, and not the most remote idea, should be always selected. "To our teaching" to *sah* = *śah* is far more immediate; and would even call for a reconstruction of text in its favour; see also the hint of the Pahl. trl. [It is not favourable to a scientific procedure to place doubtful, if interesting, suggestions in our text when making a serious report to the learned world outside the extremely small number of even professed experts. All conceivable new suggestions should be made; and the present writer has often led the way there, but hazardous suggestions should not be put in the body of a text intended for the general learned public, without at least the most fully prepared alternatives. The faculty of sound judgment should be allowed its full play here, valuable and startling suggestions being placed in the notes. It was a very eminent Sanskritist who recommended me to offer "all the possibilities" — this early in the eighties.]

⁴ So, deciphering *p(a)o(u)rviyā*, *p(a)ourvyā*, as a loc. adverbial, not being here accepted, as a loc. would make here a somewhat awkward contrast as an adverbial form, in this strophe 3, with the acc. adverbial in the next strophe, 4; *ē* is a false decipherment of the last sign

(𐬥 = 𐬭 = 𐬮); read 𐬥 = 𐬭 + 𐬭 · *yā*, which 𐬥 = 𐬮 is Pahl.

Av. of the transitional period. [Otherwise, indeed, *-vyē*, if so deciphered, can be again only taken as a dual, this time as a neut. with *vaḥyō*, *akemā*, which would, however, afford a meaning almost too significant to be credible: "Thus are two spirits, two first (principles?), . . . these two, a better thing (or 'principle') and a worse . . ." I have here

as a pair,¹ (contrasting their opposing attributes, yet) independently² (acting, each in His person) have been famed (of old),

(b) (as regards) these two (principles), as to the better and the worse, in thought, in word, and in deed;—

(c) and between the two let the wisely-disposed choose³ aright; (choose ye) not as the evil-minded.⁴

taken *hi* as acc. dual. neut. used adverbially—this for “safety” only; for there is no denying the fact that, were it not for the exceedingly profound results of the interpretation involved, it would be quite impossible to avoid the force of the language as it stands. With the neuter the profoundest concepts are here adumbrated, so also in numberless similar cases; aside from a neuter, see Yasna XXIX, 4. We must, however, be carefully upon our guard in accepting ideas too modern. The deepest philosophic point is, however, everywhere anticipatively adumbrated; the diction is very close upon it, and must have called the attention of many a hearer, or reader, to it, so becoming the cause of later more definitive recognitions of the interior elements present in it.]

¹ “Two spirits, two twins” (*sic*; cf. the Vedic *yamā*, dual, of the Aśvins, etc. Others, with well-meant efforts at novelty, cf. Indian *yāma* = “night watch”; cf. my Persian translation of Pahlavi in *Gāthas*, pp. 40, 41, 437, 438. Some writers fully venture upon the rendering “two things”, “a better thing, or principle, or a worse, as to thought, word, and deed.” Here I hesitated, though greatly admiring the literal force and desiring to accept it; see just above. This would be philosophy unquestioned of the highest or “deepest” description, cf. the Greeks. For the various alternative suggestions see SBE. xxxi, at the place, and *The Five Zoroastrian Gāthas* as just cited.

² Some would read *ahafnā*, from long since antiquated authority = “sleepless”; others again “in dream”, or “in apparition”. *Sea* + *āpah*(-s) should, naturally, give the indication here, not *swap* = “to sleep”. Or even, as ever, in plain cases like this, the text should invariably be restored to its original and rational form to this effect, *sa + āpah*(-s). The theme is the “higher creation” here, and hardly either “sleeping” or “dreaming”. Recall RV. x, 38 (864), 5, *svayājam hi tvām ahim Indra śubhava* (notice the same verb *śru* in the two connexions; the analogies here are, of course, not here cited as being absolutely exact); see RV. i, 54, 3, *dṛcā divē bhṛatē śūryam vācāḥ svikṣatram ydaya d’rkatō d’rśān mānaḥ*; RV. iii, 21 (255), 2, *avid’arman devāitaye śrēṣṭhān no d’chi vāryam* (of Agni); cf. *svikarāṇa*.

³ All the preterital verbal forms should be read conjunctively, as in a conjunctively future sense, where this is at all feasible; in urgent crises thoughts dwelt rather on the present and the immediate future than upon the past; “let them choose” is better than “they did choose”.

⁴ “Evil-disposed” means more than “unintelligent”, though it includes “mental obscurity”, and the force of the “evil” element

4. (a, b) (Yea) when these two spirits came together to make¹ at first² life and life's³ absence, (determining) how at last the world shall be (constituted),

(c) the worst (life) of the faithless, but for the holy the best mental state,⁴

5. (a) He who (was) the evil of these two Spirits (chose the evil, thereby) working the worst of (possible) results;⁵

should not be modified in a translation; some writers seem inclined to accept a *dā* (?) = "to know".

¹ Or, emending, "they have made," as a 3rd dual perf. contracted to fit the metre, or possibly, again, 3rd sing. "(each) makes"; let the general reader notice that the important "meaning" is here but little affected by these differences in the choice of text or rendering.

² The adverbial acc. sing. neut., which, in the Indian, together with the instr. adverbial, outnumbers in its occurrences those of the locative by a heavy multiple. Notice that loc. adverbial is not used here, which renders its occurrence just previously in s. 3 the more doubtful; see also, again, the impossibility of *-im* as acc. sing. neut.; the *-i-* is a false decipherment; 𐬨 = long Pahl. 𐬰 = Av. *y* in the body of an Avesta word with the inherent *a* = *-yam*; cf. an ind. *pūryam**; so likewise with *haiθim*; *-im* is here ridiculously impossible as an acc. sing. neut. The supposed *-i-* is again a false decipherment for Pahl. *-y* with its inherent *a*, as always in Pahlavi.

³ It seems incredible that the worst "life" or "world" should be actually meant here directly as a punishment in a full modern subjective sense; yet so the language stands, and it would be a gross misuse in a commentator not to report the fact, for, if the language was not meant to have its full force uncurtailed, then most certainly the sentences *foreshadow* the deepest possible of religious-philosophical concepts. But as regards our attempt to discover the exact idea immediately present in the mind of the composer, it is perhaps better to hold the inner meaning to be that "the Evil Spirit fostered the worst life for the wicked", in view of its punishment; and so the Good Spirit "fostered the best mental state" with its rewards for the holy. Here predestination does not particularly occur to me. Also the "world at last" or "life at last" need not have exclusive reference to an ultimate future state in a higher, or lower, world, though this is undoubtedly our first impression; a beatified existence upon a restored earth was also held in view; see the related passages throughout the Avesta.

⁴ It is hard to understand how even distinguished writers could render the "best abode"; it might, however, well pass as a "free translation".

⁵ *Adīdō-verēzyō*, as nom. sing. masc.; others as acc. sing. neut. for *verēzyō*. I prefer to recognize the nom. at the end of a sentence, or before a cesura, wherever it may be possible; and I would also see a masc. everywhere when feasible as being more personal, and therefore the more realistic.

(b) but the most bounteous¹ Spirit (chose) *Aša*² (the sanctity of the Holy Law); yea, He so chose who clothes-upon-Himself the most firm stones (of Heaven, as His robe,

(c) and He chose likewise) those who content *Ahura*³ with true actions (really done) in accordance with the faith.⁴

6. (a) And between these two spirits the Demon-worshippers⁵ could make-for-themselves no correct choice,⁶ since deception, (as *Aēišta Manah*,⁷ the Worst Mind), came upon them, as they were questioning (the great decision);—(he came), the Worst Mind,⁷ that he might be chosen⁸;—(they made their fatal decision);

(b) and thereupon they rushed together to the *Demon-of-Fury* that they might pollute⁹ the life of mortals.¹⁰

¹ Notice that *Spēñitā Mainyā* seems to be here indubitably used of *Ahura*; the usage vacillates. Recall also Semitic analogies as regards the use of the term "Holy Spirit"; it is often difficult to decide whether the terms apply to an Attribute of the Supreme Deity, or to His highest creature. I only object to the rendering of *spēñitā* as "holiest" from fear of conceding too refined a sense; I should greatly desire it.

² "Personification" is here next to impossible; to say that "*Ahura* chose" His own Archangel" would be fatuous.

³ Notice this usage "*Ahura*" of the Deity who was Himself the "chooser"; the word "*Ahura*" used for "Him".

⁴ *Fra + var* seems characteristic of "acting in the spirit of the Faith". Some of the others render "gladly". The neut. acc. of the part. pres. is used adverbially, as in the Indian; recall *dravdt* and *drahydt* adverbially used with changed accent.

⁵ So, far more realistically, *d(a)ēva* unquestionably means "*d(a)ēva*-worshippers" here, as most often in the *Gāthas*; and this view is far more realistic than that which renders the "*D(a)ēva*-gods", who would not so naturally "rush together" toward one of their own number.

⁶ So, the preterite conjunctively understood; otherwise "they did not choose aright"; cf. strophe 2.

⁷ Notice this important instance of rhetorical personification; "the (personified) Worst Mind 'came' with *Aša*" (*Arša*), etc. To assert that all the meaning of two such words as *aēištem mano* was lost in a mere proper name would be here ridiculous; and if this is ridiculous here, what is an analogous procedure elsewhere?

⁸ Or "so that they might choose the worst intention"; but I prefer, where feasible, always the nom. at the end of a line, or at the end before a caesura.

⁹ That they might disease the "life" of man; so the Pahl., Pers., and Skt.; recall the name *Bēndva*, XLIX, 1.

¹⁰ "Of the mortal."

7. (a) Upon this¹ came then *Aramaiti* (the Zeal of God, and His Saints); and with her came *Xšaθra's* (Sovereign-Power), with *Vohu Manah's* (Good Mind), and with *Aša's* (faultless Law);—(she came as creation's act was finished);

(b) and strenuous-strength to-the-body she gave² (she, *Aramaiti*) the-eternal-ever-abiding;³—

(c) and for these⁴ Thy (strengthened saints) so let (that body ever) be, as (when) Thou camest⁵ first with (Thy) creations.

8. (a) (And when that strife shall have been concluded—begun by those erring *D(a)ēva*-worshippers), and when Vengeance⁶ for those wretches comes,

(b) thereon, O *Mazda*, the *Xšaθra's*⁷ (Sovereign Power) shall have been gained for Thee (benevolently), through (Thy) Good Mind (for Thy Saints, and in their souls, as beatified in Thy Reign).

¹ "At this juncture in the creation," or "to this one"; others, "to man." Notice how indifferent, as ever, the "difference" is in view of the higher moral theology involved.

² "She gave steadfastness to the body"; *āmadā* to an *an*=ind. in. "She, the unbending quality," to *a + nam* as a neut. in apposition, is also far from being so impossible as one might suppose. The Pahl. translator suggests an *a* priv.; see my Pahl., Pers., and Skt. texts at the place.

³ One writer seems boldly to render the form here as a neut. sing.

⁴ "Holy ones assembled for the contest."

⁵ Or "with iron bonds"; so a great Vedist first suggested; see *Gāḍas*, 431-49; and another seems to have understood "the metal" of the "molten lake" with *ādānāiš* as="Heimzahlungen". The "molten metal" of the "ordeal" (?) was, however, a definite concept which developed only later. If *tōi*=Thy, this second personality should dominate the sentence; "Thou camest" is better than "with iron". If the text *ayaiḥd* could not be regarded as adequate here, it should be emended in the needed sense. "Iron" seems only remotely indicated, while *ādānāiš* could well express "creations"; and "creation" is the subject in hand.

⁶ See strophe 6; the vengeful punishment of them.

⁷ In several places political expectations seem to be adumbrated; the Archangel *Xšaθra* is here all but positively excluded. The word can only mean "the Government"; I am the only writer who would even mention the personification here—this for the sake of consistent continuity.

(c) and for those declared,¹ O *Ahura*, who will deliver the *Druj*-(Lie-²Demon of the Foe) into-the-two-hands of *Aša*³ (Archangel of thine armed Folk).

9. (a) And may we be such as those who make this world (fully) progressive (till perfection shall have been reached),⁴

(b) (as) the *Ahuras* of *Mazda*,⁵ bringing⁶ benefits-with-meeting-help, and with the Holy Law;

¹ Reading *sastē*, middle for passive. Otherwise read the act. *sastī*; so I, in SBE. xxxi, "he (?) declares."

² Everywhere in the later Avesta and in the Inscriptions the root word *druj* in its various forms is expressive of "falsification", in the Indian seldom or never; "injury" is there the prevailing sense.

³ Of course, a State standing in the Holy Law is here intended; cf. the first arising of the "Church"; "into the Power of the holy congregation." I held (see above) that *Aša* (*Arša*) expresses the "Holy Congregation" frequently, as well as the Law, in the *Gāthā*, as *Vohu Manah* often means "the individual saint"—this even in the *Gāthā*; notice the quasi-military character of the figure, and recall Yasna XXXI, 18, "Hew ye them all with the *snaithis*"; war, civil or international, is indicated. *Aša* seldom or never represents the "Fire" here, as it may at times in the later Avesta, and in the later Zoroastrianism.

⁴ This is the document of *Fraṣakard*, the first recorded "call" of a millennial propaganda; for extended comment see *Gāthā* at the place. *Fraṣakard* derives from here *yōi im frašēm* (or *frašm* (?), *frašyam*) *kerenaven ahūm*.

⁵ As *Ahura* at Yasna XXIX, 2, and elsewhere refers to the human subject, the pl. may well be so applied to the leading princely priests here. Or, with others, changing the subject to the second personal, "O *Ahuras* of *Mazda*, do ye (?) bring (2nd pl. imp. ?) companionship and help with the Holy Law," -and as 2nd pl. imp. term for -*tanā*; but the *t* would seem to be especially organic in the Vedic 2nd pl. It is never so well to change the personal from the first to the second within a single strophe, where this change can be avoided, and at the dictate of such a doubtful recognition as that of -*tanā* in -*anā*; rather read *baramnā*, which would not affect the metre; surely after line a it is not going too far to refer *baramnā* to the 1st pers. pl.

⁶ The added -*čā* might tempt us to regard *aša-čā* as an acc. pl. neut.; for the added -*čā* would seem to belittle the expression as the proper name of an Archangel here, but an instrumental *aša* is very much in place where the personal subject of the sentence is represented as pointedly thinking, speaking, or acting; a voc. would be here especially clumsy. *Amoyastrā* might, however, better be rendered as in the acc. pl. neut.

(c) for there will the collected-minded-one be where Wisdom shall abide in the home.¹

10. (a) Then shall the blow (of destruction)² fall for the host³ of the *Druj*-Lie-Demon (of our foes),

(b) but swiftest⁴ in the abode of *Vohu Manah's* (Good Mind),

(c) of *Ahura*, and of *Aša's* (Holiness) shall gather⁵ those

¹ So, more "objectively" than "there will our thoughts be (centred)"; so the Pahl. Or "that the collected-minded-one may be there where the knowledge was (once) astray"; so Roth; see Gāfās, Comm., at the place; recall *havir-mat'indm* of the *yātu's* "disturbing the offering". *Čisti*, however, seems very nearly a rhetorical personification. She "comes", in XLVIII, 11; see Yasna LI, 16, 18, etc. *Čisti* seems almost to correspond to the "wisdom" of the Proverbs; see also Vedic *čitti*, as masc. and adj. of Agni; see also *Pouru-čistā* as the proper name. Of course, we can accept an Avestic use of *čisti* = *čitti* as being "astray", but only in case of necessity. Imagine our finding such a Gāēic expression as *Vohu Manah* being "astray", yet Gāēic *čisti* almost approaches in sanctity that concept; *Vohu Manah*, as the correct citizen, is only ceremonially "defiled" even in the "later Avesta". Where could the "wisdom" of Proverbs be said to be "astray"?—the sinner "strays" from wisdom, while the latter hardly "errs". I prefer the familiar idea of "abode". Cf. *garō nmanē*. A very interesting distinction intervenes here. *M(a)ēšā* seems to be undoubtedly adverbial in the sense of "in the abode"; at XXXIII, 9 see *baratū*; see also *aθrā-yathrā* as adverbs of place at XLVI, 16; see also XLIII, 2, where *Ahura* is spoken of as "dwelling", *kaēiti* (*šayati*); the "dwelling" of *Ahura* and His "*Čisti*" seems to be especially congruous. The sense may be "where wisdom is propitious".

² See Gāfās, Comm., p. 4. So the Pahl. *šipah*. Some others, "of good fortune," so less realistically, to *šcā* (!); recall *švānta*; cf. *speñta*.

³ Read *āsištā*; the apparent short vowel reading of *asištā* may, as it does in numberless other instances, have resulted from one of the confusions necessarily prevalent in the transitional period, when Pahl. characters still lingered in many Avesta words; short Pahl. *ā* = Avesta long *āu*.

⁴ Or "they hasten", to *yuz*.

⁵ Others seem to recall *asištā yacjanētē* (so reading) in the sense of "joining the *a* + *sištā*", the *unverschrt* (!); see Haug, to *šiš, šina'ati*. Then, again, some writers see *asištā, ā-sištā*, as the "promised (things)", "the rewards", to *šiš, šīyāt*. The hint of the Pahl., Pers., and Skt. (far more graphically) points to *āśu* = "swift"; consider also *yaozeñte*, "swiftest they hasten"; recall also the original meaning of *aš*, "to attain."

who (now) walk (upon earth) (or "are regenerated")¹ in good fame.

11. (a) When (therefore), O ye men, ye learn these doctrines which *Mazda* has established

(b) with-regard-to-(our)-well-being² (upon the one side) and (our) hindering-disasters (upon the other);³ and when also (ye learn that there will be) a protracted punishment (a long wounding) for the Faithless-evil,

(c) and blessings for the holy;—then upon these things (when these doctrines shall have been heeded and obeyed, upon this) there shall be (the salvation's-hail-with) *uštā*!⁴

I. CONCLUDING REMARKS UPON THE ALTERNATIVE TREATMENT, AND THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

The above translation of Yasna XXX is intended to be a study looking toward a possible second edition of the thirty-first volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*, which has been officially and pointedly mentioned.

As the *Sacred Books of the East* are addressed by close experts to the general learned public, being regarded as the reproductions of subject-matter of the highest

¹ *Zazēntē to hā, jī'hate** = "to go forth"; otherwise to *zan* = ind. *jan*, "are (re)generate."

² See strophe 10, and for all the alternatives see *Gāēas*, text, pp. 36-52; and Comm. pp. 431-49. Few, if any, serious opinions have ever been published which may not be found in that work, though Pischel's kind and distinguished remark, ZDMG., 1896, that "everything necessary to the understanding of the *Gāēas* is contained in the book", of course, refers to it as including its Lexicon, which still lacks some eighty pages of its completion; see also the identical remark by Dr. West, JRAS., 1896, Professor Wilhelm, Bombay Iranian Catalogue, 1901 (Geiger only in a private letter), while Professors Kuhn and Geldner edited my translation into Sanskrit of Yasna XXVII in Roth's *Festgruss*, itself cited pointedly by Oldenberg; see *Ved. Relig.*, p. 27.

³ See Yasna XXIX, 1.

⁴ Others simply "then will it be well". This was an interesting suggestion emanating from a high source, whose point was always to bring things down to the commonplace where possible; unquestionably a correct canon of procedure, where feasible. But *uštā*, loc. sing. adverbial of *-ti*, is a most emphatic expression and almost idiomatic; see Yasna XLIII, 1. (Or the *uštā* might also possibly be a nom. neut. pl. with singular verb. This would, however, be a rather tame suggestion.)

importance to the History of Religion, those volumes of them in which portions of the detail involve considerable uncertainty should be treated with alternative exposition, citing the various opinions of ancient and modern writers as well as suggestions from the translator himself.

II. (1) REASONS FOR SUCH A PROCEDURE IN SBE. XXXI

The most prominent reason for this *re* SBE. xxxi is the somewhat exaggerated variations in the views of a few translators. These well-meaning scholars not unnaturally pique themselves upon reproductions of such difficult matter which differ from those of all other writers, as also not infrequently from their own previous efforts, and this sometimes without sufficient intimation as to what those previous views were, or where they are to be found, while this ever-changing super-rotation of views continues on indefinitely. That this course has been pursued with the express purpose of keeping readers in ignorance of the detailed opinions upon the subject, seems hardly possible, yet from this neglect it not unnaturally results that eminent scholars, engaged upon closely kindred subjects, find it next to impossible to get any satisfactory synoptic view of the materials upon which to form general opinions without becoming close experts themselves, the acme of error being reached when these unintentional obscurantists themselves reproach great Vedists with this very want of information which they themselves have solely contributed to produce. In view of this, translators should at least record the more respectable of those suggestions which, through external or genuine influences, have managed to get a hearing, so that persons desirous of getting information upon the subject might find it possible to form an approximate, provisional, and independent judgment without a mass of study such as only a laborious specialist should be expected to undertake.

(2) AN IMMEDIATE OBJECTION MAY BE ANSWERED
AT ONCE

That even the most interesting of alternatives, if multiplied, would *harass the readers*, is not the fact, for to some of them these matters are of vital, if collateral, professional and literary importance, though they may not be specialists, while interest is rather increased by the reproduction of homogeneous detail.

III. MORE INTERIOR CONSIDERATIONS

1. But the best defence for alternatives in this particular case of the *Gāthas* and of Yasna XXX is—and it is of the last possible importance to make it indubitably clear—that what we most value in them, the *Gāthas*, is already plain and unmistakable *at once and prima facie*, so that we can the more patiently tolerate the ever-changing treatment of the secondary elements; whichever one of two, three, or even four pointings of the sense may be the correct one, this seldom, or never, affects the main principles, which are really immense in their character and force—so to speak of them.

[I said “secondary elements”, for I divide the question of exegesis here into three departments, the first two of crucial interest. First, the treatment of the central terms expressing the main ideas, whether personified or not, for all that is epoch-making in this pregnant subject resides in those terms; secondly, the treatment of these *Gāthic* places where these ideas are not so pointedly involved; thirdly, these ideas as they appear in the later Avesta, in some Pahlavi commentaries, and in the later familiar household use of them.] As said, the first object of a series like the SBE. is to discover the existence and trace the history of the “moral idea” in interior religions, and in the *Gāthas* we have this vital element focussed at once in a manner unprecedented; for certain terms recur continuously which can express only such an idea with the first exposition of

"subjective recompense" in history—and these words can have no meaning at all here apart from their actual literal sense as language, making the *Gāthas* far and away the first documents of their kind of equal antiquity.

2. All possible interior notions, with the moral idea, can, of course, like all other conceivable thoughts, be discovered in isolated expression everywhere in antiquity, as in our present later times, but here subjective religious morality is brought into focus and apex *as never before*, and established in a remotely early system, which also became later widely known in the religion of the Achaemenian Persian Empire, the then dominant Asiatic power, and it was never lost at any date of which we have a record. [Recall even Plutarch's astonishing report of these ideas from distant Greece in his reference to the "Gods of Persia"; see below, see also this Journal for July, 1910. The points of this clearness come out with especial force when we transcribe the *Gāthas* into their closely related Indian forms, reading them then, in their obvious sense, *prima facie*; see my publications in this form.¹ Here all the more closely defined interpretation as to the various shades of possible ultimate meaning may be, for the moment, suspended with no prejudice to the results.] There is also nothing interior which can be excluded even from any one of the several possible points in the "secondary" stage of our inquiry into the detailed ideas which may occur to us; for the tone of the *Gāthas* remains unaltered. The advantage here is great, if we adequately estimate these particulars. We can therefore the more patiently submit to differences in opinion here.

3. The interior - moral - religious concept so pervades

¹ Yasna XXVIII, translated into Sanskrit in Roth's *Festgruss*, p. 193, so Y. XLIV, similarly treated in the *Actes* of the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists, held in Paris, 1897, re-edited ZDMG., July, 1911, and later; see also my recently published lengthy Yasna I in its Sanskrit equivalents.

the whole Gāthīc system that the words which constitute the so-called names of the Amesaspends—to expand the remarks just made above—even when indubitably so used by speech-figure, as such (proper names) exclude all ideas save those which they represent as words, while in the greater part of these occurrences it is *extremely difficult* for us to decide whether the personification be merely that of rhetoric, or of literal statement, and in many places we are even entirely at a loss to discover whether any personification at all, either rhetorical or literal, is meant, or simply, and far more grandly, the “abstract thought”; [that is to say, we are often at a loss to determine whether *Aša* merely names the Archangel rhetorically or literally, or whether it directly means the Truth-Law. Where is *Vohu Manah*, the mere name, and where “the Good and Sane Benevolence”? When is *Xšaθra* the Archangel and when “the Sovereign Authority”? And when is *Aramaiti* the personal being and when the Energetic Zeal (the active piety)? In one remarkable place, indeed, Yasna XXXII, 2, we have the two things together: God evidently “speaks with His Truth, *Aša*” (as always with verbs of such speech, thought, and deed in the subject of the sentence), yet he, *Aša*, is at once and in the same sentence called “the Good Companion”, a most refined and subtle rhetorical personification]. And these primal crucial ideas in the words which express them, whether personified or not, rhetorically or otherwise, or used immediately in their clear sense, lie, as just said, already everywhere irresistibly evident before us, *prima facie*, in the folios of the Gāthas. We might even *strike out every line* which points outside their scope (N.B.),¹ and what we chiefly value in the Gāthas as the first documents closely applying the interior

¹ Remark repeated on account of its crucial importance to the spread of Gāthīc reading as preliminary to Gāthīc study.

moral thought at from 700 to 900 B.C.,¹ would still be left. Alternatives therefore in the lesser particulars need not disturb us.

4. Outside the scope of the chief epoch-making terms this does not by any means continue to be the case, yet this characteristic still dominates while it pervades the mass, and entirely outside the *Gāthas* we have widely divergent parallel development. To explain—and here I first mention that sphere which lies most remote from the first section (as I term it) of the *Gāthic* exegesis—*Aša vahišta*, only the Truth-Law in the *Gāthas* in either of two first divisions of the subject seems there, in the later Avesta and later Zoroastrianism, sometimes to be used for the *Fire*, doubtless because *Aša* ruled the ritual which grouped itself about the altar. *Vohu Manah* became the special guardian of living creatures, men, flocks, and herds—this from the *Gāthic* use of it, *Vohu Manah*, for “the Good Citizen in whom the Good Mind dwelt”, this was even pushed so far in the later Avesta that the “Good Mind” or the “Good Citizen” might be even “ceremonially defiled”; see above; *Xšaθra* even came to represent metals, chiefly bronze—this from the melted metal of Yasna LI, 5; while *Aramaiti* was “the Holy Earth”, so also in the Veda—this doubtless because agriculture could alone save mankind from perennial murder; she was the *ara*-mind; the ploughshare-zeal; so *ar* in *aratrum*, while in the *Gāthas* little of this last appears except in adumbration: for this reason, again, so emphasizing, we can again the more willingly “support” the various

¹ As the *Gāthas* were addressed to throngs “coming from near and from afar”, they were written in a vernacular spoken at the time; see also their personality; but the *Gāthic* language could not have been spoken later than 200 years before that of the first Achaemenian Inscriptions, which is in so far degenerated from the *Gāthic* that 200 years at least alone can account for the change. If, then, the *Gāthas* were recited in a living language, and that language lived only before B.C. 700-900, we have the *Gāthic* date, within two hundred years, this being as close as we should expect to fix the date of such ancient matter.

alternatives in the first and second stages of our inquiry, for they do not at all touch this last and third division of our work.

[As is generally known, I endeavoured in my *Gāthas* in 1892-4 to reproduce nearly every conceivable variation in opinion, ancient or modern—this either in following, or in coincidence with, the advice of the first of our then living Sanskritists in the eighties, which advice was “to reproduce all the possibilities”—this *re* that book in the eighties; but in SBE. xxxi such a mass of collected opinion would have been both mechanically impossible and also artistically out of place.]

5. To resume: Focussing our attention here still more closely—for we are here at the supposed central point of all such study, and we need to fortify, as well as establish, our position against all superficial treatment—let the serious reader mark well that these first crucial original ideas—to return for a moment to the “first” section of the *Gāthic* exegesis—which stand here so apart, held their own also *historically*, and this at times and places parallel with those in which fantastic supervening growths took place; see this *Journal* for July, 1910. First, this is obvious in the *Religion of the Pahlavi Expositors*,¹ almost a separate faith among the various shades of Sasanian Zoroastrianism, a matter of most vital historical importance; and this phase most signally shows this persistence of the vitally essential ideas. As a *phase* in the *recrudescence* of the original essential moral force, as this appears in the *Gāthas*, it cannot be that original force itself, though many an inexperienced inquirer might well think so, for it is one of the most striking resumptions of first principles that ever occurred in any ancient system, going back to its first documents, B.C. 700-900, from such a date as that of 200-900 A.D.,

¹ See my study of *Yasna I* (Leipzig, 1910), Introduction, pp. iv-ix.

a surprising manifestation of incisively energetic, intellectual, and spiritual life-force; and it should be long and carefully considered, all the more because of the exceedingly fantastic side-growths which surround it, predated it, and postdated it; for when the Sasanian Persian commentators first began to develop their comments upon the Yasna, they *for the moment set aside*, if they did not *actually repudiate*, all, or nearly all, of those less interior traditional accretions, and even things like those which we see in the later, but still genuine, Vendidad—in the Avesta text itself—a truly astonishing psychical phenomenon, let me repeat it; that is to say, “remarkable” when we gauge it soberly; for let no beginner suppose that this “tradition” of the commentators predominates as fantastic, or degenerate, like that “tradition” of the later Zoroastrianism which at times loses itself in non-realistic detail. *Aša* was *Aharayih* in the commentaries, that is to say, it was “sanctity”, “holiness”, “righteousness”, with scarce a thought of “Fire”; Fire was God’s Son, not unnaturally, and as the “mode of motion”, *Vohu Manah* had the rarest allusions to “flocks and herds”, except with Neryosangh, who only later especially gathered up such items. Where is *χάλυβρα*, “bronze,” or other metal? in these Pahlavi translations? Somewhere, perhaps, but where? Strangest of all, *Aramaiti*, plainly the “earth” in Vendidad, as in Veda, is, forsooth, carefully translated as a word in the Pahlavi, by “perfect thinking”, a very noteworthy circumstance, much more so than any “item”. *Haurvatāt* is very seldom “water”, and *Ameretatāt* seldom “plants”; see also this Journal of July, 1910.

We might almost say that *insufficient expression* has been at times given by the commentators even to those *fully justified personifications*, whether rhetorical or literal, of the six main Gāthic ideas, the *Ameša Speñtas*, as they were *only later called*, this deficiency appearing even in the Pahlavi of the Gāthas, and this

in occurrences where they are beyond all doubt thus personified in the original—this, as if the main interior meaning of the words, as plain language, in these commentaries everywhere enveloped and absorbed all such subordinate association of ideas, for “personification” in the light of philosophical research is, of course, “subordinate”, even where such an exalted “personification” as that in question is concerned; and yet all this has been passed over uncoordinated and unobserved by writers who make Orientalism their life’s study, whereas it is one of the most practical and extensive manifestations of religious energy in history, vast material interests having been also once involved, and this if but one person per one thousand were inspired by its animus; the force of the ideas continues on unabated, and can well afford to bear discussion.

6. Exactly parallel with this is the still more striking evidence of this interior life of the main Zoroastrian doctrines as reported by the far distant Greeks (see above), one quoting still another of B.C. 378–300; see this Journal for July, 1910. [Plutarch actually reports from Theopompos the abstract ideas as “gods” six in number (with Ahura seven), and in their Gâthic order of sequence, a startling item¹; this without a trace of the later degenerated accretions. In fact Plutarch himself seems to underrate a faith so abstract, which proves all the more his loyalty; he states the facts apparently as if they were distasteful, and this in a report of “Persia” without distinction as to separate provinces or kingdoms, or even as to closer dates¹; see also Herodotus, who cites the “reproaches” of the Persians against those who lower (!) their ideas of God by “building temples” for

¹ This passage from Plutarch is justly considered to be one of the most “precious” of the kind in ancient literature (see Windischmann), as it reports the greatest and most pointed conservative theistic scheme of religion.

Him.] And this system of ideas survived while half-buried among the rubbish of fantastic growths, and as such it is most wonderful indeed to those who understand such searches: we therefore the more freely welcome the reports of the varying less interior views.

7. Yet while these passages, which so simply and yet so impressively express those *primary* concepts which alone give the Gāthas their value to us, are thus, as I have shown, *so clear*, for the purpose mentioned, yet—to return here more fully to what I term “the *secondary* detail” in exegesis (see above)—though pervaded by the same animus, they are, when regarded as syntactical literary matter, perhaps the most obscure of all relics of antiquity, when we feel constrained to decide as to what precisely may be their exact ultimate incidence of thought. This is owing to the extreme meagreness of the Gāthic diction, which so lacked expressive power that the authors of the sentences themselves—or “the author of them himself”, if there was but one original composer—would have been baffled, had he, or they, been later asked what precise ideas they had themselves, or he had himself, intended to convey in their own strophes, now some decades old, for he or they would have been unable to answer such a question,¹ unless he, or they, had fallen back upon the acute and strenuous exercise of “memory”; for this reason, again, alternatives seem to me to be the more imperative, here, in this secondary department of Gāthic search.

And further, to explain my point above, not only did those main controlling ideas hold their own as in a clearly separate existence side by side with much later trivial development in the later Zoroastrianism, for Theopompos wrote at a time when this latter was in fullest growth (see above), but in these renderings of this *secondary*, if hardly

¹ No one of them could have always told what precisely as to minute detail he had himself intended to say.

extraneous, detail in the *Gāṭhā* itself—there likewise, as was natural, the interior documentary life, as above implied, vehemently persists almost unaltered from its character in the *first* section. However multiplied our opinions may be as to the actual ultimate pointing of the detailed ideas—even there, so far as the *Gāṭhās* are concerned, the range of possibilities as to the pointing of the sense is likewise *limited* in this *secondary* section of our exegesis as regards its interior force (see above), for the interior moral ideas in so far dominate the *whole* situation throughout, especially here, and limit the scope of “possibilities”.¹ Whichever particular one, then, of two, three, or even of four, different pointings to the sense we may prefer, even here, in this *secondary* department of our exegesis, as in the *first* section, no one of these obscure expressions of idea can at all possibly fail to express that supreme value of the moral-religious intellectual life which is the chief, if not the sole element of interest involved.

Readers can also, for this reason, if I have been able to make myself clear, with all the more gratitude study even the multiplied citations of slightly, or radically, differing reported views here at this *secondary* stage, as they could so freely tolerate them in dealing with the leading words in the “*first* section”, as well as in the later tradition in the “*third*”; they need not remain, as they might otherwise, under a quasi-cataleptic incubus of alarm, so to speak of it, lest all their treasured theories of *Gāṭhīc* life should perish in obscurities; the interior elementary

¹ We have here a crisis, in an armed religious propaganda, complicated with political intricacies, much detailed material interest having been also doubtless involved; Church and State—so to speak of it—were here apparently combined in either a defensive, or offensive, dynastic struggle, widely differing from those in the *Veda*, where interior religion was seldom a prominent element in the clashing sub-political issues; for this reason all these secondary elements in *Gāṭhīc* thought feel likewise, as do the primary ones, the incisive religious animus which centres in the expression of the Attributes; see above.

moral force, which is so dear to history, remains here also, almost, or totally, undiminished.¹ The various alternative suggestions here also, however divergent they may be from my own first presented views, as also from one another, cannot fail when combined even to contribute directly, as well as indirectly, toward what we most prize; for the invaluable main ideas loom over the entire representation in their epoch-making and unquestioned power and depth, and every detail of serious discussion brings out the more their force.

8. [The Achæmenian Inscriptions of that Empire also confirm my view; expressing, let us never forget it, these same principles throughout, though similar inscriptions would seem to be the last of all places where one should look for such an expression of interior moral principle.]

IV. NUMERICAL, TERRITORIAL, AND POLITICAL PREDOMINANCE

needs also to some extent to be taken into consideration as a reason for strengthening the claims of close discussion, for as our subject appears even from such causes to come into higher light, we become more docile under extended illustration. Buddhism became, and still remains, a large political and moral power over wide portions of the globe, as did Islam, with Christianity, while Mazda-worship as regards its mere numerical and territorial predominance was fatally checked at Nehavend, A.D. 641, Buddhism having only gradually disappeared from India for other fields, and Islam is still trenchant; but as

¹ These focussed and collected points are, in fact, so needed, even for specialists, that a very able expert in Avesta, a leading teacher of others, actually refrained personally from dealing much in translations of the Avesta because of its occasional or frequent obscurities, whereas in any place one of two, three, or four renderings must of necessity be the right one, while that for which we altogether the most value Avesta can never be mistaken, whichever one of the detailed views we may choose. That supreme interest cannot be avoided either in *prima facie* reading or in exhaustive study.

searchers in religious intellectual history for the existence of intense epoch-making ideas, we should rise above all consideration of such external circumstances. For how very narrow has been the apparent immediate scope of many another sublime theory ;—recall alone the Stoa.

V. PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY INFLUENCE

presents itself as a reason for more thorough examination on the part of eminent non-specialists. Then consider the earlier Avesta influence beyond its native borders. The susceptible Jews, who had scarce a dream of a definitive Heaven before the Exile, could not have escaped hearing something of the religion of that Empire of which they became a part for two centuries, in the creed of the great Sovereigns whose edicts of restoration fill Ezra with their spirit, and awoke Isaiah, our Bible sections often dating from their reigns, as was but natural; and while articles of the Exilic creed¹ may have arisen spontaneously in Israel, in parallel development, no sane expert denies their actual identities¹ with those of Iran, aside from all question of reciprocal influence; but could the vast Persian Church, so to speak of its throngs of hierarchy, have failed to foster, encourage, and develop, though it may not have originated, the new-found creed of its cherished Jewish fellow-citizens, on those points where Persia and Israel were already one, if this union were indeed already thus the fact? Then recall the Gnosis (with its often lofty theories, so Avestic); see also the pure creed of Mithra worship; while, as many hold, even modern thought may preserve an echo of Avesta in the *Philosophy of limit* so dear to Fichte and Hegel—this through Jakob Boehme, possibly (?)—anticipating even the now prevalent acceptance of two first forces in the Universe—"it must needs be that the offence

¹ As to God-unity, Angelology, Satan, Demonology, Immortality, Soteriology, Millennium, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell.

come"; all this closes in more and more upon our convictions, even where it may be impossible for us to become close experts.

VI. TRANSLATION OF THE CHIEF TERMS,

which I have reserved till this place, is the crucial question of all.

This most urgent point naturally involves the others, as it is also involved in them; it is *the immediate treatment* of the chief terms in actual translation both when those ideas are, in a sense, personified, whether rhetorically or literally (as actually believed-in Archangelic beings; see above), or also otherwise, when the words occur in their simple, if epoch-making, clear and natural verbal force. Some writers leave the terms *entirely untranslated* whenever they can be at all regarded as being used, whether rhetorically or literally, as the proper names, but translate them significantly when they incontrovertibly express the interior ideas aside from personification—a very defective usage, as I hold. In SBE. xxxi I hit upon a plan which I can now only partially modify; I translated the words fully everywhere, instead of leaving them at times entirely to themselves, so to say—this, except in a few obvious cases. For *Aša* I used the "Divine Righteousness", "the Holy Order", "the Truth", etc.; for *Vohu Manah* I wrote "the Good Mind", printing with capital initials, however,—and this last for the most part even where the ideas were left as the expressions of the pure mental and moral force not yet personified. As *Aša* meant the "Divine Righteousness", "the Holy Law", "the Truth" in the Gāthic-Avesta language itself, beyond dispute, and this even when expressing the proper name, and as it was still so used in that sense later on, why should not its equivalent in English be used in the same application? Recall the Puritanic English where persons were called

"Prudence", "Hope", "Deliverance", etc.; see also "Sophia". If *Aša* means "the Divine Righteousness", "the Holy Order", why should not the Archangel *Aša* be so called "the Divine Righteousness", "Holy Order", "Truth", "Sanctity", etc., which last I used in the *Gāthas*—Latin verbatim—as being somewhat more realistic, because more ceremonial. [What motives us all here, as critical reproducers, is, of course, our anxiety to be well upon our guard against the imbecility of reporting too much of the interior sense of the words; for it would be fatuous for us to talk about the "Divine Righteousness", "the Holy Law", "the Truth", when there stood before us the mere meaningless name of a non-existent Archangel; and so of *Vohu Manah*, analogously; yet, on the other hand, to fail in rendering these interior ideas when they are unquestionably present leaves the entire essential force of the *Gāthas* unexpressed for the non-specialist reader.]

To resume: The lurking interior sense of *Aša*, *Vohu Manah*, etc., even when the words are used for the proper names, as the "Divine Righteousness", "the Good Mind", etc., is not contested by anyone as being present in the *Gāthas*, and this (even when those words are used as the expression of the proper names); no writer, ancient or modern, so far as I am aware, denies this, for the words so used as proper names were immediately after such an application used in *their undisputed interior meaning at the next sentences*; see above, see even the distant and late Greek Plutarch, who reported them in this sense; see above; in fact, he, Plutarch, curiously enough, lends us his own assistance in making sure of the meaning of *Aša*; see his ἀληθεια, etc.—a most remarkable side-circumstance. Why did he, Plutarch, not also write the *untranslated Aša*, if we are not to use the corresponding word in our language, as he did in his? If, then, *Aša* is universally conceded to mean originally "the Divine Righteousness"

in its most interior possible and exclusive sense, with this sense obviously and unmistakably, as also necessarily, applied practically to it in numbers of instances, why should we not use this meaning as being still alive uncanceled in the proper name? Why, again, should we not use the translated Avesta word, even when that word is used as a name, when we are translating the rest of the Gāthas into English? How is it also possible that this "lurking sense" should not have been actually felt by some,¹ at least, of the reciters of the Gāthas themselves of old, even when uttered as a proper name, for the same word, as said, *was immediately afterwards used in its full interior meaning* at the next sentences; and this when (see above) it is often next to impossible in many of these same occurrences for us to decide *whether the name, or the idea*, is the more immediately intended; and when, even where we fully see the personification, it is also often next to impossible for us to say whether it was intended to be merely rhetorical like "O Death, O Victory" or the literal thing, while the interior tone of the entire Hymns throughout² makes it obvious that the words could not have failed to impress upon constant hearers their interior meaning, even in the most doubtful connexions. [Gabriel, God's hero, may have lost its meaning to many a devout Hebrew, as also Michael, "who like God." Recall the most significant possible of all our proper names; how soon they lose their force! But how could *Aša* and *Vohu Manah* lose all their meaning in the Gāthas with their interior sense expressed everywhere as absolutely necessary to an intelligent sentence, and in the next strophe? (Note how fully the abstract ideas retain their vitality as thoughts even in our statuesque representations. Who forgets Justice, Truth, etc., in the pictures of them and the statues? So, in like manner, *Aša*, *Vohu Manah*,

¹ One in a thousand would give an important aggregate here.

² "In thought, in word, in deed."

Xšaθra, and *Aramaiti* never lose their interior sense in the *Gāθas*, even when used as the Archangel's names, any more than "Justice" loses its sense while holding its scales blindfolded in a picture or as a statue.)]

To conclude: If, then, my innovation was too bold in SBE. xxxi in 1887, in giving the words in intelligent translation in a book which was itself a translation, what was the inadequacy upon which it supervened? Here we have, as all concede, the apex of all historical expression as to interior religion closely searching the utmost recesses of the will as to thought, as to word, and as to deed, and leading the world at its period as to the doctrine of subjective recompense; and yet some writers have treated its chief terms, *aša*, etc., as mere meaningless names in one line, while, in a closely following sequent, its epoch-making meaning fully appears, so leaving the whole structure with half its keystone, or indeed with half its foundation; and this point is of far profounder import than any other in the subject. I have therefore introduced the words *Aša*, *Vohu Manah*, *Xšaθra*, *Aramaiti*, *Haurvatāt*, and *Ameretatāt* with the same, or slightly varied translations following them, which I used before in 1887.¹

¹ I do not at all apologise for having alluded to appreciative notices above, as *Avesta*, like other branches of Orientalism, has long been notoriously the field for an wholly irresponsible *polemik*.

IV

A NEW VANNIC INSCRIPTION

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

GENERAL A. HOUTUMSCHINDLER has been kind enough to send me a photograph of a new Vannic inscription discovered by Count Kanitz, an attaché of the German Legation at Teheran, in October, 1910, at a place called Mākū. The stone, however, had been brought from some ruins 10 miles south-west of Mākū. The photograph was given to General Houtumschindler by the discoverer. The inscription, it will be seen, belongs to Rušas II. In continuance of my previous notation its number will be XCII.

1. AN Khal-di-e eurie i-ni E-BARA Ru-ša-s
For Khaldis the lord this temple-altar Rušas
2. † Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s si-di-is-tu-ni AN Khal-di-ni-ni
son of Argistis has restored. To the Khaldis gods
3. us-ma-si-ni † Ru-ša-s † Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s
the gracious ones Rušas son of Argistis
4. a-li qar-bi sal-zi ma-nu-u i-zi-e-i
says: the stones . . . in front of the . . .
5. is-ti-ni si-da-u-ri su-ki AN Khal-di-s
the boundary the old one long ago (?) Khaldis
6. u-mas-du-du-ni i-e-s si-di-is-tu-bi
set as a fence; I restored (them);
7. te-ru-bi ti-ni † Ru-ša-a-i patari TUR
I erected what is called Rušas's little city.
8. † Ru-ša-a-s † Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s a-li
Rušas son of Argistis says:
9. a-lu-s i-ni DUP-TE tu-li-e a-lu-s
whoever this tablet removes, whoever

the first element in the compound verb *umasdu-duni* with the Assyrian *umasu*, "an enclosure." *Umasdu* stands for *umastu*.

We find a corresponding phrase in lxxxvi, 7-9, where my former translation must be corrected as follows:—"the open altar-platform (*giurani sule-manu*) along with the public boundary wall long ago Khaldis set as a fence; I have planted this vine."

12. *Kuoi* is probably intended to be pronounced *koi*. In the bilingual inscription lvi, 35, it is rendered by MU, which I was wrong in supposing to signify "gift". It has its more usual meaning of "name", and the passage should be translated: "[whoever] assigns to his own name the [offerings] to Khaldis on the altar-platform." The word may occur in the compound verb *kui-gu*, "to inscribe."

13. The sense of the suffix *-ni* in the final formula of the inscriptions is made clear by this passage. It denotes what may be called the dependent case, and was probably pronounced *-n* without the final vowel.

VOCABULARY

A

- A-li. 'He says.' 4.
 A-lu-s. 'Whoever.' 9, 10.
 A-lu-ši. 'Inhabiting.' 16.
 Ardi-ni-s. 'The Sun-god.' 11.
 Ardi-ni-ka-i. 'Before the Sun.' 12.
 Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s. 'Son of Argistis.' 2, 3, 8.
 Ar-gis-te-khi. 13.

B

- Bi-a-i-na-o-e. 'The land of Van.' 15.

DH

- Dhu-us-pa-e. 'The city of Van (Tosp).' 16.

E

Erila. 'King.' 14, 15.

Erila-u-e. 15.

Eurie. 'Lord.' 1.

I

I-e-s. 'I.' 6.

I-ni. 'This.' 1.

Ip-khu-li-e. 'He shall conceal.' 10.

Is-ti-ni. 'Boundary.' 5.

I-zi-e-i. 'Trench (?)' 4.

K

Ku-o-i. 'Name.' 12.

KH

Khal-di-s. 'The God Khaldis.' 5, 11.

Khal-di-e. 'For Khaldis.' 1.

Khal-di-ni-ni. 'To those belonging to Khaldis.' 2.

Q

Qar-bi. 'Stones.' 4. *Bi* is the plural suffix.

Qiurani. 'Altar-platform.' lxxxvi, 7.

M

Ma-nu-u. 'In front of.' 4.

Ma-nu-ni. 'They publish.' 12.

Ma-nu-ri. 'Public.' lxxxvi, 9.

Me. 'Of him.' 12.

P

Patari. 'City.' 7, 16.

Pi-tu-li-e. 'Shall remove the name.' 10.

R

Ru-ša-s. 'Rušas.' 1, 3.

Ru-ša-a-s. 8.

Ru-ša-a-i. 7.

Ru-ša-a-ni. 'On behalf of Rušas.' 13.

S

Sal-zi. 4.

Si-da-u-ri. 'Old,' 'former.' 5.

Si-di-is-tu-bi. 'I have restored.' 6.

Si-di-is-tu-ni. 'He has restored.' 2.

Su-ki. 'Once upon a time,' 'long ago (?)' 5. Less
probably 'wholly', from *sui*, 'all.'

Su-li-is. 'Day.'

Su-li-ma-nu. 'In the open air.' lxxix, 15.

T

Teisba-s. 'The Air-god.' 11.

Te-ru-bi. 'I erected.' 7.

Ti-ni. 'What is called,' 'a record.' 7, 12.

Tu-li-e. 'He shall remove.' 9.

Tu-ri-ni-ni. 'As for (that) person.' 10.

U

U-mas-du-du-ni. 'He set a fence.' 6. Compounded
with the borrowed Assyrian *umastu*.

Us-ma-si-ni. 'Gracious.' 3.

IDEOGRAPHS

ALU (*pataris*). 'City.' 7, 16.

AN-MES-s. 'Gods.' 11.

BARA (*kuludis*). 'Altar.' 1.

DAN-NU (*tarais*). 'Powerful.' 14.

DUP-TE (*armanilis*). 'Inscription.' 9.

Ê (*asis*). 'House.' 1.

EN (*euris*). 'Lord.' 1.

(AN) IM-s. 'Teisbas.' 11.

KUR-KUR (*suras*). 'The world.' 14.

SARRU (*erilas*). 'King.' 14, 15.

TUR. 'Small.' 7.

(AN) UD-ni-s (*Ardinis*). 'The Sun-god.' 11.

(AN) UD-ni-ka-i (*Ardinikai*). 'Before the sun.' 12.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN INDIA, 1910-11

By J. PH. VOGEL

THE record of archæological discoveries made during the year 1910-11 must of necessity fall short of the brilliant accounts which Mr. Marshall has been in the habit of publishing in the pages of this Journal with regard to the work of previous years. Mr. Marshall himself was absent on long leave during the whole period, and while I was officiating for him I had to devote myself almost entirely to questions connected with the preservation of ancient monuments and museum administration, and to the duties of office routine.

A series of transfers in the Department, which took place in the commencement of the touring season, was another circumstance that seriously affected the opportunities for research in the different circles. Mr. Cousens retired in the month of September, after being attached to the Survey for nearly thirty years. His work has been mostly connected with the architecture of Western India. It is gratifying to record that his activity in this field of research will not altogether cease with his retirement, the Government of India having entrusted him with the publication of five volumes relating to (1) the Temples of Mahārāshtra, (2) Muhammadan architecture of Bijapur, (3) Chalukyan architecture of the Canarese districts, (4) Jain architecture of Gujarāt and Kathiāvār, and (5) Sind ruins.

It will be remembered that in October, 1909, the Survey suffered a severe loss by the lamented death of Dr. T. Bloch. His place in the Eastern (Bengal) Circle has now been filled by Dr. Spooner, who, it is hoped, will find in Magadha as rich a field of research as that

which he has worked with so great success in Gandhāra. For the present, unfortunately, the care of monuments in his new circle has left him no time for spadework. Dr. Stein's appointment to the Frontier Circle offers a guarantee that the work of exploration in Gandhāra will be resumed with vigour. But it is not until December that we may look forward to his return to India.

The sudden death of Mr. R. Froude Tucker, a member of this Society, which occurred on November 1, 1910, on his return from leave, was another calamity which befell the Department, and which added in no small degree to the difficulties which interfered with a successful campaign of research. It is true that Mr. Tucker's duties were mainly concerned with the preservation of monuments—a task which he had accomplished with great devotion during the too short period he was attached to the Department—but immediate measures had to be taken to carry on his work by appointing in his place the officer destined to become Dr. Spooner's architectural assistant, and thus Mr. Tucker's unexpected death affected indirectly the work of research also.

The foregoing preamble seemed to be necessary to account for a deficiency in results during the last year. This does not, however, imply that in the past cold season the work of research has come to a standstill.

In the absence of Dr. Stein on leave I was fortunate in securing the temporary services of Mr. H. Hargreaves for work in the Frontier Circle. One of the works before us was the excavation of the Great Stūpa of Kanishka, which had yielded the famous Buddha relics. This necessary but somewhat thankless task fell to the share of Mr. Hargreaves, who accomplished it with the utmost care. He has favoured me with the following résumé of his operations:—

"The principal work in the Frontier Circle was the continued excavation of Kanishka's Chaitya and the



Fig. I. Stūpa of Kanishka; stucco frieze of Buddha figures.



Fig. II. Miniature model of Stūpa of Kanishka.

adjacent monastery-mound at the site known as *Shāh-jī-ki-dhēri* outside Peshāwar City. The object in continuing the excavation of the *stūpa* mound was to ascertain the complete outline of the monument, to clear the immediate neighbourhood and disclose the adjacent structures; to discover, if possible, the steps (*sōpāna*) which must have led to the procession path, and, if in existence, the path itself.

"As anticipated, excavation proved that the monument rose from a square base, whose sides were 180 feet, and that four projections, having a total length of 50 feet, extended from the centre of each of the four main walls. At each corner of the main wall was a circular bastion-like structure.

"Of the main wall on the north only traces remain, but the northern projection was clearly marked, and for 24 ft. 6 in. was covered with stucco ornamentation of seated Buddha figures (of a late Indian type) separated by Indo-Corinthian pilasters with capitals of conventionalized acanthus (Pl. I, Fig. 1).

"On the east the foundations of the projection, in parts ornamented with stucco, were entire; but of the main wall nothing but the merest traces remained, so that Dr. Spooner's previous excavations on the south and west had recovered the best preserved portions.

"The whole outline of the monument has been disclosed; but no steps or path for *pradakshinā* have been discovered, though search was made at all probable places.

"Many small *stūpas* were found, but very little in the way of sculptures. A number of small terra-cotta and stucco heads of almost grotesque appearance, with large protruding eyes, were discovered on the east, but nothing to indicate their original position.

"Except in one particular the excavations yielded but little that had not been already indicated by the previous investigation of the site. As already mentioned, small

stūpas had been found near all four faces of the main *stūpa*, and these had been, invariably, simple circular or quadrangular structures, but on the east of the monument, 14 feet to the east of what must have been the base of the eastern steps of the main structure, was found a little *stūpa* of uncommon shape, a copy in fact of the main monument.

"This little *stūpa* (Pl. I, Fig. 2), the main sides of which are 6 ft. 7½ in. long, was found less than 4 feet underground, and the roots of grasses and weeds had destroyed three of the four projections, but the one to the south shows very clearly steps rising steeply from the edge of the projection towards the main wall, which rises perpendicularly to the same level as the top of the steps, springing from the second of two narrow platforms, which run along the face of the monument except where they are broken by the steps themselves.

"The interest of this *stūpa* arises from the possibility that it may be one of the two little *stūpas* which Hiuen Tsiang tells us were on the southern side of the steps on the eastern face of the great *stūpa*.¹ It is, indeed, as the pilgrim says, of the same shape and proportion as the great *stūpa*. While it is true that it is built, not 'carved or engraved', and lies more to the east than to the south, and has nothing corresponding to the bastions of the large *stūpa*, yet it is by no means certain that *lo c' ho* is best translated as 'carved or engraved'; the direction may be considered as south of one edge of the steps, and there is the possibility that the bastions or towers are a later addition to the main structure.

"Be that as it may, the little model helps us to visualize in a manner never before possible the structure on which arose 'the highest of the towers of Jambudvīpa', and also explains why no steps and no path for *pradakṣiṇā* have been discovered. Moreover, it has thrown some light on

¹ Beal, *Buddhist Record of the Western World*, vol. i, p. 101 and n. 65.

the main structure; for when, on Dr. Vogel's suggestion, search was made above the row of Buddha figures on the northern projection for the platforms shown on the miniature *stūpa*, one of them made of thick stucco was found to be still in existence. (Pl. I, Fig. 1.)

"Excavation of the monastery mound resulted in the discovery of seven more of the large brick columns, of which four were found in 1909, of a long brick wall 65 feet in length, of the base of a semicircular structure and of the foundations of what appears to have been a tower. The end of the long brick wall has not been reached, but close to its base were found three interesting articles of Buddhist origin, a well-made temple ornament, part of a *triśūl*, an ivory (?) seal-die engraved in late Gupta characters with the Buddhist formula 'Yē dharma', etc., and a small copper Buddha figure, with halo, in *abhaya-mudrā*, of the usual Gandhāra style. It is the first metal image of the Buddha found in excavations in the Frontier Circle. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and seems to be of soft copper.

"As in previous explorations the finds were not numerous, but at present our excavation seems to be outside the buildings, and it is more than probable that, when the interior of these monastery buildings comes to be excavated, light will be thrown on the fittings and arrangements of a *saṅghārāma* on the plains of Gandhāra.

"The clearance carried out along with other work at Takht-i-Bāhi has proved that the so-called underground chambers are not so in reality. The removal of the debris, lying between them and the main retaining wall, exposed a large courtyard $68\frac{1}{2}$ by 39 feet, to which two arched doorways from two of the cells gave access. These chambers, erected later than the 'Court of many *stūpas*', are built against the retaining wall of that court, and are not in any way bonded with that structure. The roof of these low-level chambers is covered with 4 feet of earth,

which makes the ground-level above the chambers the same as that of the 'Court of many *stūpas*'. Built of corbelled arch with walls 4 feet thick and having a roof so covered, these chambers are exceedingly cool and may therefore have been equally useful as *takḥānas*, granaries, or places for meditation. During clearance a few pieces of sculpture, a coin (very much worn but apparently of Apollodotos), and a piece of black pottery inscribed in Kharōshthi with seven *aksharas* were found in these cells, but nothing to enable one to settle definitely their original purpose."

From an historical point of view the most important discovery made during the year was no doubt that of the inscribed sacrificial post (*yūpa*) at 'Īsāpur, near Mathurā (Muttra), on which a preliminary note has already appeared in the pages of this Journal (pp. 1311 ff.). It will, therefore, suffice to recall that the inscription in question, which was discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna in the bed of the Jamnā, near the suburb of 'Īsāpur, is dated in the reign of a king called Shāhi Vāsishka, and in the year 24 (expressed both in words and figures). It consequently proves the correctness of Dr. Fleet's assumption that between Kanishka and Huvishka there reigned (at Muttra at least) a ruler of the name of Vāsishka.

This prince is also mentioned in a Sāñchi inscription,¹ apparently dated in the year 28. The figure expressing 20 is unfortunately damaged and therefore uncertain. It was read 70 by Cunningham and also by Dr. Bühler, who first felt inclined to read 20. The latter reading, adopted by Dr. Fleet, is most likely correct and would well agree with the testimony of the 'Īsāpur inscription.

Another interesting point to be noted in connexion with this record is that it is Brahmanical, and is the earliest

¹ Cf. H. Lüders' "List of Brāhmī Inscriptions", *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, appendix, p. 26, No. 161.

inscription in pure Sanskrit which has hitherto come to light.

The *yūpa* of Īśāpur was by no means the only discovery made by Pandit Radha Krishna during the year 1910-11. Among the many sculptures acquired by him for the Mathurā Museum I wish particularly to note a Bōdhisattva statuette which bears the following inscription:—

1. 1. [Saṃ 10 +] 7 va . . . ētaṣa purvāyā Dharmakasa
sōvanikasa kuṭuhiniyē.¹

1. 2. up[āsi]kā Nagapiyā (Skr. Nāgapriyā) Bōdhisattva²
pratīhāpēti svakāyā chītā-

1. 3. yā kaṭi ye achāryana Dharmagutakāna pratigrahe.

"In the year 1 (?) 7 . . . on that date Nagapiya, a lay-member and the wife of the goldsmith Dharmaka erected a Bodhisattva [image] in her own sanctuary.³ This work⁴ is for the acceptance of the teachers of the Dharmagupta sect."

Of the image unfortunately the whole upper portion above the waist is missing. The remaining part shows that the Bōdhisattva was seated cross-legged, his left hand resting on the knee. We may assume that the right was raised to the shoulder in the attitude of protection (Sanskrit *abhaya mudrā*). The style of the image is similar to that of the Anyor and Khaṭrā statuettes in the Mathurā Museum. On the base are figures of human worshippers, two men, two women, and two children; all, except the children, carrying lotus-flowers as offerings. On either end is a lion *sejant* in the typical conventional style of the Kushan period.

¹ Read *kuṭuhini*.

² The *anusāra* has been omitted over the final *aksharas* of *Bōdhisattva*, *svakāyā*, *chītāyā*, *achāryana* (read *āchāryādāna*), and *Dharmagutakāna* (read *gutakāna*). The curious *akshara* *eva* in *Bodhisattva*, evidently a clerical error for *sa*, has been found elsewhere in Mathurā inscriptions.

³ The word *chītā* (or *chēdā*?) is apparently synonymous here with Sanskrit *caitya*.

⁴ The reading *kaṭi yā* is doubtful. I suppose that it corresponds to Sanskrit *kṛtīr yaṃ*, and have translated accordingly.

Under the supervision of Pandit Radha Krishna some trial excavations were carried out on various ancient sites round Mathurā out of funds provided by the Government of India.

The first site examined was that of Mōrā, 7 miles west of Mathurā city, well known to epigraphists as the find-place of the so-called Mōrā well inscription, now in the Mathurā Museum.¹ The expectation that images of the Pāṇḍavas, apparently referred to in that inscription as *pañcha virāṇām pratimāḥ*, would come to light, has not been fulfilled.²

The most important discovery made at Mōrā consists of eight fragments of large-sized bricks (16½ by 8 by 2½ in.), bearing dedicatory inscriptions in Brāhmī characters of the Maurya-Śunga period. From the different fragments we obtain the following legend, in which one missing *akshara* has been supplied (Pl. II, Fig. 1): *Jivaputāyē Rājabharyāyē Brīhāsvātīmīta[dhi] tu³ Yaśa matāyē kārītām*, "Made by order of Yaśamatā, the daughter (?) of Brīhāsvātīmīta, the king's consort [and] the mother of living sons."

I propose to identify the Brīhāsvātīmīta of these inscriptions with Bahasatīmīta (Sanskrit *Brīhaspati-mitra*), whose coins have been found at Kōsam, about thirty miles south-west of Allahābād, and at Rāmnagar (Ahichchhatra) in Rohilkhand.⁴ His daughter, Yaśamatā, was evidently the wife of the ruler of Mathurā, whose name unfortunately is not mentioned. On account of the character I feel inclined to assign these inscriptions to the third or second century B.C., which is the approximate date adopted for Bahasatīmīta.

¹ Cf. *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā* (Allahabad, 1910), pp. 184 ff.

² Cf. JRAS.

³ The *i* stroke of the syllable preceding *tu* is still partly preserved.

⁴ V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Oxford, 1906, pp. 146, 155, 185.



Fig. II. Inscribed fragment from Gaṇēshrū. Mound No. 2.

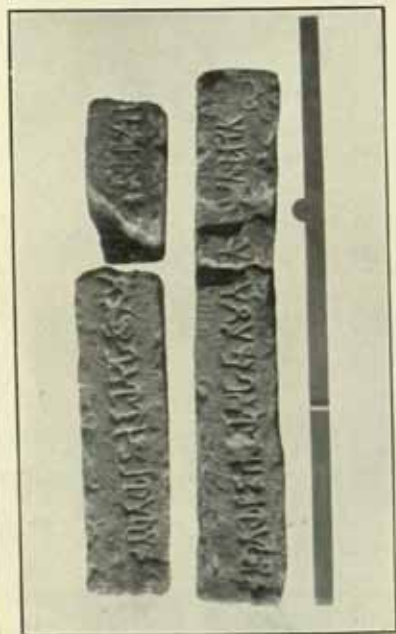


Fig. I. Inscribed bricks from Mōrā.

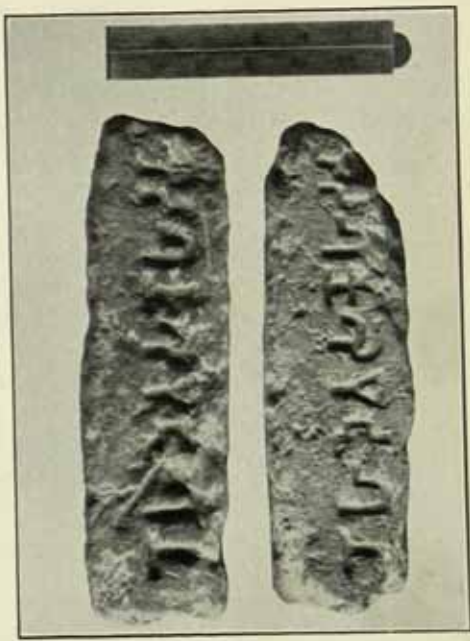


Fig. III. Inscribed bricks from Gaṇēshrū. Mound No. 2.

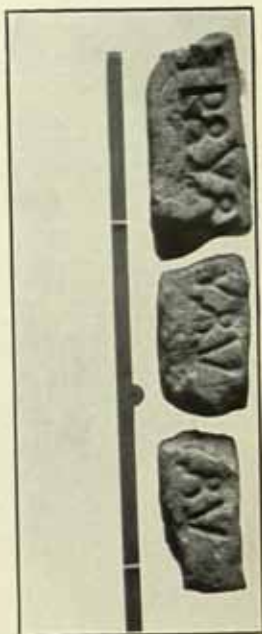


Fig. IV. Inscribed bricks from Gaṇēshrū. Mound No. 2.

The second site examined was that of Gaṇeśhrā, a village situated some three miles west of Mathurā city to the north of the road to Gōvardhaṇ. It was here that Dr. Führer discovered a very fine Bōdhisattva statue, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum.¹ This statue, I may remark in passing, is especially interesting on account of its evident relationship to the Bōdhisattva type of Gandhāra.

The site of Gaṇeśhrā comprises three distinct mounds. The mound nearest the village yielded numerous red sandstone fragments, which must have belonged to a small-sized railing. One of these fragments bears an incomplete inscription in one line which I read *Bhagava prasādā*. The character is Brāhmī of the third or second century B.C.

Another incomplete inscription in two lines on a rounded piece of red sandstone (Pl. II, Fig. 2) found in the second Gaṇeśhrā mound reads as follows:—(1) . . . *sa Kshaharātasa Ghaṭākasa* (2) . . . *ye thupa pati* Notwithstanding its very fragmentary state this short record is of interest for two reasons. First of all there can be little doubt that it records the constitution of a *stūpa* (Prakrit *thūpa*). The word following *thūpa* may be safely restored as *patithāpita* (Sanskrit *pratishṭhāpitah*). We may add that the monument in question was in all probability Buddhist. A stone parasol which was found lying at the foot of the mound, and which had previously been taken to the Museum, perhaps once surmounted the *stūpa* referred to in the inscription.

The second point of interest is the word *Kshaharāta*, which occurs in the first line. This term is well known from some of the Western Cave inscriptions which mention the Kshaharāta king and Satrap Nahapāna. The Kshaharāta clan, according to Mr. V. A. Smith,

¹ It is figured in V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stupa of Mathurā*, pl. lxxxvii; cf. also my *Mathurā Catalogue*, p. 39.

probably a branch of the Śakas, held sway in Western India in the end of the first and in the beginning of the second century of our era. It is of some interest to find a Kshaharāta mentioned here in an inscription from Mathurā. Unfortunately the epigraph is too fragmentary to allow our drawing any certain conclusions from it. It may, however, be assumed that the word immediately preceding *Kshaharātasa* was *kshatrapasa*, if we may judge from what remains of the missing letters.

The syllable *yē* preceding the word *thūpā* would seem to indicate that the *stūpa* was not founded by the Kshaharāta satrap Ghaṭāka himself, but by one of his female relations. The name of Ghaṭāka does not seem to occur on coins or in any other epigraphical documents. The character of the inscription agrees closely with the Brāhmī used in the records of the reign of Kanishka; it may even be earlier.

The same mound produced twenty-four inscribed bricks and brickbats. Two of them are complete ($13\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{4}$ by 3 inches), and contain the following legend: *Rōhadēva Kōhaḍa[sa]* (Pl. II, Fig. 3). Portions of the same word, sometimes in reversed order, occur on several of the brickbats. On some of the broken bricks we find the name *Gōmita* (Sanskrit *Gōmitra*) or the compound *Gōmitāmacha* (Sanskrit *Gōmitrāmātya*), usually in the instrumental case, the word *kāritam* following (Pl. II, Fig. 4). In one case we have *Gōmitasa amach[ēna]*, and in another . . . *chēna Kōhaḍe[na]*, which I propose to complete as *Gōmitāmachēna Kōhaḍēna kāritam*. We may infer that Rōhadēva Kōhaḍa (= Kōhala ?) was the minister (*amātya*) of Gōmita, and, as it follows that the latter was in all probability a local ruler, it is very tempting to identify him with the Gōmita or Gōmitra whose coins have been found at Mathurā.¹ The date of

¹ Cf. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 190, 194.

the inscribed bricks must be the third or second century B.C.

The third site examined was that of Jaisinghpura, 3 miles north of Mathurā city, to the west of the road to Brindāban. That this site also marks the spot of an ancient Buddhist sanctuary is evident from the numerous sculptural remains found in the course of excavation. They include fragments of Buddha images and of very elaborate haloes, the former apparently belonging to the Kushan and the latter to the Gupta period, further lions, two Garuḍas, and fragments of a stone railing.

The Mathurā excavations, though not as productive as might have been hoped, have yielded some interesting results, and Pandit Radha Krishna deserves great credit for his care in supervising them.

The archæological excavations at Kasiā in the Gōrakhpur district of the United Provinces were resumed this year in the month of January and carried on till the middle of April. During this period the Rāmabhār and Nirvāṇa *stūpas* were examined and several parts of the site excavated. Pandit Hirananda, who was in charge of the work, has sent me the following résumé:—

"After fixing the centre of the Rāmabhār *Stūpa*,¹ it was found that the shaft that had been sunk by some civil officer long ago was not very wide of the mark. Digging was carried down to a depth of 47 feet from the top of the extant portion of the *stūpa* down to virgin soil, but did not reveal any deposit whatsoever. I came upon water at the depth of 47 feet and had to stop work at a further depth of about 4 feet. To the south of the *stūpa* the basement of a ruined structure was completely opened. This building, the nature of which is not yet clear, must have been very fine, as is evident from the

¹ For the local topography *vide* V. D. Smith, *The Remains near Kasia*, Allahabad, 1896, and my notes ASR., 1904-5, pp. 43 ff.; 1905-6, pp. 61 ff.; and 1906-7, pp. 44 ff. [J. Ph. V.].

large-sized ornamental bricks found in large numbers on the spot. From the nature of the carving on them it would appear that they were joined in such a way as to form human and other figures (Pl. III, Fig. 1). They are all bored right through either to receive wooden dowels or, what is more probable, for baking purposes, as they do not correspond with one another.

"Near the enclosure wall of the main site towards the north and opposite Monastery *E*, excavated in previous years, a monastery built on to the latter and evidently co-existent with it was entirely opened. Like *E* it is paved with large brick tiles. It must have contained several shrines, as is shown by the remains of pedestals in the cells. A large room on the south side (26 ft. 9 in. by 13 ft. 8 in.) has several fire-places in it, and must have served as a kitchen. At the north-west and south-west corners of this monastery ancient walling running towards the west was partly exposed. This part of the site did not yield any antiquities, except some personal and a few *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sealings. Excavation opposite the Nirvāṇa temple to a depth of some 9 feet revealed a series of monastic cells. The structure of which they form part must, on account of its low level, be one of the oldest on the site. It was here that minor antiquities of considerable interest were found, such as the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* seals with Buddha's coffin between the twin *sāl* trees (Pl. III, Fig. 2), large bricks of unusual size (25 by 14 by 3½ in.), terra-cottas, and a silver coin which appears to be that of a Satrap king. Digging here involved much labour in consequence of the depth at which the building was reached.

"In view of a proposal made by the Buddhist community of Calcutta to repair the *stūpa* behind the Nirvāṇa temple, it was thought necessary to ascertain whether it contained any remains that might throw some light on the great topographical problem of the supposed identity of Kasiā



Fig. I. Carved bricks from the Rāmabhār Stūpa, Kasiā



Fig. II. Inscribed clay tablets from Kasiā

with Kusinārā. Consequently the top portion of the drum (about 25 feet high) was dismantled and a shaft sunk in the centre of this structure. At a depth of 14 feet a circular pit, 2 ft. 1 in. wide and deep, was reached, which proved to be a relic chamber. Here a copper vessel, the mouth covered with a copper-plate, was found placed in a layer of sand containing many small cowries. The plate bears several lines of writing, but its written surface being unprotected and turned upwards it was badly corroded. It is curious that the first line alone is engraved,¹ the remaining lines being all written in black ink. The plate has been sent to Dr. Hoernle for examination. The contents of the vessel, excepting the precious stones, etc., are two copper tubes. One contained a white greasy substance and the other some silver coins of Kumāragupta, the son and successor of Chandragupta II, some ashes, pieces of charcoal, precious stones, pearls, and a silver tube. The latter enclosed a gold tube which had some minute particles of a brownish substance and two drops of liquid.

"In the supposition that this was perhaps a later deposit, the shaft was continued, though lessened in width, and carried down to virgin soil, which was reached at a depth of 34 feet from the top of the monument. Here near the centre a well-preserved little *stūpa* with a niche enshrining a terra-cotta Buddha facing west was exposed. The examination of the interior of this little structure did not yield anything of interest. Evidently this chaitya stood on the site before the large *stūpa* was built over it. The difference in their age, however, does not appear to be considerable, as bricks of the Gupta period are used in both.

"It will be remembered that Mr. A. C. L. Carleyle in the course of his Kasiā excavations in 1875-7 discovered a shrine in which originally the colossal Bōdhi image

¹ This line is the Sanskrit version of the usual introduction to the Pālī *sūtras* [J. Ph. V.].

locally known as Māthā Kūar must have been enshrined. Here he found also a stone inscription, now in the Lucknow Museum, from which it appears that the founder was a scion of the Kalachuri race. The inscription belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century.¹ The recent excavations have revealed the interesting fact that the shrine in question is not a detached building, but is in reality the chapel of a monastery very similar in design to the Sahēth Monastery No. 21, in which the copper-plate of Govindachandra was found in 1908. The pedestal in the chapel was fully laid bare, and the image of Buddha referred to was refixed and restored to its original position. Except a few votive clay seals with the 'Buddhist Creed' formula, and a Kushan copper coin, nothing was found here, a circumstance leading one to surmise that these later buildings were gradually deserted when Buddhism lost its hold on the people and its votaries were no longer worshipped or honoured with gifts."

It is somewhat disappointing that the exploration carried on at Kasiā by Pandit Hirananda has not led to the solution of the problem of the supposed identity of the site with that of Kusinārā. The only documents found in the course of last year's excavation which have a distinct bearing on this question, are the three inscribed clay tablets showing Buddha's coffin between the twin *sāl* trees over the legend: *Mahāparinirvāṇa-bhikshusaṅghasya*, or *Mahāparinirvāṇa bhikshusaṅgha*.

The three tablets belong to two different dies. Their date must be the same as that of the similar objects found by me in the season 1905-6,¹ but it should be noticed that the latter represent again another die with a somewhat different legend. In each case we find the same emblem: the coffin between the *sāl* trees. It will be remembered

¹ F. Kielhorn, "Epigraphic Notes," No. 8, in *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1903, Heft 3, pp. 300 ff.

that in the course of my excavations of 1905-6¹ one clay tablet was found showing a flaming pyre, with the legend *Śrī-Mukutabandhē saṅgha*.

Now the all-important question is: what was the use to which these clay tablets were put? Were they attached to letters or parcels addressed to the Convent of Kasiā, or were they mementoes manufactured locally for the use of pilgrims? The tablets themselves do not enable us to answer this question, as in some cases they show traces of having been attached to some object, and in other cases they are perfectly smooth at the back.

The circumstance that, with two exceptions, all the sealings of this kind belong to the Convent of the Great Decease, renders it very tempting to conclude that their find-spot is indeed the Monastery. Unfortunately, no seal-die has been discovered with a similar legend. On the contrary, a seal-die belonging to the Buddhist community of Vishṇudvīpa (Pali *Veṭṭhadīpa*), which was found in my excavation of 1906-7, adds to the uncertainty. In the circumstances it will be wisest to hope that further explorations will yield at last decisive proof.

Owing to the unfavourable circumstances referred to above, no special works of antiquarian research could be undertaken either in the Eastern or in the Western Circle. At Sitahati in the Burdwan (ancient Vardhamāna) district of Bengal a copper-plate was discovered which was examined by Dr. Spooner. It records a grant of land by Vilāsadēvi, the mother of King Ballālasēna, and is apparently dated in the eleventh year of his reign.

Babu R. D. Banerji, of the Indian Museum, reports the discovery of eight inscriptions, seven on copper and one on stone. He has also found three other stone inscriptions, which had only been noticed, but which deserve to be

¹ Cf. this Journal for 1907, pp. 365 ff., and ASR. for 1905-6, p. 83.

published. The kings represented in these eleven inscriptions are—

(1) Madhyamarāja, of the Śailōdbhava family, whose date is the year 88, probably of the Harsha era.

(2) Dhruvānanda, of a hitherto unknown family of Orissa, whose date is the tenth century of the Vikrama era.

(3) Gayādatuṅga, of the Tuṅga family, an inscription of whose reign has already been published by Professor Nilmoni Chakravarti in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* (vol. 5, p. 347).

(4) Raṇābhaṅja, of the Bhaṅja family of Orissa, who, according to Mr. Banerji, seems to have reigned for not less than fifty-four years.

(5) Kulastambha, of the Sulki family, of whose time two other grants have been published.

(6) Asakēndra, of the Nāga family, whose date is Vikrama-Samvat 1336.

(7) Gōpāla, of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, identified on palæographical grounds with Gopāla III.

(8) Nārāyaṇapāla, in whose ninth year a Buddhist monk from the Andhra country made a gift of the image on which the inscription is engraved.

(9) Nayapāla. The inscription is dated in the fifteenth year of the king, and was composed by Vaidya Vajrapāṇi.

(10) Mahēndrapāla, of the Pratihāra family.

Mr. D. B. Bhandarkar reports the discovery of two Brahmanical temples in Rājputānā. One dedicated to Mātā is found at Nosal in the Kishangarh State. According to Mr. Bhandarkar it belongs to the tenth century, the spire, except the lowermost portion, being modern and plastered. The back niche contains a much disfigured image of the Sun-god, seated, as usual, on a chariot drawn by seven prancing horses. The other temple is found at Khēḍ, which was the ancient capital of the Rāthōrs before they settled at Jōdhpur. "The porch

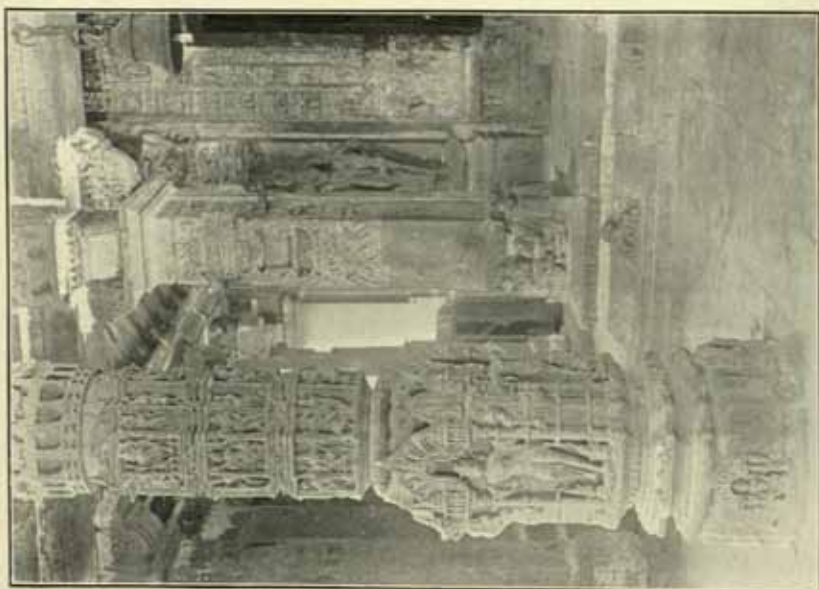


Fig. II. Sabhāmāṇḍapa of temple at Khēd.
Kishangarh State, Rājputānā.

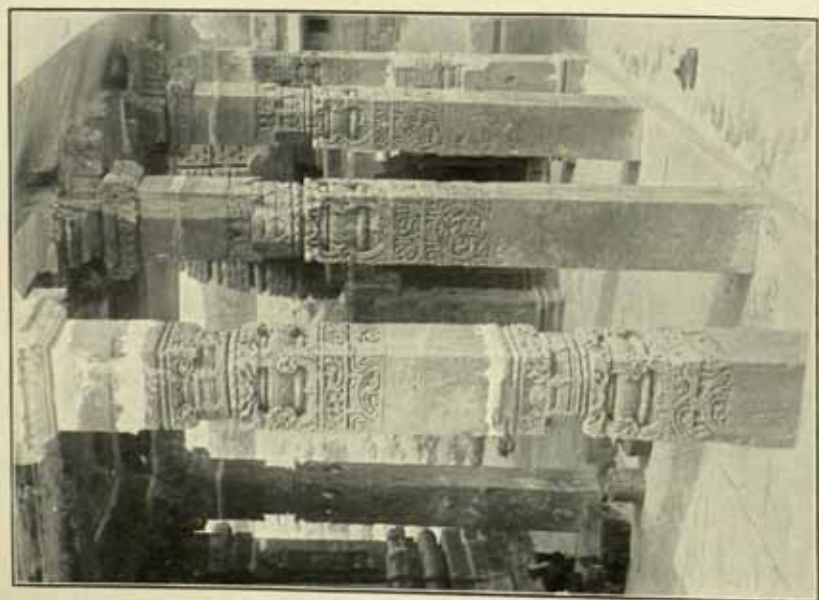


Fig. I. Porch of temple at Khēd.
Kishangarh State, Rājputānā.

of the temple," Mr. Bhandarkar writes, "contains pillars of the second half of the ninth century, which have been rebuilt (Pl. IV, Fig. 1). The pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (Pl. IV, Fig. 2) represent eleventh century work, and are of the same style as those in the temple of Vimala Śā on Mount Abu. One of the ceilings is an almost exact copy of a similar one in the temple just referred to."

In the Southern Circle Mr. Rea explored the rock-cut caves at Perungalam, nearly eight miles to the south-east of Tellicherry railway station, and the prehistoric site of Kaniyāmpunḍi, situated at a distance of nearly two miles to the east of Mangalam railway station. He also continued his excavation of the ruined Buddhist Monastery at Rāmatīrtham. As an account of his operations will shortly appear in the Annual Progress Report of the Southern Circle, it will be unnecessary to go here into further detail.

In Burma Mr. Taw Sein Ko resumed his excavations at Yathemyo in the Prome District, but his researches did not result in any such discoveries as would seem to call for immediate publication.

An account of inscriptions discovered in the Northern Circle has been given in the course of these pages. Mr. Venkayya has favoured me with the following résumé of epigraphical discoveries made in the South:—

"In Southern India two 'hero-stones' (*viragal*) were found at Oḍḍappatti in the Salem District. They bear Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions of the 7th and 27th year of Śrīpurusha or Śrīpurushavarman, identical probably with the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, who, according to Dr. Fleet, flourished between A.D. 765 and 805.

"At Vellalūr, near Coimbatore, were copied two epigraphs of about the ninth century A.D. One of them belongs to Kōkkandāṇ Viranārāyaṇa and the other to Kōkkandāṇ Ravi. Both of them claim to be 'the sovereign jewels of

the lunar and solar races'. According to the plates of Vīra-Chōla noticed in the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905-6, paragraphs 31 and 32, the Chēras belonged to the solar race. The two kings mentioned in the Vellalūr records seem to be Chēra kings related to the Pāndyas, who belonged to the lunar race. This was probably how the two kings came to call themselves 'jewels of the lunar and solar races'. The inscription mentioning Kokkaṇḍaṇ found by me at Tillasthānam in the Tanjore District in February last supports my surmise, originally based on the Vīra-Chōla plates, that, during the period of Chōla ascendancy in Southern India, the Chēras had probably become their feudatories. It is just possible that Kōkkaṇḍaṇ Ravi of the Vellalūr inscription is identical with No. 8 Ravi of the genealogical table of the Chēras given on p. 74 of the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905-6.

"At Dharmapuri in the Salem District were discovered two more Nolamba inscriptions which add to our knowledge of the history of the family. Mahēndra and his son Ayyapa are reported to have married Gaṅga princesses. Ammaṇarāya is mentioned as one of the enemies of Ayyapa. As the Eastern Chālukya king Chālukya-Bhīma II claims to have killed Ayyapa between A.D. 934 and 945, we may identify Ammaṇarāya with Ammarāja I (A.D. 918-25). Ayyapa's Anṇiga had for his queen the Chāluṅki princess Attiyabbarasi. His son and successor was Irūḷa, whose date is Śaka 853. As his paternal uncle Diliparasa was reigning at the time, it has to be supposed that Irūḷa was governing the eastern portion of the Nolamba dominions in which Tagaḍai-nāḍu (Tagaḍūr being the ancient name of Dharmapuri, where the inscriptions were found) was probably included.

"Another important find of the season is the Vēlūr-pālaiyam copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Nandivarman III, a brief account of which has already

appeared in this Journal (pp. 521-4). Nandivarman III, also called Kō-Vijaya-Nandivarman in the Tamil portion, was apparently the grandson of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who usurped the Pallava kingdom on the death of Paramēśvaravarman II. It is clear that on the death of Paramēśvaravarman II there was a war of succession in which the Dramiḷa princes (i.e. the Pāṇḍyas and perhaps also the Chōlas) apparently took up the cause of the descendants of the deceased king. Eventually, Pallavamalla was "chosen" by the subjects,¹ to use the words of the Kāśakuḍi plates. In the same plates, he is said to belong to the branch of Bhīma² (Bhimavargyō), evidently to distinguish him from the other Pallava princes who claimed descent from Paramēśvaravarman II, and some of whom were perhaps living at the time. This Pallavamalla obtained the kingdom by conquest, and his descendants appear to have chosen the epithet *vijaya* and the suffix *Vikramavarman* to distinguish themselves from the other Pallava princes, who were defeated in the war of succession, as well as their descendants. The latter could only boast of their descent in the Bhāradvāja-gōtra.

"The village of Tiruvaḍandai in the Chingleput District, one of the 108 sacred places of the Vaishnavites, was examined during the last field-season. An inscription of a certain Rājamārāyar, "who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya," was found here along with ancient Chōla records and epigraphs of the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa III. Perhaps Rājamārāyar was a chief, who, like Pārthivēndravarman, helped the Chōla king Āditya Kaṅkāla in his war against Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

"From the Hoysala inscriptions copied in the Salem District Mr. Krishna Sastry determines the initial dates of Vīra-Narasimha II (viz. A.D. 1220), Vīra-Sōmēśvara (viz. A.D. 1223), and Vīra-Rāmanātha (viz. A.D. 1255). The

¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 357, verse 27.

² *Ibid.*, verse 30.

initial date of the last king was found by the late Mr. Dikshit to lie between June 16 and July 20, A.D. 1255 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 10).

"In the Burma Circle, two fragments of stone inscriptions were discovered when clearing the debris round the Baw-bawgyi Pagoda at Hmawza in the Prome District. The alphabet of these fragments is about the 6th or 7th century A.D. The language is Pali and the subject-matter is evidently Buddhist doctrine.

"During the excavations at Tawadeintha Pagoda at the same place two inscribed clay votive tablets were found. Mr. C. O. Blagden, to whom estampages of the inscriptions were submitted, thinks that the script is Pyu. Mr. Taw Sein Ko adds: 'It seems probable that this language was spoken somewhere on the Northern fringe of the Talaing language sphere, which at that time must have extended nearly to the latitude of Prome.'

"Mr. Taw Sein Ko has been studying, from an impression, the Burmese inscription at Bôdh-Gayâ for the purpose of editing it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. His paper on the subject is now in the press. He thinks there is no doubt that the initial date is 657 = A.D. 1295 and the final 660 = A.D. 1298. From considerations based on Burmese history he concludes that 'the last repairs to the Mahâbôdhi temple alluded to in the inscription were carried out under the auspices of a king of Arakan'."

VI

THE PICTORIAL ASPECTS OF ANCIENT ARABIAN POETRY

BY SIR CHARLES J. LYALL, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

(Read November 14, 1911)

A FEW months ago I endeavoured to give to an audience in this room some account of an ancient Arabian poet, 'Abīd of Asad,¹ whose remains, recently recovered from the oblivion of the past, are now being printed. I explained the great position which the poet occupied in old tribal Arabia: how his championship in verse was as important to the interests of the clan as the prowess in arms of its men of war; and how in the southern deserts he held a place scarcely inferior to that of the prophet in tribal Israel. It was his business to extol the deeds of the warriors, to inspire the members of the tribe with fortitude and devotion to its interests, to maintain its cause in all contentions, to strike its enemies with biting satire, and to uphold the heroic ideal of conduct to which all should aspire by praise of the worthy, and especially by consecrating the memory of the valiant dead in those noble laments which form the most beautiful and touching monuments of old Arabian verse.

I wish now to dwell for a short time upon another aspect of ancient Arabian poetry, its expression of the artistic life of the race—that "natural magic" which, as Matthew Arnold used to say, is the essential element in all great poetry, the art by which the seer makes others see, and compels, out of common life, the emergence of

¹ See JRAS., April, 1911, p. 581. The paper was not printed, because the information contained in it will shortly be published in an edition of the poems now in the press.

emotion which brings home even to us, so far removed in time and circumstance, the touch of nature which makes all men kin.

Arabia is, and always has been, one of the poorest regions of the earth's surface. It is a land of desert and drought, of hunger and thirst, of rock and sand, of sheets of lava and stony plains; the conditions of life at their best admit of little luxury, and the constant change of place which is required by the necessity of seeking fresh pasture for the herds of camels and sheep in which the tribal wealth consists precludes the growth of those arts which can flourish only in regions of ample livelihood and settled habitation. The Arab's home is "the moving village" (as Doughty calls it) of black haircloth. His possessions, apart from his herds, are such things as he can carry with him on his camels. His furniture is scanty and rude, his raiment none too costly, his ornaments few and insignificant. Almost the only possessions of which he makes his boast are his arms and armour—the slender spear of Indian bamboo, the sword of Indian steel, the mail-coat of Persian make, the peaked helmet (*κῶνος*) of Roman pattern, the bow and arrows well fashioned of desert-grown woods. With these he ranks that which down to the present day forms the chief glory of Arabia, the matchless strain of horses bred there—the Friend brought up in his tents, more to him than his children, and preferred to them in the distribution of the precious camels' milk which forms the daily sustenance of both.

In such a life there was no room for the growth of art in the material sense. Architecture was impossible to those who dwelt in houses of hair; painting and sculpture were admired only as far-off glories of the settled life which lay beyond the bounds of tribal Arabia. Embroidery and textile work, such as existed, were not the product of Arabian fingers, but were brought from abroad, chiefly

from the culture-land of the Yaman. Chased work of silver and gold, of which we hear chiefly in connexion with wine and revelry, came from that great nation of artists, the empire of Persia. When we speak of Arab art, we are speaking of a thing which is, in its essential characteristics, not Arabian at all, but the product of those culture-lands over which, in the great outpouring of the Arab conquest, the race spread itself, and on which not Arabian genius, but the mighty impress of Islam, the new faith of the Prophet of Mecca, stamped itself and gave it character and purpose. Arab art has nothing to do with the period of the ancient poetry.

Yet this life, so poor in material luxuries, so hard in its conditions of comfort, had its compensations. The pure air of the desert was favourable to longevity, and in itself a great source of health. The Arab was of noble breed, handsome and well-knit, and among the women beauty was common. The practice of constant warfare and tribal feud produced a manliness and self-reliance, joined to wariness and self-control, which fitted the people so trained for their great destiny in the conquests of Islam. The enormous leisure of the desert marches, where the means of living had to be gathered from the reluctant soil, stimulated to the highest degree the faculty of observation. In this great monotony of life such things as emerged took a quite exceptional importance. The varying features of the landscape,—mountains and stony plains, black sheets of lava and dunes of shifting sand, the rare springs and pools, the scanty trees and shrubs, the great storms of lightning and rain, which in a short time transformed the face of the wilderness and brought a sudden glory of spring, and especially the wild creatures with which their constant movement made the tribesmen familiar,—all these things were an interest and bore a meaning which, in a richer and more ample condition of life, might not have made themselves felt. Out of this material they

constructed their poetry, and it is of the artistic side of this poetry that I wish to speak this afternoon.

The Arabian ode reflects this monotony, but it also reflects the keen sense of observation with which its authors were gifted. Of the human aspects, of the pictures of life and conduct which it displays, there is much to say, but these are not now my theme. What I wish to set before you are those little landscapes, chiefly of animal life, which appear to me to represent that art which in other lands finds expression in painting, which follows similar methods, and which brings before us the scene with a strength and sudden vividness which can be matched in few other literatures.

As in the Homeric poetry, these passages commonly present themselves as similes, and they are mostly used to illustrate the swiftness of the poet's horse or camel. For this purpose he chooses the fleetest among the fauna of the desert—the swooping eagle, the oryx or white antelope, the wild-ass, or the ostrich and his mate; and of each in its surroundings he makes a picture, as faithful and characteristic as he is able, in which every stroke is intended to heighten the impression of matchless speed which the animal puts forth. The first of these pictures which I wish to set before you is that of the eagle and the fox, taken from 'Abid, a poet who, as I explained before, is one of the earliest of whom we have any remains. He is describing the swiftness of his mare¹—

“She is like an eagle, swift to seize her quarry—in her nest are the hearts of her victims gathered.

She passed the night on a way-mark, fasting, still, upright,
like an aged woman whose children all are dead;

And at dawn she stood in the piercing cold, the hoarfrost
dropping from her feathers.

Then she spied on the moment a fox far off—between him
and her was a droughy desert;

¹ 'Abid, *Diwan*, i, vv. 35-45.

Then she shook her feathers and stirred herself, ready to rise
and make her swoop.

He raised his tail and quailed as he saw her—so behaves his
kind when fright takes hold of them.

She rose, and swiftly towards him she sped, gliding down,
making for him her prey.

He creeps, as he spies her coming, on his belly: his eyes show
the whites as they turn towards her.

Then she swoops with him aloft, and casts him headlong, and
the prey beneath her is in pain and anguish;

She dashes him to earth with a violent shock, and all his face
is torn by the stones;

He shrieks—but her talons are in his side: no help!—with
her beak she tears his breast!"

The words are few, but the scene is presented with
astonishing vividness. This poem was probably composed
between 510 and 530 A.D.

The next piece I would ask you to consider may be
a hundred years later in date. It is taken from the
celebrated poem by Labid of 'Āmir, one of the *Mu'allaqāt*.
Labid was an older contemporary of Muḥammad, and in
his old age became a Muslim, but the poem belongs to his
pagan days. In it he compares his riding camel, first, to
a wild-ass, and afterwards to that beautiful animal of the
Arabian wilderness, the white oryx, which the Arabs
called the wild-cow. The wild-ass is one of the swiftest
of the Arabian fauna, and has not so far (to my knowledge)
been observed by European travellers in Arabia. The
poets are specially fond of taking it as a type of speed,
and throughout the old poetry you meet it constantly.
Sometimes it is a pair, as here, male and female; some-
times the male has several mates. He grazes with them
in the lush meadows filled with springing pasture by the
winter rains, having no need to drink, so juicy is their food,
until the oncoming of summer dries up the herbage, and
they have to seek the water-springs. But the male is

wary, and keeps his mates together on a rising ground from which he can scan the country round, until, with the setting of the sun and the coming on of dusk, he thinks it safe to make for the water. In many of these pictures, but not in that which is given by Labîd, a hunter lies hid in a booth of reeds by the side of the spring, and, as the wild-ass and his mates come down, shoots at them. In nearly every picture he misses, but the surprise sends the wild-asses galloping away with frantic speed.

"She is like a wild she-ass great with young, mated to a white-bellied male, thin and spare from his fights with the stallion asses, on whom he has fallen with hoof and teeth.

He takes his way with her to the uplands among the hills, his sides all scarred, with jealousy in his heart roused by her rebellion and her desire,

To the broken ground of ath-Thalabût, where he scans from the heights thereof the wilderness of rolling uplands, in dread lest the guide-stones should hide a foe.

At last, when they came to the end of the six months of winter—and nought had they need to drink for the long time of their sojourn there,

They resolved to turn again, and seek with a steady purpose the water-springs: and the way to gain one's end is to set the heart firm!

Their pasterns were pricked by the awns of the barley grass, and there swept over them the fierce blasts of summer, in their swiftness and their heat;

And they raised as they galloped along a train of dust whose shadows fled like the smoke of a blazing fire with its wood wrapped in ruddy flame,

Fanned by the north wind, its dry sticks mixed with moist stems of *'arfaj*, with its volumes of rolling smoke that rise over the tongues of flame.

He sped along, thrusting her before him—a custom it was of his, when she turned aside from the road, to thrust her on in front.

And they plunged together by the bank of the rivulet into a pool, brimming, set close with rushes, and splashed about its waters :

A pool set round with reeds that screened it from the sun—those of them that lay in a tangle on its surface, and those that stood upright.”¹

Then he turns to another simile, that of the oryx. This animal has often been seen by Europeans, and in Mr. Douglas Carruthers' account of his journey in Northern Arabia in the winter (January–March) of 1909, published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for March, 1910, there is a photograph (p. 240) of two oryx which he had shot; he obtained five specimens in all. The Arabian animal is, according to the native authorities, of two species, one white, the other dust-coloured, the former inhabiting the mountains, the latter the sands. Both male and female have long and straight horns, most formidable weapons. In the Natural History Museum you may see, in the collection of African antelope, a specimen of the *Oryx beisa*, which is the African species, differing from the Arabian (*Oryx beatrix*) in colour, in greater size, and in the horns being curved; but the way in which the specimen is mounted, with the horns couched forward in defence, shows the attitude which Labid describes. The name of this animal in Arabic, *ri'm*, corresponds with the Hebrew *re'em*, Assyrian *remu* (A.V. “unicorn”), but it is believed that the latter denotes the wild-ox, a bulkier and fiercer animal than the oryx. Sometimes the poets describe a solitary male, sometimes, as here, a female left behind by the herd, which generally consists, apparently, of a number of female oryx with only one male in attendance. The picture always includes an attack on the animal by a hunter or hunters with dogs, and, as in the former case of the wild-ass, the attack fails,

¹ Labid, *Mu'allaqah*, vv. 25–35.

and the oryx, after dispatching some of the dogs with his spear-like horns, flies away to vanish into the wilderness.

"Is she like my camel, or shall I compare her to a wild-cow that has lost her calf, who lingers behind the herd, its leader and its stay?

Flat-nosed is she: she has lost her calf, and ceases not to roam about the marge of the sand-meadows, and cry

For her youngling just weaned, white, whose limbs have been torn by the ash-grey hunting wolves, who lack not for food.

They came upon it while she knew not, and dealt her a deadly woe—verily, when Death shoots, his arrow misses not the mark!

The night came upon her, as the dripping rain of the steady shower poured on, and its continuous fall soaked the leafage through and through;

She took shelter in the hollow roots of a tree that spread this way and that, on the skirts of the sand-hills, where the fine sand sloped her way.

The steady rain poured down, and fell on the ridge of her back, in a night when thick cloud-masses hid away all the stars;

And she shone in the face of the mirk with a white glimmering light, like a pearl born in a sea-shell that has dropped from its string,

Until, when the darkness was folded away and morning dawned, she stood, her legs slipping in the muddy earth.

She wandered distracted about all the pools of Su'a'id for seven nights twinned with seven whole long days,

Till at last she lost all hope, and her full udders shrank—the udders that had not failed in all the days of her suckling and weaning.

Then she caught the sound of men, and it filled her heart with fear—of men from a hidden place: and men, she knew, were her bane.

She rushed blindly along, now thinking the chase before and now behind her: each was a place of dread,

Until, when the archers lost hope, they let loose on her
trained hounds with hanging ears, each with a stiff
leather collar on its neck ;

They beset her, and she turned to meet them with her horns,
like to spears of Samhar in their sharpness and their
length,

To thrust them away : for well she knew, if she drove them
not off, that the fated day of her death among the fates
of beasts had come ;

And among them Kasābi was thrust through and slain, and
rolled in blood lay there, and Sukhām was left in the
place where he made his onset."¹

(Samhar is said to be the name of a maker of spears ;
and Kasābi, "the Winner," and Sukhām, "Blackey," are
the names of hounds.)

The Arabian poets knew intimately the habits of the
ostrich. They describe its manner of laying out its nest—
by heaping up a ring of sand with its feet. They tell
us how the eggs are marshalled in this circle, and how
the male ostrich—alone, I believe, among birds—does the
principal part of the hatching. They draw for us the
male bird, with his heavy black plumage, and small head
set on a long featherless neck, comparing him to a young
camel, unskilfully laden by the handmaids (who in Arabia
to this day do the packing-up and pitching of the tents)
with the bundles containing the tents, so that these
bundles of black haircloth hang loosely on either side,
and seem in danger of slipping off. During the daytime,
while a female bird guards the nest, but does not sit
on the eggs (which are left to be kept warm by the
sun), the male and one of his mates roam over the
country, seeking the food on which they live—the seeds
of the colocynth or bitter gourd, and other plants
known to us only by their Arabic names. Then, in
the afternoon, rain begins, at first a drizzle, changing

¹ *Mu'allagah*, vv. 36-52.

to a heavier shower with lightning and hail, and the ostriches hurry towards the nest. The description of this race against the weather is the occasion which brings them into the poems as a type of unparalleled swiftness. The stride of a male ostrich at full speed is said to reach to 24 feet. I should like to have given you the most ancient passage which draws for us this picture, in a fine poem¹ by 'Alqamah of Tamīm; but unfortunately the text is not in good condition, and the passage contains several words of which the meaning is uncertain. I will give you instead an extract from a famous ode by Ghailān, called Dhu-r-Rummah, of the tribe of 'Adi b. 'Abd Manāt, who died in 735 A.D., aged 40, the last of the classical desert poets.²

"In the evening the male ostrich sets out to visit his brood;
they are neither so far away that he should despair of
reaching them nor close at hand.

He hastens along under the shadow of a cloud flashing with
lightning, driven ever to greater speed by the howling of
a fierce rising wind, with its skirts sweeping gravel into
the air;

And by his side speeds his mate, small-headed, mixed black
and white, low in stature, and they swiftly put behind
them the space that parts them from their nestlings.

She shoots along, like the bucket of a well which the drawer
has toiled to raise, till, just when he sees it at the brink,
the rope snaps, and down it falls.

Ha! what a night journey! the wind blows and whirls them
on, and the rain beats noisily down, and the night draws
on apace.

The twain spare nought of their strength, but push unwearied
on, until the skins of both of them are nigh to bursting.

And wheresoever they pass through, in the race that they run
together, the speed that they accomplish is a marvel.

¹ *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, No. cxx.

² Dhu-r-Rummah's *bd'iyyah*, vv. 119-30 (Smend's edition).

They fear for the night-prowling beasts or the danger of the hail, if darkness besets them before they reach their clamouring brood,

That have come forth from the egg with scanty plumage, and nought to shield them but only the level earth, and a mother fond, and a father—

Eggs from which when split they came forth in the wilderness like dry bare skulls, or colocynths emptied of their seeds:

They burst and gave birth to chickens, crook-backed, with limbs bent together, as though their skins were covered with a scab;

Their beaks gape like split billets of lote-wood, set in heads like round balls of clay, on which no down has yet sprouted."

And here I may be permitted a digression. Classical Arabic poetry, as we know it, belongs to the century before Muhammad and the century after, that is, roughly, the period from about 500 to 700 A.D. The earliest poems that we possess come before us full-grown: everything is settled—laws of metre and rhyme, choice of subjects, language, order of treatment. It is impossible to suppose that these poems, so fixed in their conventions and so regular in their style and workmanship, are not the product of long development, of which, however, owing to the fact that they were handed down by memory only, and were not written, no record now remains. But if Arabic literature and its history can give us no information as to the birth and growth of this poetry, we have, in the literature of Israel, as Dr. George Adam Smith pointed out last December in his Schweich Lectures, evidence that a similar treatment of similar themes prevailed among that people, which makes it no extravagant hypothesis to suppose that the commencement of the elaboration of a common Semitic form of poetic treatment may date back to the time when the Northern Arabs and their cousins of Israel dwelt

together in the mother country of the Semites. In the early poetry of the Hebrews we have the most striking analogies to the poetry of classical Arabia. On this subject I have only to refer you to Dr. Smith. But I wish to point out here that the four animals which the Arabs selected as types of speed are used for precisely the same purpose in the 39th chapter of the Book of Job. The wild-ass is dealt with in vv. 5-9—¹

"Who hath sent out the wild ass free,
or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass,
Whose house I have made the wilderness,
and the salt land his dwelling-place?
The range of the mountains is his pasture,
and he searcheth after every green thing."

The wild-ox, the *re'em*, is depicted in vv. 9-12, and the ostrich in vv. 13-18—

"What time she rouseth herself up to flight,
She scorneth the horse and its rider."

The eagle is described in vv. 27-30—

"She dwelleth on the rock and hath her lodging there,
upon the crag of the rock, and the strong hold;
From thence she spieth out the prey;
her eyes behold it afar off.
Her young ones also suck up blood,
and where the slain are, there is she."

The next piece I wish to lay before you is a passage from that magnificent poem by ash-Shanfara of Azd, which is the pride of Arabia and the despair of translators. It has been essayed in French by Silvestre de Sacy and Fulgence Fresnel; in German by Rückert, Kosegarten, Edw. Reuss, and Weil; and in English in the Journal of this Society, many years ago, by Sir James Redhouse, besides another version by a venturesome hand which I cannot at present identify. Here there is no question of speed. The poet, a hardy brigand, bent upon the

¹ The quotations from Job are taken from the Revised Version.

destruction and spoiling of his foes, compares himself to the wolf which he draws for us—¹

"I go forth in the morning trusting to but little food, as goes forth a wolf, lean of flank, grey of fell, whom the deserts lead on from wild to wild.

He goes forth at dawn a-hungred, lifting his head to scent the breeze as he trips along, darting down the tails of the ravines, and running with long strides.

Then, when the hope of food fails him in the place where he looked for it, he lifts up his voice and calls, and there answer him his fellows, like himself lean and spare,

Thin and scant of flesh, white in face with eld, restless as though they were arrows in the hands of a player who tosses them to and fro,

Or as a swarm of bees on the wing, who have been driven forth from their nest by the rods which the honey-seeker climbing up has thrust therein ;

Wide and yawning are their mouths, as though their jaws were billets of wood cleft in twain ; dreadful and fierce of face.

So he howls, and they howl after him in the empty wilderness, as though he and they were wailing women on a hill weeping for children dead.

He is silent, and they hold their peace ; he takes comfort from them, and they from him—starving wretches whom one as poor consoles, a wretch strengthened by comrades as forlorn :

He complains, and they plain with him ; then he forbears, and they alike forbear ; and sooth, when complaining brings no help, to bear is the fairest thing.

So he returns to his lair, and they to theirs, vying one with another in speed ; and each of them, in spite of his gnawing hunger, puts a good face on that which his heart hides."

The next scene I wish to set before you is very different. It is the work of one of the most interesting

¹ *Lāmiyah of ash-Shanfara*, vv. 26-35 (Constantinople ed., 1300, with commentaries of az-Zamakhshari and al-Mubarrad).

of the personalities of the Prophet's own time, Maimūn al-A'shà, of the tribe of Qais ibn Tha'labah, who died in 629 A.D., and whose home was in the mountains of Central Arabia, near the modern Riyāḍ, the capital of the Wahhābī rulers of the House of Sa'ūd. Al-A'shà was a travelled man of much experience, who spent his life in journeys from place to place, praising those who entertained him well, and reaping rich rewards. He knew the style of Persian banquets, and draws them for us, with their wealth of flowers, in a manner which shows that the luxury denounced by Horace survived to his day. He was familiar with the Court of al-Ḥīrah in the north, and with the Christian Bishops of Najrān in the south; he had heard talk of religion and philosophy, and was ready to set his verse to the taste of those he had to praise. One chief, for instance, he extols for his Christian charity, because he successfully rescued from death a hundred of his hereditary enemies (who had raided a caravan destined for the Persian king, and had been trapped by the governor of the frontier fortress), as "an Easter offering before God". The poem of which I shall give you a specimen is a panegyric upon a Kindite prince, Qais son of Ma'dikarib, of Ḥaḍramaut in the far south of Arabia, the father of al-Ash'ath, a personage who figures rather conspicuously in the early establishment of Islam in the Yaman. The poem opens, as all these odes do, with the praise of the poet's mistress, a lady of the tribe of Mālik—¹

"Like a silvery pearl is she which a man has won—
 a diver deft, from the tumbling Ocean's wave:
 One stout of heart, the chief of a crew of four,
 men diverse in colour, diverse in stock and kin;
 They had striven together, until at last they joined
 in casting on him the collar of captaincy.

¹ The passage will be found in the *Khizānat al-Adab*, vol. i, p. 544.

They sped on a bark well-balanced, fleet as the wind,¹
 that bore them swiftly into the Ocean's trough;
 Until, when their hearts grew cold with their labour lost,
 and month after month sped by, and nothing won,
 He cast the anchors right o'er a perilous deep—
 the anchors held, and the craft lay still in the flood.
 Then plunged he, long and lithe, his hair a shock,
 his teeth clenched firm, determined to brave the worst:
 He touched the bed, spitting oil from his mouth, and groped,
 athirst, his heart ablaze with the fire of want;
 This pearl had slain his father: he said, 'And I
 will follow his road, or win to the World's Desire.'
 Full half a day the waters covered him up:
 his comrades knew not what he wrought in the deep;
 Then won he his longed-for prize, and upward he bore
 the Pearl in its shell, that shone like a burning coal.
 Full heavy the price they offered: he would not sell;
 'Wilt thou not deal with us?' said they; he answered, 'No!'
 There mightst thou see the chapmen worshipping bow,
 while he clutched close to his throat the precious prize.
 E'en such is my Lady of Mālik's stock, what time
 she shows us the glory of her bright face unveiled."

Once more a comparison with Job suggests itself;
 al-A'shā seeks a fit similitude for his lady's face in a pearl,
 and straightway tells us the story of how this pearl was
 won from the deep. Job, in chapter xxviii, has to extol
 Wisdom, and compares it to other things most precious—

"Surely there is a mine for silver,
 and a place for gold which they refine."

Then follows that marvellous passage which sets before
 us in detail the craft of mining, as practised in the lands
 known to the poet. Is it fanciful to trace the same
 impulse in both authors—the tendency to digress and
 to describe, or, as I should rather say, to draw and paint
 pictures, when a word suggests a theme out of which
 a picture may be made?

¹ Reading *hādhimah* (or *khādhimah*) for the unsuitable *khādimah* of the text, as suggested by Professor Bevan.

The last of the passages which I shall bring forward in proof of my proposition is the great description of a storm which closes the *Mu'allaqah*¹ of Imra'al-Qais, the Prince of Kindah, "the Standard-bearer of the Poets in Hell," as the Prophet called him. Storms bringing much rain occur, though rarely, during the winter in Northern Arabia, and when they come great masses of water fill the *wādīs* or valleys, at other times dry, which score its surface. In January 1910, as we read in the newspapers, such a storm came while the Khedive of Egypt was travelling on the pilgrimage between Mecca and Medina, and detained his caravan for three whole days before the waters subsided. An Indian friend of mine, who was making the pilgrimage that year, and was waiting at Mecca for carriage to take him to Jeddah, experienced the same storm, and I should like to quote his account of it—

"Early on the morning of the 5th January there was a heavy downpour of rain for about an hour, and then a little later water rushed down in torrents from the surrounding hills. The whole town was inundated, and the *Ḥarām* was deluged, the water round the *Kābah* being in places eight or nine feet deep. The Black Stone and the Zamzam Well lay for some hours submerged in water, and it was not till next day that the *Ḥarām* was completely drained, partly by manual labour and partly by opening out the old underground passages, which had become choked. The vast deposit of silt, however, took more than a week to remove."

Later, the same pilgrim, on February 25, on his way from Medina to Yambo', encountered another rain-storm; and though little rain fell in his immediate neighbourhood, he had again the sight of torrents of water coming down from the higher hills, and at almost every turn of the

¹ *Mu'allaqah*, vv. 71-82. The version is quoted from my *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, published in 1885.

valleys saw great collections of hail by the roadside. Such phenomena, in drougthy Arabia, naturally strike the beholder with wonder and admiration, and afford apt material for poetry. Imra'al-Qais's poem may be dated at about the same time as that of 'Abid, the first of my extracts, between 510 and 530 A.D. Both poets have many passages descriptive of storms.

"O Friend, see the lightning there! it flickered, and now is gone,
as though flashed a pair of hands in the pillar of crownèd
cloud.

Nay, was it its blaze, or the lamps of a hermit that dwells
alone,
and pours o'er the twisted wicks the oil from his slender
cruse?

We sat there, my fellows and I, 'twixt Ḍārij and al-'Udhaib,
and gazed as the distance gloomed, and waited its oncoming.
The right of its mighty rain advanced over Qaṭan's ridge;
the left of its trailing skirt swept Yadhbul and as-Sitār:
Then over Kutaifah's steep the flood of its onset drave,
and headlong before its storm the tall trees were borne to
ground;

And the drift of its waters passed o'er the crags of al-Qanān,
and drave forth the white-legged deer from the refuge they
sought therein.

And Taimā—it left not there the stem of a palm aloft,
nor ever a tower, save one firm built on the living rock;
And when first its misty shroud bore down upon Mount
Thabīr,
he stood like an ancient man in a grey-streaked mantle
wrapt.

The clouds cast their burden down on the broad plain of
al-Ghabīṭ,
as a trader from al-Yaman unfolds from the bales his store;
And the topmost crest on the morrow of al-Mujaimir's cairn
was heaped with the flood-borne wrack like wool on a distaff
wound.

At earliest dawn on the morrow the birds were chirping blithe,
as though they had drunken draughts of riot in fiery wine;

And at even the drowned beasts lay where the torrent had
borne them, dead,
high up on the valley sides, like earth-stained bulbs of
squills."

Here, it seems to me, is true pictorial art of the finest kind, and I must confess to wonder at those scholars who, like Wellhausen, deny to the ancient Bedouin poetry poetic interest,¹ or, like Professor D. B. Macdonald, tell us that "the idea that the Arab tribes respected their poets [for the beauty or vigour of their verses]—in the first instance at least—because of their keen artistic sense, their appreciation of the beauties of poetry, must be given up".² Whatever may have been the origin of poetry among the Arabs, or the Semites in general, it appears to me to be clear that, by the time when the classical poets flourished—the two centuries from 500 to 700 A.D.—it was precisely for their literary qualities that their work was admired, and that poets were ranked in the order of merit. Professor Macdonald, basing his theory on Professor Goldziher's treatise on the origin of Arabian Satiric poetry, in Part I of his *Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie*, imagines that the Arabs thought, and that the poets themselves thought, that "their verses came to them, out of the sky apparently, apart from their labour and will"—that they were the product of a kind of cataleptic seizure, "from which the poet returned with strange words in his mouth." "The Oriental poet," he says, "cannot rid himself of the faith that verses come from without." All these utterances appear to me to proceed from a misapprehension of Professor Goldziher's meaning in the treatise referred to. That great scholar recognizes as fully as anybody else³ that the works of the classical age of Arabic poetry must be regarded as products of art,

¹ The passage is in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, i, p. 105.

² *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1909, p. 23.

³ See p. 16.

and not of external inspiration. The anecdotes of the connexion of the *Jinn* with the work of the poets, as he notes on p. 2, are to be ascribed to the humbrous imagination of ingenious literary speculators of later ages, who had no real touch with the times of heathenism. Many of them are collected in a work, the preface to the *Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab*, which is a pseudonymous compilation of late date and of no authority whatever. They are, moreover, without exception stories told *about* the poets, not utterances of the poets themselves, who again and again boast of their skill in composition, and undoubtedly take the credit of their work to their own account. It is in the past, before the beginning of the age of which the poetry has come down to us, that Professor Goldziher seeks the facts on which he bases his contention that the Arabs thought that poetic creation, and especially the inspiration of satire, was the work of higher powers, external to the poet. On p. 42 he expressly states that no specimen of such inspiration has descended to us from that ancient time. He proceeds, however, to argue, from the story of Balaam in the Book of Numbers, that such a belief must at one time have existed. Whether it did or not, the materials gathered by him relate to a field of poetry—that of satire (*hijā*)—which is outside our present subject, and have little or no bearing upon those presentments of artistic workmanship which I have been endeavouring to lay before you. I repeat that, in the age of the classical poetry, whatever may have been the case centuries before, the poet was valued for his art, and, as in Roman poetry of the golden and silver ages the *carmen* of the early time had lost its religious or magical import and become a product of pure literature, so it was in Arabia from the days of Imra' al-Qais to those of Dhu-r-Rummah.

When I spoke of 'Abid in February last, one of my critics observed that the Prophet had said that poetry was

magic. This is not precisely the form of the tradition,¹ which uses the word magic (*siḥr*) not of poetry (*shiʿr*), but of eloquence (*bayān*). The words are related to have been spoken after hearing some verses recited which extorted Muḥammad's admiration: "Verily in eloquence there is a magic, and in verse there is a compelling power" (*ḥukman*, or according to another reading, *ḥikmatan*, "a mighty skill"). It seems to me evident that by these words the Prophet meant no more than to express his wonder and delight at the verses he had heard, and that he used the word "magic" in no other sense than that in which we might use it ourselves. He had grievances against the poets, and in the Qurʾān² they are denounced as liars, inspired by the Devils, wandering in every valley distraught as they compose their verses. But to argue from such a passage that there was no appreciation of poetry as literature and artistry among the Arabs, seems to me to press the words far beyond what they will bear. We possess the poetry and can test it for ourselves; we know from innumerable anecdotes how poets were esteemed and judged by their hearers; and I am convinced that, in the times of the classical poetry, the decision dealt with artistic merit, just as it did at Rome in the days of Augustus, or does among ourselves at the present time.

¹ See the preface to Tibriti's commentary on the *Hamāsah*, p. 1, ll. 12-19; also Maidāni, *Proverbs*, i, 1.

² Chap. xxv, vv. 221-7.

VII

ON SOME BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LUCKNOW PROVINCIAL MUSEUM

BY PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS

[N a recent number of the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, p. 106 ff., Mr. R. D. Banerji has edited twenty-one Brāhmi inscriptions of the "Scythian" period, of which nine had been already published by him, under the name of R. D. Bandhyopadhyaya, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, n.s., vol. v, pp. 243 f., 271 ff. We certainly owe a great debt of gratitude to him for making these records accessible, although the way in which he has acquitted himself of his task cannot meet with unreserved praise. I do not undervalue the difficulties which beset these inscriptions. I know that it cannot be expected that the first reading and interpretation of an inscription of this class should be always final. But what may be reasonably expected, and what, I am sorry to say, is wanting in Mr. Banerji's paper, is that carefulness and accuracy that have hitherto been a characteristic feature of the publications in the *Epigraphia Indica*. It would be a tedious and wearisome business to correct almost line for line mistakes that might have been easily avoided with a little more attention. The following pages will show that this complaint is not unjustified.

All the twenty-one inscriptions are in the Provincial Museum of Lucknow. Of eight of them the find-place is unknown; nine are, or are said to be, from Mathurā; while four are assigned by Mr. Banerji with more or less confidence to Rāmnagar. Among the Mathurā inscriptions there are three, No. 7 = B, 42;¹ No. 10 = B, 66;

¹ B refers to my "List of Brāhmi Inscriptions" in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, appendix, where the full bibliography is given.

No. 11 = B, 75, which were previously edited by Bühler. As far as the dates are concerned, Mr. Banerji's readings are undoubtedly an improvement on those of his predecessor (*aṣṭapana* instead of 40 4 *hana* in No. 7, *hamava* 1 instead of *haṇa va* 1 in No. 10, *saṁ* 90 9 and *dī* 10 6 instead of *saṁ* 90 5 and *dī* 10 8 in No. 11). But the rest of his new readings seems to me only partly correct. I will quote here only one point which is linguistically interesting. In No. 11 the name of the nun at whose request the gift was made, read *Dhāma*[*thā*]ye by Bühler, is read *Dhama*[*śi*]r[*i*]ye by Mr. Banerji, who adds that the reading of the third syllable is certain though the crossbar of the *śa* is not distinct in the impression. Mr. Venkayya has already remarked in a note that in the plate the reading appears to be *Dhāmadharaye*. The impression before me leaves no doubt that it really is *Dhāmadharāye*. This is a new instance of the lengthening of an *a* before *r* + consonant in the Mathurā dialect, on which I have commented, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 31.

Of the rest of the Mathurā inscriptions, No. 2 = B, 88, and No. 6 = B, 52, were brought to notice by Growse, and No. 13 = B, 140, by Dowson; No. 14 = B, 109, was read by Mr. V. A. Smith; No. 18 was mentioned by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 311. I will pass over Nos. 2, 6, and 18, as I have no impressions of them. But of the very interesting inscription No. 13, which is engraved on a large slab of red sandstone, there is an impression among the materials collected by Dr. Hoernle for the intended second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. It is not a very good one, but it is nevertheless very valuable as it was taken at a time when the inscription was in a more complete state than at present. I read it:—

1. . . āpavane¹ Śrikunde² svake³ vihāre Kakatīkānaṁ
pacaṇaḥ niyatakāḥ⁴ nāṇatra vastussi⁵ saṁkkā-

layitavyah saṅghaparakitehi vyavahārihi upāṭhapito
yeṣaṃ ni[pa]⁶.

2. . . [ya]⁷—Sthāvarajātra—B[u]d[dh]arakṣita—Jivaśiri
—Buddhadāsa—Saṅgharakṣita
3. —Dhārmavarmma⁸—Buddhadeva—Akhila⁹

1. Bn. *ñavan[e]*. As to the first letters, the impression entirely differs from the collotype. The impression reads as above, but the vowel of the lost *akṣara* may have been an *o* of which only the right half is preserved. Above the last *akṣara* there is a short stroke which I should take to be meant for the *anusvāra* if this were not grammatically impossible.

2. Bn. reads *Śrikanḍe*, adding that "the word may be taken to be *kanṭhe*". This, of course, is impossible as the *ṇḍe* is just as distinct as the *u* of *ku*.

3. Bn. reads *stake*, adding that the word may be read as *svaka*. The reading *svake* is beyond doubt.

4. On this word Bn. makes a note which really seems to apply to the *ya*. However, it is superfluous as there is no *e*-stroke at the top of the *ya*. The two large horizontal strokes left unnoticed by Bn. I take to be the *anusvāra*, though they are rather below the line.

5. Bn. has wrongly separated these words. Perhaps the true reading is *vāstussi*.

6. The last *akṣara* is uncertain. It may have been also *ha* or *la*.

7. The *ya* is mutilated and uncertain.

8. Bn. *Dharmma*^o, but the *ā*-stroke is distinct; cf. above, p. 154.

9. Bn. *su[khā]la*. The vowel-sign of the *kha* undoubtedly is *i*.

Mr. Banerji has not translated this inscription, because "it contains some peculiar words". I venture to offer a translation, although owing to the mutilated state of the inscription the connexion between the first and the second line is not clear, and moreover the exact meaning of some terms cannot yet be settled—

"The fixed cooking-place of the Kakaṭikas, not to be put up in any other house, . . . in the grove . . . at

Śrīkuṇḍa (*Śrīkuṇḍa*), in their own Vihāra, has been set up by the merchants entrusted with (taking care of) the Order, whose . . . Sthāvarajātra, Buddharakṣita, Jivaśirī (*Jivaśrī*), Buddhadāsa, Saṅgharakṣita, Dhārmavarmma (*Dharmavarman*), Buddhadeva, Akhila . . ."

The *pacana* which forms the object of the donation apparently is the slab itself, and I do not see how the word can have any other meaning but "cooking-place", although the Sanskrit dictionaries assign that meaning only to *pacana* as a neuter. The words *nānātra vastuṣṣi saṃkkālayitavyaḥ*, which apparently stand in contrast to *niyatakaḥ*, seem to represent Sanskrit *nānyatra vāstuni saṃkalayitavyaḥ*, but I am by no means sure that in translating them I have hit the right meaning. The term *saṅghaprakṛta* occurs several times in the Buddhist inscriptions of Mathurā edited by Dr. Vogel in the Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā.

Probably the names in lines 2 and 3 are the names of these *saṅghaprakṛtas*. It is more difficult to say who is meant by *Kakaṭikānam*. I take this to be a proper name, and as a cooking-place in a Vihāra can hardly be intended for anybody but the monks living there, *Kakaṭika* would seem to be the name of those monks, though I cannot say why they were called so. Śrīkuṇḍa, where the Vihāra was situated, is mentioned as the name of a *tīrtha* in the Mahābhārata (iii, 5028), but, of course, it does not follow that the two localities are identical.

No. 14, incised on the waistband of a female figure, was read by Mr. Banerji :—

1. Puśabalāye dāne Dhama-
2. vaḍhakasa [bha]yāye

But in the impression as well as in the plate the first word is clearly *Pūśabalāye* (= *Puṣyabalāyāḥ*) and the last *bharyāyā*.

We next turn to the inscriptions of unknown origin, Nos. 3, 5, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21. In No. 3, incised on the base of a Jaina image, the arrangement of the lines is irregular. It seems that it was intended at first to record only the gift and that the statement about the *nivartana* was added afterwards to the left. I read the inscription from an impression :—

1. siddham saṃ 9 he 3 di 10 Grahamitrasya dhitu
Avaśirisya¹ vadhue Kaḷalasya²
2. kuṭubiniye³
3. Grahapalaye⁴ dati —⁵
4. Koḷeyāto⁶ gaṇato⁷
5. Ṭhaniyato kulato Vairato⁸ [śākha]to
6. Arya-Taraka[s]ya⁹
7. [n]jiva[r]tanā

1. Bn. reads *Śivaśirisya* and adds that "the first syllable of the word *Śivaśiri* may also be read as *Avaśiri*" [*sic* !]. The first syllable of the word is undoubtedly *a*.

2. Bn. reads *vadhu Ekraḍalasya* and remarks that the last word may also be *Ekraḍalasya*. There is certainly no subscript *ra*, but there is a small horizontal stroke which makes the *ka* almost look like *kka*. As, however, the word cannot begin with a double consonant, it is apparently accidental. The second letter of the word is *ḷa*; see my paper on the lingual *ḷa* in the Northern Brāhmī script, above 1911, pp. 1081 ff.

3. Bn. *kuṭu[m]biniye*, but there is no trace of the *anusvāra*.

4. Bn. *Gahapalāye*. The subscript *ra* is quite distinct, but there is no *ā*-stroke attached to the *la*.

5. Bn. does not take any notice of the sign of punctuation.

6. Bn. *Koṭṭiyāto*. Cf. note 2 above.

7. Bn. *gaṇāto*. There is no trace of the *ā*-stroke.

8. Bn. *Ṭhaniyāto kulāto Vair[ā]to*. There is not the slightest trace of an *ā*-stroke in the three words.

9. Bn. *Tar[i]ka[s]ya*. The *i*-sign is not visible in the impression.

"Hail! In the year 9, in the 3rd month of winter, on the 10th day, the gift of Grahapalā (*Grahapālā*), the

daughter of Grahamitra, the daughter-in-law of Avaśiri (Avaśrī), the wife of Kaḷala, at the request of the venerable Taraka out of the Koleyā gaṇa, the Ṭhaniya (Sthānīya) kula, the Vairā (Vajrā) śākhā."

Of the short inscription between the feet of the statue I have no impression. It seems to refer to Grahapālā and to characterize her as the pupil of some Jaina monk.

No. 5 is engraved on the pedestal of a Jaina statue. I read it from an impression:—

1. mahārājasya Huveḷṣasya¹ savacarā² 40 8 va 2 d[i] 10 7
etasya puvāyaṃ K[o][i]ye gaṇā³ Bama⁴ . .
2. [si]ye k[u]le⁵ Pacanāgariya⁶ śākhāya⁷ Dhañāvalasya⁸
śiśiniya⁹ Dhañāśiriya¹⁰ nivatana
3. Budhikasya¹¹ vādhuye¹² Śavatrātāpotriya¹³ Yaśāya¹⁴
dāna¹⁵ Sa[m]bhavasya prodima¹⁶ pra-
4. t[i]stapita¹⁷

1. Bn. *Huvakṣasya*, but the *e*-stroke is quite distinct.

2. Bn. *sa[m]vacar[e]*. There is no trace of the *anusvāra* in the impression, and the last letter is distinctly *rā*.

3. Bn. *K[ottī]ye [gaṇe]*. Regarding the first word see note 2 on p. 157. The last letter is clearly *ṇā*, not *ne*, though *gaṇā*, of course, would be the correct form. Above the line, between the *ye* and the *ga*, there is a small *ta*. Perhaps the engraver intended to correct *Koliye gaṇā* into the ordinary *Koliyāto gaṇāto*, but gave the task up again.

4. The *ma* is missing in the impression, but distinct on the plate. Read *Bamadā*.

5. The *ku* is very small and has been inserted afterwards.

6. Bn. *nagariye*, but there is no trace whatever of the *e*-stroke. Read *Ucanāgariya*.

7. Bn. *śākāya*. This certainly was the original reading, but the *kā* has been altered afterwards to *khā*.

8. Bn. *Dhujhavalas[ya]*. The second letter is as clearly as possible *ṇa*, and there can be only a doubt whether the small stroke at the top is to be read as *ā* or not. The first letter may be *ḍhu*, but as the prolongation of the vertical line in the *dha* occurs again in *Budhikasya*, where it cannot denote *u*, and as

Dhañāvalasya would be an etymologically unaccountable form, I am convinced that it is *dha*.

9. Bn. *śiṣin*[i]y[e], but the *e*-stroke is quite improbable.

10. Bn. *Dh*[ujhaś]iriy[e]. The remarks on the first two *akṣaras* of *Dhañāvalasya* apply also to the first two *akṣaras* of this word. There is no *ē*-stroke on the *ya*.

11. Bn. [*Bu*]dhukasya. See note 8; the *i*-stroke is distinct.

12. Bn. *vadhuye*. The *ā*-stroke of *vā* is perfectly clear.

13. Bn. *Śavatrana*(?)*potr*[i]y[e]. The *ā*-stroke of *trā* is distinct. The fourth *akṣara* is clearly *tā*; cf. e.g. the word *nivatana*. There is no *e*-stroke on the *ya*.

14. Bn. *Yaśāy*[e]. There is no *e*-stroke on the *ya*.

15. Bn. *dana*. The *ā*-stroke is distinct.

16. Bn. *proṭima*, but the second *akṣara* is undoubtedly *dī*; *pro*, of course, is a mistake for *pra*.

17. Bn. *ta*(*ti*)*stape*(*pi*)*ta*. The *i*-stroke of *ti* is rather indistinct.

"In the year 48, in the 2nd month of the rainy season, on the 17th day, of *mahārāja* Huveṣa, on that (date specified as) above, at the request of *Dhañāśiri* (*Dhanyāśrī*), the female pupil of *Dhañāvala* (*Dhanyāvala*) in the *Koliya gaṇa*, the *Bama*[dā*]*siya* (*Brahmadāsika*) *kula*, the *Pacanāgarī* (*Uccānāgarī*) *śākhā*, an image of *Sambhava* was set up as the gift of *Yaśā*, the daughter-in-law of *Budhika*, the granddaughter of *Śavatrātā* (*Śivatrātā* ?)."

Mr. Banerji takes *Pacanāgarī* as a Prakrit form of *Vajranagarī*. Leaving aside the phonetical difficulties, this interpretation is impossible as the *Vajranagarī*, or rather *Vārjanagarī*, *śākhā* is a subdivision of the *Vāraṇa gaṇa*, not of the *Koliya gaṇa*. There can be no doubt that *Pacanāgarīya* is a mistake of the engraver for *Uccānāgarīya*.

The remaining inscriptions of unknown origin are but small fragments. No. 12, which consists of but two words and a half, is correctly read. No. 15, incised on the fragment of a slab, is read by Mr. Banerji:—

Gośālasya dhītā Mitrāye [danam*]

Linguistically and palæographically the form *Gośālasya* is striking. In *śā*, *tā*, *trā*, the *ā* is expressed by a long slanting line, whereas in *syā* the sign would seem to consist of a short and perfectly vertical stroke. Now, on the reverse of the two impressions before me just this stroke is entirely invisible, whereas the rest of the inscription is quite distinct. I have therefore no doubt that it is only an accidental scratch. Why, at the end, *danam* should be supplied instead of *dānam*, is unintelligible to me. I read:—

Gośālasya dhītā Mitrāye . . .

"[The gift] of Mitrā, the daughter of Gośāla."

Of Nos. 17, 19, 20, and 21, I have no impressions. But in the case of No. 19 even the collotype is sufficient to show that Mr. Banerji's readings are incorrect. He reads:—

1. . . . sya [v]ṛta Ku[tu]kasya ku[tu][mbini*] . . .

2. . . . na putrehi dhitihi natti pau[ttrehi*] . . .

The collotype shows:—

1. . . . sya . ṛtakuṇḍakasya kuṭu . . .

2. . . . na putrehi dhitihi nattipau . . .

" . . . of the wife of [Gh]ṛtakuṇḍaka, . . . sons, daughters, daughter's sons (*or* great-grandsons?) and son's sons . . ."

It is extremely unlikely that the second *akṣara* of the first line should have been *vṛ*, as the base of the letter is far too long for a *va*. Nor will it appear likely to anybody familiar with these inscriptions that the husband of the donatrix should bear the epithet "the chosen" as supposed by Mr. Banerji. I would restore the name to Ghṛtakuṇḍaka.

On No. 20 Mr. Banerji remarks—"The inscription is of some interest as it contains the number 800 expressed both in words and by numerical symbols, viz. by the symbols for 8 and 100 [*sic!*]." This statement refers to the second line of the fragment, which runs—

. . . m = aṣṭaśata 100 8 gandhi . . .

The two symbols are not joined in any way, and it therefore appears to me impossible that they should represent 800. The term *aṣṭaśata* is ambiguous. It certainly may mean 800, but just as well it may mean 108, as proved by the passages quoted in the PW. *sub voce aṣṭan*. Under these circumstances I cannot admit that we have here an instance of the symbol for 800.

The most important inscriptions, from an historical point of view, would seem to be that group which is supposed to come from Rāmnagar. Before we can discuss them, it will be necessary to enter into the history of the Rāmnagar excavations, though I do so reluctantly. It certainly is an unpleasant task, but it must be performed as we cannot allow science to be led astray by statements which apparently are not true.

In the Progress Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for 1891-2, Epigraphical Section, Dr. Führer gives a short account of the excavations at Rāmnagar in the Bareilly District. He first describes the remains of two Śaiva temples. With these we are not concerned here, as no inscriptions were found in them. He then speaks of the excavation of a mound which "brought to light the foundation of a brick temple, dedicated to Pārśvanātha, . . . dating from the Indo-Scythic period". These statements rest on epigraphical finds about which Führer says—"During the course of the excavations a great number of fragments of naked Jaina statues were exhumed, of which several are inscribed, bearing dates ranging from Samvat 18 to Samvat 74, or A.D. 96 to 152. An inscription on the base of a sitting statue of Neminātha records the following:—'Success! The year 50, second month of winter, first day, at that moment, a statue of divine Neminātha was set up in the temple of the divine

lord Pārśvanātha as a gift of the illustrious Indrapāla for the worship of the Arhats and for the welfare and happiness of the donor's parents and of all creatures."

In my opinion there can be no doubt that this inscription has been invented by the author of the Report. The date has been copied from the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 209, No. 36, which is dated [sam] 50 he 2 di 1 asya purvaya. The name of the donor and the phrase "for the worship of the Arhats" have been taken from the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 201, No. 9, which records the gift of Īdrapāla (*Indrapāla*), the son of a Gotī (*Gauptī*), for the worship of the Arhats. And the phrase "for the welfare and happiness of the donor's parents and of all creatures" has probably been taken from the Buddhist Kāman inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 212, No. 42, which ends: *mātapitṛṇām sarvasa[ta]nā ca hitasukhārttha*, "for the welfare and happiness of (the donor's) parents and of all creatures" (Bühler's translation).

The account of the excavation of the Jaina mound is followed by the description of "another extensive mound, . . . which on exploration was found to hide the remains of a very large Buddhist monastery, called Mihiravihāra, and dating from the middle of the first century A.D. . . . Externally the temple was decorated with elaborate brick carvings and numerous figures of terra-cotta, representing scenes from the life of Buddha, some of which bear short inscriptions and masons' marks. . . . An inscription on the base of a terra-cotta statue of Buddha records the following:—'Success! In the year 31 (A.D. 109), in the first month of the rainy season, on the tenth day, at that moment, a statue of divine Sākyamuni was set up within the precincts of the Mihiravihāra as a gift of the monk Nāgadatta, for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers, for the welfare and happiness of the donor's parents and of all creatures.'

In this case, also, the document supposed to give evidence for the name and the date of the building has been manufactured by Führer. The date comes from the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, pp. 202 f., No. 15, which is dated *sa 30 1 va 1 di 10*. The rest, with the exception of the name of the donor, is an almost literal copy of the Kāman inscription just mentioned, or rather of Bühler's translation of that inscription: "... at that moment, a statue of divine Śākyamuni (*Śākyamuni, was set up as*) the gift of the monk Nandika in the Mihiravihāra, for the acceptance of the Sarvastivādi (*Sarvastivādin*) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (*the donor's*) parents and of all creatures."

Führer next announces the discovery of another Buddhist monastery:—"The carved bricks found on the spot are of the same period as those of the Mihiravihāra, as they show the same patterns and bear short donative inscriptions." And he reports that "during these excavations 1,930 relics of antiquities have been exhumed and deposited in the Lucknow Provincial Museum", and again he states that the collection comprises among other things "numerous carved bricks and terra-cotta statuettes of Buddha and Śiva, inscribed", and "inscribed Jaina images of red sandstone".

To the inscriptions on the carved bricks and terra-cottas he devotes a special paragraph, where the audacity of the author emulates the clumsiness of his fabrication. The whole paragraph is nothing but an abstract of Bühler's introduction to his edition of the Sāñci inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, pp. 91 ff., with a few alterations necessary to serve the new purpose. In order to show that this is not saying too much I put the two accounts side by side—

Führer

Bühler

The inscriptions on the carved bricks and terra-cottas offer, in spite of their brevity, a good

Turning to the contents of the inscriptions, the latter offer, in spite of their extreme brevity,

many points of interest. Some record donations by corporate bodies or families, others give the names of individual donors, as monks, nuns, or laymen.

As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for constructing the large temples and monasteries of Adhichhatrá. This was, no doubt, permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings adopted by the Jaina ascetics of Mathurá and Adhichhatrá, who as a rule were content to exhort the laymen to make donations, and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions.

Among the individual monks named there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in Buddhist scriptures. As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest. To the highest rank

a good many points of interest . . . there are ten, recording donations by corporate bodies of families. The remainder give the names of individual donors . . . we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninety-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay-members of the Buddhist sect . . . As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurá and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions . . . Among the individual monks named in the inscriptions there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in the Buddhist scriptures . . . As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their social position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest.

belongs Indrapāla¹; descending lower in the social scale, we have a village landholder, *gahapati*; next we find numerous persons bearing the title *sethi* or alderman; simple traders, *vānika*; a royal scribe, *rājālipikara*; a professional writer, *lekhaka*; a royal foreman of artisans, *āvesani*; a trooper, *asavārika*; and a humble workman, *kamika*, are mentioned.

The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title *pajāvattī*, literally "a mother of children", is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely "the mother of N.N.", and that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own, is worthy

To the highest rank belongs the Vākalādevī . . . Descending lower in the social scale, we have a *gahapati* or village landholder . . . Next we find numerous persons bearing the title *sethi*, *sheṭh*, or alderman . . . Simple traders, *vānija* or *vānika*, are mentioned . . . A royal scribe, *rājālipikara*, occurs . . . a professional writer, *lekhaka* . . . , a (royal) foreman of artisans, *āvesani*, . . . a trooper, *asavārika*, . . . and a humble workman, *kamika* . . .

The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title *pajāvattī*, literally "a mother of children", . . . is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely "the mother of N.N.", and that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own, is worthy of note . . . The

¹ Indrapāla apparently refers to the donor of the inscription of Sāṃvat 50. The author has entirely forgotten that he has represented this man as a Jaina layman.

of note. The names of various lay donors and of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurāṇik worship during the second and first centuries B.C.

There are some names, such as Agnisarmā, Brahmadata, Visvadeva, Yamarakshitā, etc., which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, as Nāgā, Nāgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brāhmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, names like Vishnudattā, Balamitra, furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nandigupta, Kumāradatta, Sivanandin, do the same service to Śaivism. The occurrence amongst the Buddhists of Adhichhatrā of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishnavism and Śaivism, has, no doubt, to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families.

names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks, furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurāṇik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. . . .

There are further some names, such as Agisimā (*Agnisarmā*), . . . Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*), . . . Visvadeva, Yamarakhitā, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, Nāgā, . . . Nāgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, the names Vinhukā, an abbreviation for Vishnudattā . . . Balamitra . . . furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), . . . Sāmidata (*Svāmi*-, i.e. *Kumāra-datta*), . . . Sivanadi (*Śivanandī*) do the same service to Śaivism. The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishnavism and Śaivism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received

The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax amongst the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay, the prevalence of Vaishnavism and Saivism, not only during the second and first centuries B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishnavism and Saivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism.

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I have quoted this paragraph at full length in order to establish clearly the nature of this Report.¹ It is highly desirable that some competent person should give us an account of the real results of the excavations of Rāmnagar. Meanwhile, as all statements about epigraphical finds that admit of verification have proved to be false, it is very probable that no inscriptions at all have turned up at that

¹ At first sight my assertion would seem to be in conflict with the fact that Führer's Report is dated July 16, 1892, whereas parts x and xii of *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, containing Bühler's papers on the Sāñci and Mathurā inscriptions, were issued in August and December, 1892, respectively. But it must be borne in mind that Führer was assistant editor of the first two volumes of the *Ep. Ind.*, and in this capacity knew Bühler's papers before they were published.

place. At any rate, it seems to me impossible to make this Report the base of any identification as Mr. Banerji does. On p. 107 he says:—"None of the inscriptions from Rāmnagar have ever been properly edited. Translations of three of them have appeared in Dr. Führer's Report of the Epigraphical Section for 1901-2, out of which only one has been found. The rest could not be traced either in the galleries or the *Taḥkhana* of the Lucknow Provincial Museum." These remarks are full of inaccuracies. In 1902 Führer could write no reports, because he was no longer in the Government's service. So Mr. Banerji apparently refers to the Report for 1891-2. This Report, however, contains translations of only two inscriptions, and that the originals of these cannot be traced will cause no surprise after what has been said above. Now from the introductory remarks on No. 9, dated in Samvat 74, it appears that this is the inscription that Mr. Banerji supposes "to have been found". He says:—"The discovery of this inscription was announced by Dr. Führer in his Progress Report for the year 1891-2. But all the details have been omitted." As there is no particular reference to this inscription in the Report, Mr. Banerji's statement can refer only to the general phrase quoted above, that "a great number of fragments of naked Jaina statues were exhumed, of which several are inscribed, bearing dates ranging from Samvat 18 to Samvat 74". I need not repeat why this identification carries no weight. There is, moreover, an internal reason that makes it almost impossible that the inscription should come from Rāmnagar. The inscription, which is engraved on the four sides of a pedestal of a *sarvatobhadrikā*¹ image of a Tirthaṅkara, runs according to an impression:—

¹ Mr. Banerji calls it a *caturmukha* image, referring to Bühler as his authority. Bühler, it is true, occasionally used this term (e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 382, n. 51), but as far as I know it is not warranted by the inscriptions.

- A. 1. [saṃ 70]¹ 4 gr² 1 di 5 aya-Varanato gaṇa[to]
 2. [ku]lāto³ Vajanākari-to⁴ śākhato aya-Śirikā[to]
 B. 1. . . . nadhanasya vācakasya śīśiniye⁵ a[r]rya)
 2. . . . susa⁶
 C. 1. G[r]ahavilaye⁷ pañatidhariye śīśiniye A[r]hadās[iy[e]]⁸
 2.
 D. 1. . . . sya⁹ kuṭubiniye¹⁰ Dhara-valāye¹¹ dāti¹²
 2. . . . saśuve

1. The *sa* and the symbol for 70 are indistinct in the impression.

2. Bn. *gra*: but the *r* is as distinct as possible.

3. Bn. [ku]lato: but the *ā*-stroke is quite distinct.

4. Bn. *Vajanakarito*. Here, again, the *ā*-stroke of *nā* is distinct. As there is a flaw in the stone below the *ja*, the true reading may be *Vaira*^o.

5. The stroke to the right on the top of the *ya* seems to be accidental.

6. Bn. *sasa*; but the *u*-stroke of the first letter is beyond doubt. The second *aksara* may be *se*.

7. Bn. *Gahavalāye*. The subscript *ra* is not quite distinct, but probable. The *i*-stroke of the third *akṣara* is certain. The impression does not show an *ā*-stroke attached to the *la*.

8. Bn. *Aryadāsiye*. The second *akṣara* is not quite distinct, but it cannot possibly be *rya*.

9. Bn. [*deva*] *sua*.

10. Bn. *kuṭu[m]biniye*; but there is not the slightest trace of an *anusvāra*.

11. Bn. *Dharavalāye*. The *ā*-stroke of *rā* is distinctly visible.

12. Bn. *dati*. The *ā*-stroke attached to the middle of the *mātrkā* is perfectly clear.

“In the year 74, in the first month of summer, on the fifth day, [at the request] of Arhadāsī (*Arhaddāsī*), the female pupil of the *paṇatidharī* Grahavilā . . . venerable . . . the female pupil of the preacher . . . nadhana out of the venerable Varāṇa (*Vārāṇa*) gaṇa, the . . . *kula*, the Vajanākārī (*Vārjanāgarī*) śākhā, the venerable Śirika

(Śrika) [*saṁbhoga*], . . . the gift of Dharāvalā, the wife of . . . the mother-in-law (?) . . ."

The style of this inscription is exactly the same as that of the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā. The inscription closely agrees in particular with *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 209, No. 36, where Bühler's reading of the third line . . . *va-sya Dinarasya śiśini ayya-Jinadasi-panatidharitaya śiśinia* . . . has to be corrected to . . . *vasya Dinarasya śiśini ayya-Jinadasi panatidhari tāya śiśini a[yya]*¹ . . . Of greater importance and almost decisive is the mentioning of the Śrika *saṁbhoga*. The Śrigr̥ha or Śrika *saṁbhoga* has hitherto been found only in Mathurā inscriptions, and as it is probably the name of a territorial division it is extremely unlikely that it should ever be found outside of that territory. If, in the absence of all outward testimony, internal evidence may claim any credit, the inscription has to be assigned, not to Rāmnagar, but to Mathurā.

A second inscription that Mr. Banerji supposes to come from Rāmnagar is No. 4 of his paper. He says:—"Nothing is known about the provenance of this image. It is now standing on a masonry pedestal without a label close to the entrance of the Jaina section. In his report for the month of April, 1892, Dr. Führer, as the Curator of the Lucknow Museum, reports the presentation of '1 pedestal [*sic*] of a statue of a Tirthamkara, inscribed Śaka-Saṁvat 10, excavated from the ancient site of a Digambara temple at Ramnagar in Rohilkhand.'² It is possible that our image is referred to by these words of Dr. Führer." I am quite at a loss to understand how it is possible to arrive at such a conclusion. The report speaks of a pedestal with an inscription of Saṁvat 10. Here we have the statue of a seated Jina

¹ This passage shows that also in the inscription above *panatidhariye* is the epithet of *Grahaviḥaye* and not of *śiśiniye Arhadāsiye*. The real meaning of *panatidhari* has not yet been found.

² N.W.P. and Oudh Provincial Museum Minutes, vol. v, p. 6, Appendix A. This book is not accessible to me.

completely preserved with the exception of the left arm, and the inscription which is engraved on the upper and lower rim of the throne is dated in Samvat 12.¹ I may add, perhaps, that I should consider it a waste of time to search for that inscription of Samvat 10. We may rest assured that it existed just as little as the inscriptions mentioned in the Progress Report. Mr. Banerji's inscription itself is interesting as being of an unusual type. I read it from an impression:—

1. . . . sa[m]¹ 10 2 va 4 d[i] 10 1² eta[s]ya purvv[ā]yaṃ³
Koliyāto⁴ gaṇāto⁵ Ba[m]bha[d]āsiyāto kulāto
U[ce]-⁶
2. nagarito⁷ śā[kh]āto gaṇi[s]ya Aryya-Puśilasya śiśini
De[vā] paṇatihari Nānd[i]sya⁸ bhaginiye⁹ ni[vā]-¹⁰
3. rtanā sāvikāṇaṃ¹¹ vaddhaddhininaṃ¹² Jinadāsi Rudra-
deva¹³ Dāttāgālī¹⁴ Rudradevasāmini¹⁵ Rud[r]ad. . .¹⁶
dātā¹⁷ Gahamitr[ā]¹⁸ [Rud]ra . . . nā¹⁹
4. Kumāraśiri Vamadāsi Hastisenā Grahaśiri Rudradatā
Jayadāsi Mit[r]aśiri . . .²⁰

1. There is an indistinct symbol before *saṃ*, not noticed by Bn.

2. The last figure is possibly 2.

3. Bn. *purvvāyāṃ*. There is no *ā*-stroke on the *ya* in the impression.

4. Bn. *Koṭṭiyāto*. Regarding my reading see note 2 on p. 157.

5. Bn. *[ga]ṇato*. The *ā*-stroke is visible in the impression.

6. Bn. *U[cena]*-; but the *na* stands clearly at the beginning of line 2.

7. Possibly *°nāgarito*.

8. Bn. *Datila . ti Harinan[di]sya*. There is a distinct vowel-stroke on the first *dā*, but it may be *i*. The *vā* is not certain. In the *rī* the length of the vowel is not quite certain, but probable. The *ā*-stroke of *nā* is pretty clear, but the *i*-stroke of *ndi* is indistinct.

9. Bn. *bhaginiye*. The length of the vowel of the third syllable is very probable.

¹ The symbol for 2 is quite distinct.

10. Bn. *ni[vaṛ*]*. The *va* is not visible, but the *r* is quite distinct at the top of the *ta* of the following line.

11. Bn. *sāvikānām*. There is no *ā*-stroke in the last *akṣara*.

12. Bn. reads *vaddha[ki]ninām*, assuming that the *ki* was corrected from *ku* by the engraver himself. The second *akṣara* shows at the top a long stroke to the left which may be accidental. The third *akṣara* bears no resemblance whatever to *ki*, although the reading *dāhi* cannot be called absolutely certain.

13. Properly *Rudradova*, but the second stroke of the *da* may be accidental.

14. Bn. *Dāttāgālā*. The vowel-sign of the last letter is clearly *i* or possibly *ī*. The third *akṣara* may be *ryā*.

15. Bn. *°sāmi[nā]*. The reading *ni* is certain.

16. About four *akṣaras* are missing.

17. Bn. omits these two *akṣaras*, which are distinct in the impression.

18. Bn. *[Gahamī]tra*. The *ā*-stroke is not quite certain.

19. Bn. omits this word. Only the lower portion of the first two *akṣaras* is preserved.

20. Bn. reads *Kumāraśiri*, *Grahaśiri*, *Jayadāsī*, *Mit[r]aśiri*, but in all these cases the length of the final vowel is distinct in the impression. Bn. besides *Vamadasi*. The *ā*-stroke is distinct.

"In the year 12, in the fourth month of the rainy season, on the eleventh day, on that (date specified as) above, at the request of Devā, the *paṇatihari*, the sister of Nāndi (*Nandin*), the female pupil of the venerable Puśila (*Puṣyala*), the *gaṇin* out of the Koliya *gaṇa*, the Bāmbhadāsiya (*Brahmadāsika*) *kula*, the Ucenagari (*Uccairnagari*) *śākhā*, [a gift] of the female lay-hearers, the *vaddhaddhinīs*(?), *Jinadāsī*, *Rudradevā*(?), *Dāttāgālī*(?), *Rudradevasāminī* (*°svāminī*), *Rudrad.* *°dattā* (*°dattā*), *Gahamitrā* (*Grahamitrā*), *Rudra* . . *nā*, *Kumāraśiri* (*°śrī*), *Vamadāsī*, *Hastisenā*, *Grahaśiri* (*°śrī*), *Rudradatā* (*°dattā*), *Jayadāsī*, *Mitraśiri* (*°śrī*) . . . "

For *paṇatihari* = *paṇatidhari* cf. *paṇatihara* in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 209, No. 36, line 4, and the remarks

above. The term *vaddhaddhinī* I cannot explain. It may be a family name or the designation of a caste or profession or a geographical name. I have remarked already that Mr. Banerji's reading *vaddhakininam* cannot be upheld, and even the supposition that *vaddhaddhininam* is a clerical error for *vaddhakininam* is quite improbable as the word in the Prakrit dialects always shows a lingual *ḍḍh*. In the list of the *śrāvikās* the names from *Rudradeva* to *Rudradevasāmini* present some difficulties.¹ Perhaps *Rudradeva* and *Dāttāgālī* form one word, and *dāttāgālī* has some meaning unknown to me. At any rate, if *Rudradeva* was the name of a *śrāvikā*, we ought to expect *Rudradevā*, and *Dāttāgālī* sounds rather strange as a proper name. Mr. Banerji's translation "*Rudradevasāmi* (*Rudradevasvāmin*) of *Dāttāgāla*", partly based on wrong readings, of course is impossible. The name of a male person would be quite out of place in this list of female lay-hearers. *Rudradevasāmini* possibly belongs to the following name, now lost, and means "the wife of Rudradeva."

The third inscription that Mr. Banerji assigns to Rāmnagar is his No. 16. In the heading he speaks of a "fragment from the lower part of an image from Rāmnagar", but on p. 107 he says with regard to the inscription: "while another inscription (No. xvi) *evidently from the same place* refers to the name of the capital city [Adhi]chchhatra. The identity of Rāmnagar with Adhichchhatra seems to be certain." From these words it appears that the find-place is by no means warranted by any original document, but is merely conjectural. And the only reason why the inscription is held to

¹ Mr. Banerji thinks it possible that the two names Jinadāsi and Rudradevā have to be taken as one name, Jinadāsi-Rudradevā. He says: "The mother's name might have been prefixed to distinguish her from others bearing the name Rudradevā." I am not aware that anything of this kind ever occurs in the inscriptions, and it is therefore hardly necessary to discuss this opinion.

come from Rāmnagar seems to be the mentioning of Adhicchattra, which is supposed to be identical with Rāmnagar. Before we can examine this argument, we must turn to the text of the record itself. Strange to say, Mr. Banerji expressly states that "the inscription consists of a single line", while immediately afterwards he gives the text as standing in the original in two lines. He reads:—

1. . . . ṇaka gana (?) Dhanāṇyanasya ta . . . aya[ye]
 . . . [ye A]dh[i]cchatrakaye
2. [nivar*]tanā.

It is self-evident that this cannot be correct. The first words yield no sense at all, and it requires but a very slight familiarity with the language to see that a form like *Dhanāṇyanasya*, with a guttural *ṇ* before *ya*, is simply impossible. My own reading, based on an impression, is:—

1. . . . m[i]kat[o]¹ ku[la]t[o² Vajra]nāgar[i]to³ [śākhāt]o⁴
 āyaye⁵ . . . t[s]iy[e]⁶ [A]dh[i]cchatrakaye⁷
2. [nivar]tana[m]—⁸

1. The first *māṭṭkā* is doubtful. On the reverse of the impression it looks like *ma*. The *i*-sign is indistinct.

2. The first sign of this word has been simply omitted by Bn. I take it to be *ku*, with the *u*-sign attached to the right horizontal bar of the *māṭṭkā*. The last sign is certainly not *dha* as read by Bn., as it is quite different from the *dha* occurring later on.

3. Only the first two *akṣaras* of this word are not quite distinct. On the reverse of the impression the first letter looks like *va*, but I admit that in itself it might also be *na*, as read by Bn. The second letter I take to be *jra*. The upper horizontal line of the letter is indistinct. Below the letter there are some scratches that give the subscript *ra* the appearance of a subscript *ya*. Bn.'s reading *sya*, instead of *gari*, is impossible.

4. Only the upper half of this word is preserved.

5. The *ā*-stroke of the first letter is quite distinct. Also the reading *āryaye* is possible.

6. The *sa* is not certain.

7. The vowel-signs are destroyed and the original reading may therefore have been *Adhicchatrikāye*.

8. The *r* and the *anusvāra* is not certain, but the last *akṣara* is certainly not *nā*. The sign of punctuation has been omitted by Bn.

The translation would be — "The request of the venerable . . . *ṭsī*, the native from Adhicchatra, out of the [Petivā]mika (*Praitivarmika*) *kula*, the Vajranāgari *śākhā* . . . "

In my opinion the mentioning of Adhicchatra in this case by no means proves that the inscription comes from Adhicchatra. On the contrary, if any conclusion is to be drawn from the fact, it is rather apt to show that the inscription is not from Adhicchatra, as the characterizing of a person as the native of a certain place would certainly seem superfluous in that place itself.

The fourth and last inscription which, according to Mr. Banerji "most probably" came from Rāmnagar, is No. 1, found on the top of a split coping-stone. Here, also, Mr. Banerji's arguments do not convince me. He refers again to the Curator's (i.e. Führer's) Report for the month of April, 1892, which mentions "1 coping stone with inscription of the Saka era (dated Samvat 5) . . . Excavated from the old site of a large Buddhist temple at Ramnagar, Rohilkhand". Even apart from the fact shown above that the statements of that Report are liable to grave suspicion, I do not see how that description can be said to suit the stone bearing the present inscription. The inscription contains nothing to indicate that it belonged to a "Buddhist temple", and it is certainly not dated in Samvat 5. In order to remove this latter objection Mr. Banerji assumes that "Dr. Führer most probably took the word *Pāmchālīye*, 'of Pamehāla,' in line 8 for a date". To me it seems incredible that anyone able to read that script at all should not have recognized

that the date stands in ll. 3 and 4. In these circumstances I think that, until fresh evidence has been brought forward, this inscription also has to be classed as being of unknown origin, which is to be regretted all the more because, in spite of its mutilated state, it has some historical interest. Not being in possession of an impression, I do not wish to enter into details, but I think it quite possible that it records the donation of some *rājan* of Pañcāla.

For reasons that will appear later on I have reserved the inscription No. 8. It is engraved on a Jaina image which is supposed to come from Mathurā. According to Mr. Banerji the discovery of this image was announced by Führer in his Annual Progress Report for the year 1890-1 (p. 17), and in his Annual Report of the Provincial Museum for the year 1891-2. As neither of these reports is accessible to me,¹ I cannot decide whether the identity of the inscription is established. Palæographically this is a most remarkable inscription.² The whole writing is extremely clumsy, showing that the engraver certainly was not accustomed to such work, and there are a number of peculiar signs. In the beginning of l. 2 we find an *e*, of which Mr. Banerji says that it is unlike any Brāhmī letter, but resembles the Kharoṣṭhī *va*. I cannot discover any resemblance to the Kharoṣṭhī *va*, but the letter is nevertheless peculiar, as it is a common *e* with the base line omitted. The same line contains an ordinary *pu* with a large hook placed below the letter. This seems to be meant to represent *ū*, though it can hardly be paralleled in the Mathurā inscriptions of this time. At the end of the line we find a *ha* with an abnormal downstroke and what appears to be the left half of a *ya*, the right half of which

¹ According to the list printed at the end of the Annual Reports, a special Progress Report for the year 1890-1 does not exist. The list mentions only a Progress Report from October, 1889, till 30th June, 1891.

² My remarks are based on two impressions.

can never have existed. The second letter of the third line, which puzzled Mr. Banerji, may be taken as a *ya* with the left curve touching the middle vertical, but it differs from the same letter as it appears twice in l. 2. The strangest sign is the fourth one of the third line. Mr. Banerji transcribes it by the guttural *ṇa*, without adding any remark. How the sign can ever be thought to represent *ṇa* I am unable to see. I do not believe that any similar sign can be found in a Brāhmī inscription, though it is just possible that the engraver intended to write a ligature, the first part of which was *ṇa*. The last sign of the third line seems to be again the left half of a *ya*. In the fourth line we find a *ṣā* with the right horizontal prolonged. Mr. Banerji thinks we ought to read *ṣo*, the *o* being formed by the combination of *a* and *u*, but I am afraid there will not be many palaeographers able to follow him in his bold flight of fancy. The last sign of l. 4, read *tu* by Mr. Banerji, seems to be meant for *tt*, but the ligature is formed in an extraordinary way, a small *ta* with the *serif* being placed inside a *ta* of the ordinary size. The first letter of the last line is read *he* by Mr. Banerji, which is possible only on the assumption that the *e*-stroke may be turned also in the opposite direction, and that we have here an entirely new type of *ha* not found hitherto in any other inscription. To me it seems that instead of *he* we have before us two signs, the second of which bears a certain resemblance to *da*, whereas of the first it can only be said that it shows an *ā*-stroke at the top. The last two signs, read *saya* by Mr. Banerji, may just as well be anything else.

As far as it can be read at all the inscription runs :—¹

1. sa¹ 70 1 va 1 di 10 5

2. etaya² pūvāyā³ gaha[ya]⁴

3. ṭiyamu . . . śiminā[ya]⁵

¹ In the notes I have not repeated those of Mr. Banerji's different readings which I have discussed above.

4. *maniravasusātidhittr*⁶

5. . *ādamadāva*⁷ . . .

1. Bn. *sa[m]*, adding that the *anusvāra* is indistinct. In the impression there is no *anusvāra* at all.

2. Bn. *etaye*, but there is no *e*-stroke at the top of the *ya*.

3. Bn. *puvaye*, but the *ā*-strokes of the two last letters are quite distinct.

4. Bn. reads only *ha*, but there is a distinct letter, which I take to be *ga*, before the *ha*.

5. Bn. *tāye*. There is no *e*-stroke on the last letter.

6. Bn. *mi*^o, which is possible.

7. Bn. *deva*^o, but the vowel stroke goes to the right.

Mr. Banerji has attempted to translate this text. He does not shrink from explaining *susoti*, with the help of modern Bengali, as "an *apabhraṃśa* of the Sanskrit *svasrīyā*". I am not sure whether the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* are really the proper place for such linguistic jokes. I confess my inability to extract any sense out of that portion of the inscription which follows the date. Of course, it is possible that *dhitr* . *ādamadāva* was meant for something like *dhitrā patimā datā*, but I think that we shall never advance beyond such guesses. Considering the state of the script and the text, I distinctly doubt the genuineness of this inscription. And there are some more facts that point to the same conclusion. The inscription is engraved on a piece of sculpture which is undoubtedly genuine. It is a fragment of a standing naked figure of a Jaina. The preserved portion reaches from the loins to the knees. At the back there is a piece of a pilaster or of the shaft of an umbrella. The inscription is engraved at the lower end of this extant portion of the pilaster, with a roughly cut arch at the top. As far as I know, there is no other instance—at any rate not for that time—of a votive inscription being placed at the back of a statue. And if really, out of modesty or for some other reason, the donor

selected that side for his inscription, why did he not have it engraved as usual on the pedestal, but rather on the statue itself? This certainly looks suspicious, and our suspicion will increase if we examine the condition of that portion of the stone that bears the inscription. From the photograph and the impression it appears that a good deal of the surface, especially on the right side, has peeled off. In these places the inscription ought to be indistinct; but that is not the case, the letters standing out here just as clear as in the rest of the inscription. In these circumstances I cannot help declaring this inscription to be a forgery. The decision of the question who is responsible for it I leave to the readers of this paper.

VIII

DR. M. A. STEIN'S MANUSCRIPTS IN TURKISH "RUNIC" SCRIPT FROM MIRAN AND TUN-HUANG

PUBLISHED AND TRANSLATED BY VILHELM THOMSEN

IN the highly valuable collection of MSS. which Dr. M. A. Stein brought home from his remarkable expedition to East Turkestan,¹ some are found written in the "runic" script we now know from inscriptions in Mongolia and Siberia, and of which the recent investigations in Turfan and the adjacent localities also have brought interesting specimens to light. Dr. Stein has done me the honour to request me to publish the MSS. in this kind of script found by him, and it has been a pleasure to me to do so in this preliminary paper, trusting that in a later, final paper I shall succeed in clearing up several of the mysteries and doubts which I have been obliged to leave unsolved here. It has been of great assistance to me that owing to Dr. Stein's kindness I have been able to make use of the two original MSS., here designated I and II, in one of our public libraries in Copenhagen.

In the transcription, wherever I have thought necessary, I have—as in my first paper, "*Déchiffrement des inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Iénisséi, Notice préliminaire*" (*Bull. de l'Acad. R. des sciences et des lettres de Danemark*, 1893)—designated such consonants as are used only in connexion with back and mixed vowels by a small figure ¹, and those which are connected only with front vowels by a small ². The signs used to separate the words I have designated everywhere by colons (:). Characters, especially vowels, which are not expressed in the original script but must be

¹ M. Aurel Stein, "*Explorations in Central Asia, 1906-8,*" in *Geographical Journal* for July and September, 1909 ("Reprint").

understood, I have placed in (). Lacunæ I have indicated by [], and the approximate number of missing characters by dots.

MS. I

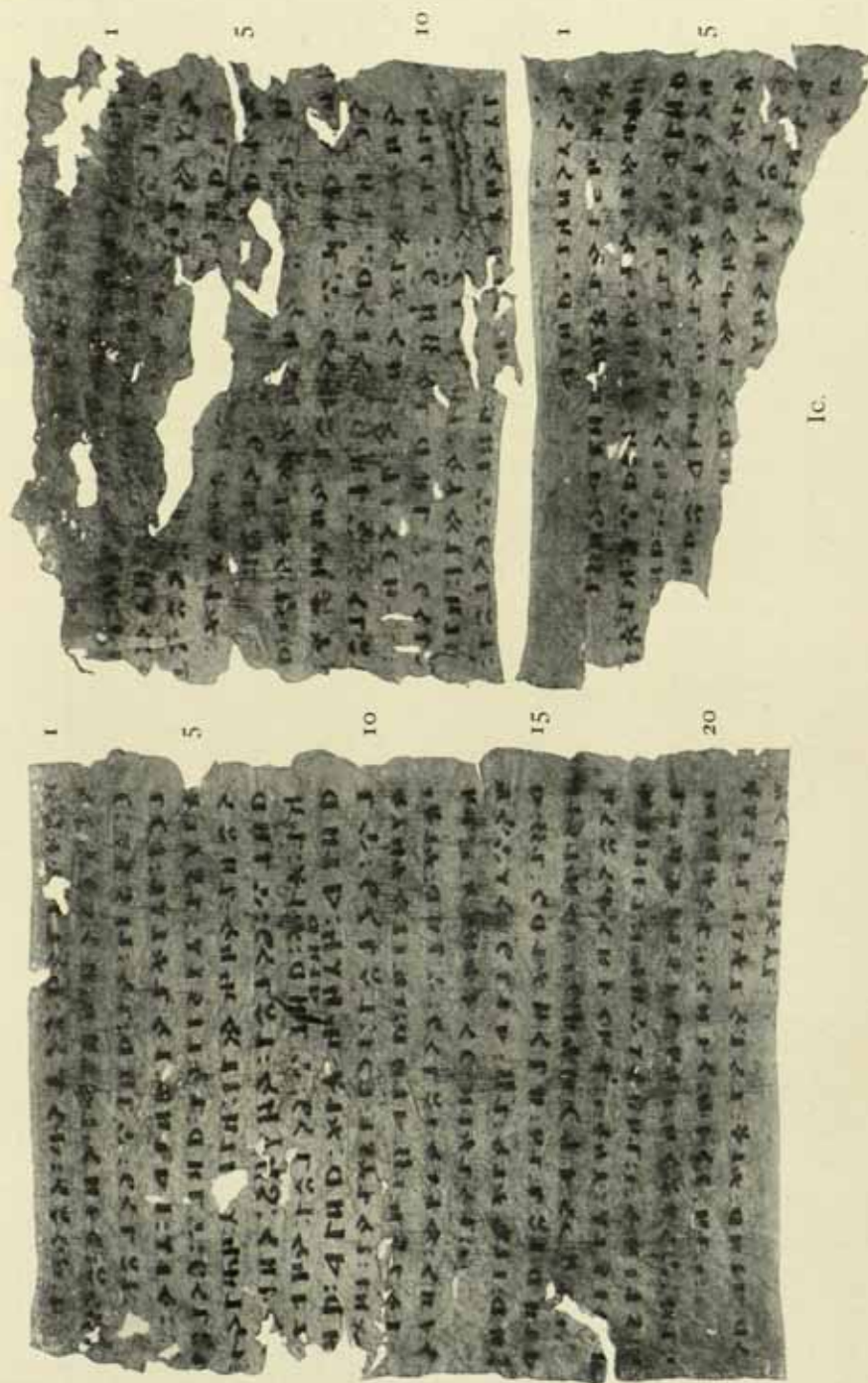
M.I. xxxii, 006. (Plate I.)

This MS. was found in the ruins of Fort Miran, in Dr. Stein's words, "a stronghold intended to guard the direct route from the southern oases of the Tarim basin to Tun-huang," on what "must have been a main line of communication into China from the last centuries B.C. onwards".¹ It consists of three pieces.

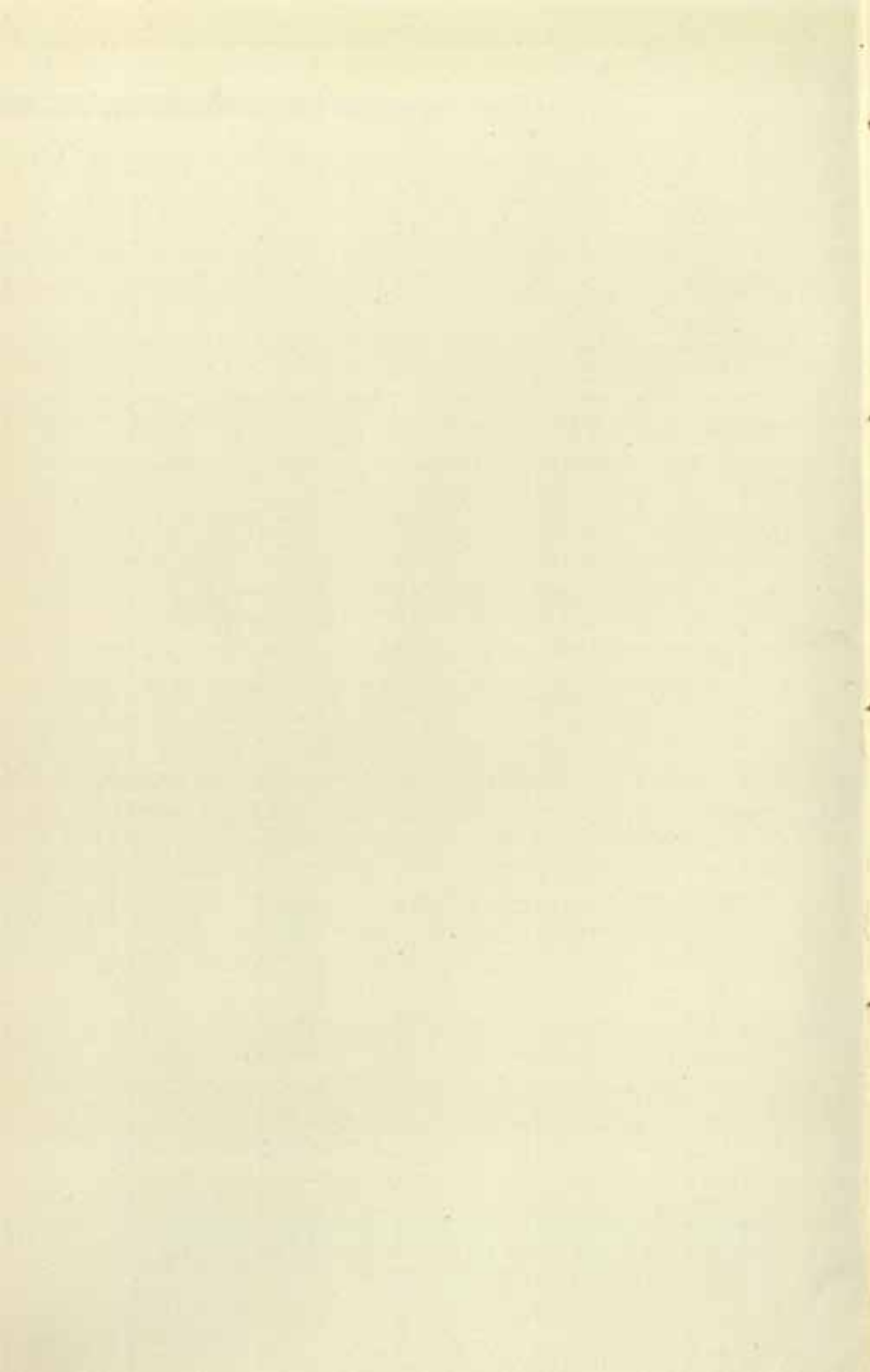
The first of these pieces, which Dr. Stein has marked *a*, is an almost entirely preserved sheet, 12½ to 13 inches (32 to 33 cm.) high and about 10½ inches (26 cm.) broad. It is written only on one side.

The second piece, *b*, is a fragment which constitutes the lower half of an exactly similar sheet written on both sides ("*b recto*" and "*b verso*"). This, in addition to its being a fragment only, is also far from being in so good a state of preservation as *a*. It appears at one time to have been exposed to damp for a considerable period. This has firstly resulted in the characters becoming more or less effaced in several places; upon the reverse side ("*b verso*") to such an extent that it has not been possible to obtain a photograph of this side. But while damp, the sheet must moreover have been subject to a great pressure or tension which has produced several ruptures, a considerable one slightly above the centre, in particular, and some smaller ones, while the upper part of the paper has become highly distorted. After having become dry and rigid again the lines in this part are very much displaced and undulating, which in connexion with the partial effacement of the writing renders the reading extremely difficult.

¹ Stein, loc. cit., pp. 29 seqq.



I. MS. in Turkish Runic Script from Miran. (M.I. xxxii, 006.) scale $\frac{1}{4}$.



The third fragment, *c*, consists of the upper, obliquely torn off part of a sheet, undoubtedly not the same as the one to which fragment *b* has belonged; partly because *c*'s paper is apparently somewhat wider than that of *b*, and partly because the sheet, if it contained both *c* and *b*, would be considerably longer than the sheet *a*.

The paper in all three fragments is homogeneous. It is a very coarse, brown, hand-made paper, bearing distinct traces of having been beaten out upon a board. I have had a quite small piece of it analysed in V. Stein's Analytical-Chemical Laboratory in Copenhagen. Unfortunately the piece was so small — I did not venture to take a larger piece — that it was not possible to arrive at a definite conclusion as regards the amount of glue or starch contained in it; it must at any rate have been inconsiderable, and probably irregularly distributed, which is also in accordance with the fact that the writing in many places strikes distinctly through the paper. The analysis of the paper proved that "the sample consisted of highly flossy fibres which must be explained as pertaining to hemp and perhaps also to flax; moreover, the presence of a single hair of hemp has been detected. A small quantity of fragments (epidermis and bast-cells) of grasses has also been found, the presence of which can scarcely be interpreted as originating from an intentional admixture, but must be owing to an accidental contamination".¹

The writing is large and distinct—so far as it is not effaced. The instrument used for writing was a brush, and not a reed-pen. With a pointed instrument "blind" lines have been drawn with an intermediate space of about $\frac{9}{16}$ of an inch (14–15 mm.), and from these lines the characters depend. Their forms resemble nearly those

¹ As to paper from East Turkestan cf. J. Wiesner, "Ein neuer Beitrag zur Geschichte des Papiers" (Sitzungsber. der kais. Akad. der Wiss., Wien, Philos.-hist. Kl., cxlviii, 1904).

in other MSS. from Turkestan written in this kind of characters.¹ It may be noted that the sign for *iq* has the form 4, also frequently used elsewhere, with the angle turned towards the left and not reversely, as is partly the case in the Turfan MSS.² Before this character it is quite usual to insert a, strictly speaking, superfluous *i*, as *u* (*o*) before the sign *uq* (*oq*). It is, perhaps, by chance that the signs for *ld* (*lt*) and *nd* (*nt*) are absent, whereas *ne* occurs. Nor does the sign for the syllable *up*³ which is characteristic of these regions occur. No distinction is made between the sounds *s* and *š*. Two signs are used to designate both of them: the one in connexion with back (and mixed) vowels (*s*¹), and the other with front vowels (*s*²). Consequently, none of the modifications or new formations met with in certain Turfan MSS., as also, though differently, in inscriptions, occur to distinguish *s* from *š*.⁴ The sign : is used to separate the words. Lastly, some designations of numerals occur: a relatively short and thick stroke, sometimes placed in the lower half of the line, and sometimes in the upper half of it, = 1, and two such strokes = 2.

As regards the contents, we here have the fragments of a register or lists of persons who may be presumed to have been either in the act of leaving the fort after having stayed there, or of having only passed by it in the one or the other direction and to whom a kind of passport had been granted or assistance given for their further journey. That the traffic was fairly brisk is proved by the fact that fragment *a*, at least, though it only deals with a single day, yet comprises a somewhat considerable number of names. It is natural that military persons appear to be mostly

¹ See especially A. v. Le Coq, "Köktürkisches aus Turfan" (Sitzungsber. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., 1909, pp. 1047 seqq.), and V. Thomsen, "Ein Blatt in türkischer Runenschrift aus Turfan" (ibid., 1910, pp. 296 seqq.).

² Cf. v. Le Coq, loc. cit., pp. 1050, 1052.

³ Cf. v. Le Coq, loc. cit., pp. 1050 seq.; Thomsen, loc. cit., p. 299.

⁴ Cf. v. Le Coq, loc. cit., pp. 1054, 1059; Thomsen, loc. cit., p. 298.

mentioned, and the possibly turbulent conditions then existing may be an additional reason. This careful registration is in itself of no slight interest as regards the history of civilization. Linguistically, special interest attaches to the store of personal names here contained. Several of them are known from elsewhere, especially from the Old-Turkish inscriptions from Mongolia and Siberia; but, in addition to this, many new contributions are added to our knowledge of the Old-Turkish manner of naming.¹

Now, there remains to be discussed the question regarding the age of the manuscript. The only direct indication of time contained in the manuscript itself is the date which occurs in the beginning of *a*: "The fourth month, the twenty-ninth." But we get no information at all regarding the year. It is evident, however, that it is written by a Turkish clerk who held an appointment at a Turkish or essentially Turkish garrison, and among other things it is unquestionable by reason of several Chinese titles (and names?), such as *Sangun*, *Chigshi*, etc., that the fort and the country have been under Chinese rule. On the other hand, there appears to be no trace whatever of Tibetan in the MS. From this we may be justified in concluding that it is older than the time when the Tibetans, in the eighth century, established themselves here, remaining as late as the ninth century, when the fort was completely ruined.² Consequently, the MS. undoubtedly cannot be later than the middle of the eighth century A.D.; if anything, it is perhaps of somewhat earlier date, and the form of the letters as well as the texture of the paper corresponds fairly well with this supposition.

I shall now give the text with the translation.

¹ Cf. also Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden, 1894, pp. 25 seqq.

² M. A. Stein, loc. cit., p. 30.

a

1. *Törtinē*¹ : (a)y : tooquz : otuzqa
2. un(a)γ(a)n ēur : y(a)rūqī : ur(u)ñu : tudu
3. n : ēigši : kã : y(a)rl(i)γ : boltī :
4. (a)l(a)nī : iēirākī : y(a)rūqī : ēik :
5. bilgā : ēigšikā : y(a)rl(i)g : boltī :
6. otqa : kōnmiš : qūl[i]ē : ōzikā :
7. y(a)rl(i)γ : boltī : kŭlŭg : ur(u)ñu
8. qa : bir : y(a)rl(i)γ : boltī : kŭpā :
y(a)rūq²
9. y(a)rūq : ūēūn : bir : y(a)rūq : y(a)r
10. l(i)γ : boltī : (a)l(a)nī : iēirākī : sūdā
11. k(ā)lŭrmiš : ūē : y(a)rūq : da : ūgākā
12. : bir : y(a)rl(i)γ : boltī : k(ā)dīm : ur(u)ñu
13. qa : 1 : (ā)d[ē]ū³ s(a)ñun : tirākā : 1 :
14. suγēu : b(a)lūq : da : kirmiš : y(a)rī
15. īq : da : b(a)yīr²qular : qa : (a)ltī : y(a)rūq :
16. tīginkā : 1 : b(a)rs q(a)n s(a)ñunqa : 1 :
17. qutuz : ur(u)ñu : qa : 1 : kŭl : ēigši : i|||⁴
18. nisinā : 1 : s(a)r(i)γēirqa : 1 : k(ā)nsig : q
19. a [sic] : 1 : t(ā)ñlig (a)pa : qa : 1 : qutluy : qa : 1 :
20. sūēürkā : 1 : ur(u)ñu : s(a)ñun : qa : 1 :
21. b(ā)ēā (a)pa : iērāk : ikā : bir : y(a)rūq : yo
† † †
22. suuq : birlā :

b recto

- [— — — — — — — —]
1. in²al¹ : ur(u)ñu : y(a)rūqī : [•]mas : q[a :]
† † † † †
 2. y(a)rl(i)γ : boltī : yurta : (a)t : ūēon [sic⁵]
† † †

¹ An *ō* which was first written has run and has been blackened over, after which a new *ō* was written.

² Written thus between the lines; to be inserted in l. 8 after *bir*.

³ The missing character has run; it resembles *ē* if anything, not *g*.

⁴ At the end of the line, after *i*, there is no character, but either a blot of ink or a character (*n²?*) which had been commenced and then effaced.

⁵ Or clerical error for *ūēon*?

3. $k(\bar{a})lmi\dot{s} : y(a)r\ddot{u}q : y(a)r\dot{\gamma}mi\dot{s} : tutu\ddot{u}q$
4. $qa : y(a)rl(\bar{i})\gamma : bolt\bar{i} : bindir :$
5. $k\bar{a} : y(a)r[\ddot{u}q : y](a)rl(\bar{i})\gamma : bolt\bar{i} :$
6. $yolta : (a)t : k\ddot{o}g\ddot{u}rm(i)\dot{s} : (\bar{a})rk\bar{a} : 1 : y$
7. $(a)r\ddot{u}q : y(a)rl(\bar{i})\gamma : bolt\bar{i} : k\ddot{u}l\ddot{u}g : s(a)\dot{n}$
8. $un : qa : 1 : yos^2u\ddot{u}q : y(a)rl(\bar{i})\gamma : bolt\bar{i}$
9. $k\ddot{u}r\bar{a}bir : ur(u)\dot{n}u : s(a)\dot{n}unqa : 1 :$
10. $q\ddot{u}l\ddot{e} : 1 : b(a)rdu\ddot{u}q : y(a)rl(\bar{i})\gamma : bolt$
11. $\bar{i} : qo\ddot{c}u : b(a)l\ddot{u}q : da : k(\bar{a})lmi\dot{s} : q\ddot{u}l$
12. $\bar{i}\dot{s} : k\ddot{u}\dot{s} : q[(a)r]a : qa : y(a)rl(\bar{i})\gamma : bolt\bar{i} :$

b verso

1. $[.] : 1 : ki [. . .]$
2. $q\ddot{u}l\ddot{e} y^2ul[\ddot{u}q \text{ or } a] : ur(u)\dot{n}u : y(a)r[. . .]$
3. $[.] y^1ir^2u[. . . .]k\bar{a} ur(u)\dot{n}u : qa : y(a)r[l(\bar{i})\gamma]$
4. $bolt\bar{i} : lac[. . .] b(a)yl\ddot{u}q : \dot{e}q(\text{or } a)s^2[y(a)r]$
5. $\bar{i}\ddot{u}q\bar{i} : b(a)rs : ur(u)\dot{n}u : qa : y(a)rl(\bar{i})\gamma : bo$
6. $lt\bar{i} : [.]r^2kin^2[.]s(a)\dot{n}un : t^2ir^2[. . .]$
7. $y(a)r\ddot{u}qin^2 : \bar{i}n^2ul^1 : u[r](u)\dot{n}uqa : y[(a)r]$
8. $l(\bar{i})\gamma : bolt\bar{i} :$
9. $ut s(a)\dot{n}un : y(a)r\ddot{u}q\bar{i}n : q\ddot{u}y(a)\gamma(a)n : ur$
10. $(u)\dot{n}u : qa : b(\bar{a})rd\bar{i}$

c

1. $bu\ddot{c}urqa : y(a)r\ddot{u}q :$
2. $bir : \ddot{u}g\bar{a}k\bar{a} : bir : y(a)r\ddot{u}q : b(a)rd\bar{i} :$
3. $t\ddot{u}zmi\dot{s} : k\bar{a} : 1 : y(a)r\ddot{u}q : q\ddot{u}y(a)\gamma(a)n : qa : bi[r]$
4. $y(a)r\ddot{u}q : qulapa : ur(u)\dot{n}uqa : 1 : y(a)ri[\ddot{u}q . . ?]$
5. $qo\ddot{n}\bar{e}\bar{i} : l^2(\bar{a})r^2k\bar{a} [\text{sic}] : 1 : y(a)r\ddot{u}q : t(a)y\ddot{u}l[. . . .]$
6. $bir : k\ddot{o}k\ddot{u}zm\bar{a}k : y(a)ri[\ddot{u}q : y(a)rl(\bar{i})\gamma ?]$
7. $bolt\bar{i} : (\bar{a})l\bar{a}k\ddot{u}l[.] y(a)r\bar{i}$
8. $\bar{i}q : \bar{i}n^2an\ddot{c}u[— — — — —]$
9. $\bar{u}r[— — — — —]$

a

The fourth month, the twenty-ninth. To Unagan Chur's yariq Urungu Tudun Chigshi a yarlig was (granted). To Alani Ichiräki's yariq Chik Bilgä Chigshi a yarlig was (granted). To Otqa Könmish Qilich himself a yarlig was (granted). To Külüg Urungu were (given) one yariq and a yarlig. Concerning the yariq Küpä one yariq and a yarlig were (given). Of the three yariqs sent by Alani Ichräki from the army (there) was (granted) one yarlig to Ügä, 1 to Kādim Urungu, and 1 to Ad[ch ?]ü Sangun Tirä. Of the yariqs arrived from the town of Sugchu (there) were (given) six yariqs to the Bayirqus, 1 to Tigin, 1 to Bars Khan Sangun, 1 to Qutuz Urungu, 1 to the younger brother of Kül Chigshi, 1 to Sarig Chir, 1 to Kānsig, 1 to Tānglig Apa, 1 to Qutlug, 1 to Süchür, 1 to Urungu Sangun, and to Bächä (?) Apa Ichräki one yariq together with a yosuq.

b recto

[— — — — — — — —]
To Inal Urungu's yariq [.]mash (?) a yarlig was (granted). To [Yag ?]mish Tutuq, the yariq who had come from the camp (?) with thirty horses (?),¹ a yarlig was (granted). To B(?)indir were (given) a yariq and a yarlig. To a man whose horse had dropped dead (?) on the way were (given) 1 yariq and a yarlig. To Külüg Sangun were (given) 1 yosuq and a yarlig. To Küräbir Urungu Sangun were given 1 sword (?) and 1 yarlig for going (?) (or: after he had gone ?). To Qilich Küch Q[ar ?]a a yarlig was (given).

b verso

[— — — — — — — —]
To the yar[iq of ? — —] Urungu [— —] Urungu a yar[lig] was (granted). To Lach[in ?] Bayl(?)uq[—]s

¹ Or "for the sake of horses" ?

yariq Bars Urungu a yariq was (granted). To Inal U[ru]ngu, a yariq of [.]ärkin Sangun Tir[—], a yariq was (granted).

Ut Sangun gave a yariq of his to Qiyagan Urungu.

c

To Buchur a yariq.

To Bir (?) Ügü one yariq went.

To Tüzmiş 1 yariq, to Qiyagan one yariq, to Qul Apa Urungu 1 yariq, to the shepherds 2 yariqs. To Tai [—] one — (?) yariq [and a yarlig?] were (given). [To] Äläköl [— —] Inanchu [— — —].

NOTES TO I

a, l. 2. *Yariq* is a hitherto unknown word. Here, apparently, it is used, on the one hand, to designate an officer (?) dispatched for a special purpose by another and superior officer or by a man of rank. But, on the other hand, when it is stated in the list that to so-and-so one or more *yariqs* from the fort have been given it appears to me that it rather suggests a military personage provided as an escort. The common, primary signification is no doubt "one who is detached", and I believe the word is nothing but a derivative from the verbal root *yar-*, "to split" ("to detach"). As, however, the sense is somewhat uncertain, and I have not been able to find a word which completely expresses the conjectured significations, I have retained the Turkish word in the translation.

a, l. 3. The Turkish *yarlîq* is very much the same as that now frequently expressed by the better-known Persian word *farmân*, "a decree, an edict, an open letter which serves as a passport or introduction to other authorities." This word also I have retained in the translation.

a, l. 14. *Suycu* is the town Su-chou (肅州) in the Chinese province of Kansuh, Marco Polo's *Succiu*, Sukehu (H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London, 1871, i, p. 196). The old pronunciation of the syllable *su* (肅) was *suk*.

a, l. 15. The *Bayirqus* were a Turkish tribe nearly related to the Uigurs and living north of the great desert.

a, ll. 21/22. *Yonuq* (see also b r., l. 8; cf. Chagatai, Eastern Turki *yosun*, Teleut. *yozoq*, a rule, institution, custom) appears to denote one or more military persons of lower rank than a *yariq* (?). Possibly "an orderly", "sergeant", or some such person; or possibly a command or detachment?

b r., l. 6. I assume that *kögür* is related to the Eastern Turki *kökär*, "to thunder," Osmanli *gürä-* = (1) idem, (2) "die a sudden death".

b r., l. 11. *Qoçu*, Chinese Huo-chou (火州), called later Qara-Khoja, near modern Turfan.

MS. II

CH. 00331. (PLATES II AND IIIA.)

This MS., which was found in the wonderful deposit in the "Halls of the Thousand Buddhas" near Tun-huang,¹ must decidedly be characterized as the most remarkable, comprehensive, and also best preserved of all the MSS. found hitherto written in the Turkish runic script.

It is in the form of a little book, written upon excellent, thick and strong Chinese paper, yellow in colour. It consists altogether of fifty-eight leaves of equal size, or twenty-nine small sheets, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches (13.6 cm.) high, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches (about 8 cm.) wide. The sheets are not stitched together, but glued together at the back, one by one. The glue has been so durable that, practically, it has not yet loosened. As there is no binding at all on the book, and as it has evidently been much read, the corners and the outmost leaves are somewhat worn and creased; but otherwise, owing to the excellent quality of the paper, it is as well preserved throughout as if it had been lately written.

The Turkish text begins upon the reverse page of the fifth leaf (I reckon this as p. 1; the original has no pagination) and ends upon the front page of the fifty-seventh leaf. As, with the exception of these two leaves, all the others are written upon both sides, the text comprises 104 pages in all. The two last pages (103 and 104) contain a postscript or colophon written in red ink. The first nine and the last three pages of the book had originally been blank; but afterwards, not only have these twelve pages been closely filled with writing in Chinese, but also the last three pages (102-4) of the Turkish text, together with the margin of the last but four (p. 101) and of p. 1, have been entirely covered with

¹ M. A. Stein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 39 seqq.

p2.



p1.

p4.



p3.

Chinese writing, partly owing to which it is rather difficult to read what is written beneath—especially on pp. 103 and 104. Dr. Stein tells me (I myself am unable to verify it adequately) that these additions in Chinese are not in any way connected with the Turkish text.

The written column is rather small, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches ($8\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 cm.) high and about 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches (5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ cm.) wide. Upon a page written in full there are nine lines only, each line consisting of as many as eight to ten characters, including the signs for separating the words.

The writing is elegant and clear, and bears evidence of a practised hand. The writing materials used have been a brush and excellent, black Indian ink. On the other hand, what is written with red colour is more or less decidedly faded. On the whole, the characters agree in form with those in MS. I, as also with those which are met with in the fragments of manuscripts found in Turfan. It may be noted that the sign for *iq* (see p. 184) is not used at all (*uq*, on the other hand, occurs frequently). With regard to the sounds *s* and *š*, the case here is the same as in I: there are the signs *s*¹ and *s*² only, both expressing both *s* and *š*¹. As in I, so also here, we find none of the modifications of certain characters, by the addition of diacritical lines, which are found in some of the Turfan fragments. On the other hand, we often find the sign for the sound-combination *up*, hitherto known from the Turfan MSS. only, and before which a superfluous *u* is sometimes written, as before *uq* (compare p. 184). Moreover, we find a new sign, not hitherto known from elsewhere, for the syllable *ot* (and *ut*?), viz. **𐰽**; it occurs three times, and only in the word *ot*, "grass." Of signs for consonantal compounds, are found *nd* (*nt*) and *nc*; before the latter is often added a superfluous *n* (*nnē*); but *ld*

¹ As in other sources, *s*² is often written after *i* instead of *s*¹; thus always in the verbal affix *-mīš*. After *i* *n*² likewise sometimes occurs for *n*¹, and, before *i*, *y*² for *y*¹, e.g. *y²is² = yīš* (XVII, p. 25).

(*lt*) does not occur. To separate the words two fine lines (..) surrounded by a red circle are used (here expressed by :).

The book consists of sixty-five short, unnumbered chapters or paragraphs. Each of them is headed by a line composed of small, black circles filled with red and occurring in continually alternating combinations, e.g. oo oo oo, oooo oooo oooo, oo o oo, etc. In the following I designate these chapters by Roman numerals.

Each paragraph contains a small story, or, strictly speaking, it describes quite shortly some or other simple situation or mood in which nature, and especially animals, usually play a part. They may be compared more nearly to a series of small lyrical poems in prose. Almost every paragraph (except IV, X, XIII, XIV, XXI, XLVIII, and LI) ends with a kind of ethical decision: "This is good," or "This is evil", or the like.¹

Now what is the meaning of this? And what, on the whole, is the object of the book? According to pp. 103 and 104 (the colophon) it is written for the use of two young students or schoolboys; therefore we may be justified in regarding it as a kind of moralizing reader.

¹ The only corresponding instance that I know of, which, however, can scarcely be interpreted similarly, is that from a Christian fragment from Turfan, published by v. Le Coq ("Ein christliches und ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment in türkischer Sprache aus Turfan," Sitzungsber. Kgl. Preuss. Akad., 1909, pp. 1206, 1207), in which one of the two chapter headings preserved has the addition "This is good" (*ädgü ol*) and the other "This is evil" (*yavlaq ol*). Dr. v. Le Coq translates it: "dies ist gut, übel (anzuhören)." As here on p. 101, "this book is good (to read, for obtaining wisdom from)." Furthermore, the above-mentioned final decision is usually preceded by the words: "(he or it) says. Know ye this." As these words occur also when no such decision is added, and, on the other hand, are often separated from it by repeated punctuation marks or a blank space, I think that they do not really preamble the final decision, but only mark the conclusion of the story itself. As to the subject for *tir*, "(he or it) says," or "(they) say", I do not know, for example, whether it is the author or the principal person in the paragraph in question who is meant. In the translation I have omitted this word throughout.

I suppose also that it is some such book; but, on the other hand, I do not believe that this explains it fully.

In the postscript on p. 101 it is designated as *bu ırq bitig*, "this ırq writing" or "book", and from the postscript to LVII it is seen that ırq is the designation of every single paragraph. This word I can only regard as being identical with the Osm. ارق *ırq*, a rare, and now, no doubt, obsolete word, which is stated to signify the same as اوقور *oyur*, "(good) fortune, luck, chance."¹ This again is unquestionably related to the *irim*, "divination, omen," which occurs in several northern Turkish dialects (Altai, Teleutic, etc.).² If we add to this what we read on pp. 101 and 102, that by the help of this book "every one becomes master of his own fate", then there appears to be but little doubt that the real or at least the secondary object of the book was of a superstitious nature; it has not only been a moral or moralizing book, but also an *ırq-bitig*, "a fortune-book." Therefore, when it is said every time that this or that is good or evil it undoubtedly signifies, in particular, that it is either the one or the other regarded as an omen—wherefore the individual chapter itself is called an *ırq*, an omen—and not, strictly speaking, according to a moral standard. This is confirmed by the fact that according to our conceptions, at least, there often appears to be so slight a connexion between the contents of a story and the moral thereof; or, also, the

¹ Zenker, *Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan*, Leipzig, 1866, i, p. 29 (referring to Hindoglu), and referring to Zenker, Radloff also, in his *Wörterbuch der Türk-Dialecte*, i, p. 1370. (The possibility of there being a connexion between our ırq and the *gır* or *ır*, "a song," which occurs in several Turkish languages—should this occur to anybody—must be definitely dismissed.)

² Hence *irimda*, *irimda*, "tell fortunes"; *irimci*, "a soothsayer." Compare also Altai, Teleutic, Kirghiz, etc., *iris*, "fortune, chance." See Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, i, pp. 1368, 1370; V. Verbitski, *Slovar' altaiskago i aladagskago narčij tiurkskago yazika*, Kasan, 1884, p. 458 seq.

latter may be so vague ("both evil and good," or "either evil or good", see paragraphs V, XI, XVIII, LV, LVII, and LXIV) that it can only with difficulty be regarded as a real moral criticism of the contents. The basis for the signification of the warning, the short story or the situation narrated, may be supposed either to be a dream¹—although the description is usually so specialized that it would be very remarkable for anyone to dream just in such a manner—or sometimes, perhaps, something that directly meets one in life, or it may also undoubtedly be, and perhaps as a rule is, but a shifting framework for an oracular response which is sought, for instance, by opening the book at random. Analogous instances undoubtedly occur in abundance in the literature of Central and East Asia; but I must leave it to others to point out more closely all details in that respect. I only want to emphasize the fact that several of the details are so closely connected with the mode of living of the Turks that, as far as these paragraphs are concerned, it is impossible to conceive that they are translations from another language.

The book is written in a somewhat brief and concise style, undoubtedly in prose; at least, I have not been able to trace any real metre. As characteristic features I may mention, on the one hand, the frequent occurrence of parallelism of sentences² (that in this case the two parallel phrases, usually, also have the same or almost the same number of syllables, is quite natural and cannot be alleged as a proof of a metre). On the other hand, I want to draw attention to the marked endeavour towards alliteration

¹ Professor F. W. K. Müller, of Berlin, to whom I had orally mentioned the contents of this remarkable book before the signification of *ırg* had become clear to me, immediately advanced the supposition that it might probably be a dream-book of similar nature to those known from the Chinese.

² Cf. *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées* par Vilh. Thomsen, Helsingfors, 1896, p. 96.

met with in several places. This alliteration—which may often occasion a somewhat far-fetched choice of words—is found especially, but not exclusively, in connexion with the above-mentioned parallelism, so that it connects every single one of the two parts more closely together to a unity and distinguishes it more decidedly from the other part, e.g., *sarıγ—sabēi, yazı(?)γ—yalabaē* (XI); *yarın yañrayur, kiā kārānūr* (XXII); *öküş—ögrünēñ, qobı—qorqınēñ* (XXXVI); *sınuqınñın sâpâr, üzükññin ulayur* (XLVIII); *tıγ—tıgrât, yazı(?)γ—yadrat* (L); *yaşıl—yaylarım, qızıl—qışlarım* (LI); *yarıaq—yaylarım, quşlur—qışlarım* (LVI); *yılqa—yılditmayın, ayqa—artatmayın* (LIX); etc.

Linguistically, considerable interest attaches to the book, especially on account of the rich supply of words contained in it. Many of the words I have not as yet succeeded in explaining; therefore, in this preliminary note I have either been obliged to leave them untranslated, or have only been able to supply a conjectural translation of them according to the context. There are other words, mostly concerning daily life, which can, with more or less certainty, be compared with familiar words from the modern Turkish languages; but many of these words, as far as I know, have not previously been demonstrated at so early a linguistic stage or in the older forms we have here before us. The fact should be emphasized that some of the words of this nature now appear to be retained only in the more remote, northern Turkish dialects, or, at any rate, to agree more closely with forms occurring in them. Some examples illustrating this will be given in the notes.

Unfortunately, nothing can be stated with certainty regarding the time when the book was written, only it was, no doubt, written later than the MS. M.I. xxxii, 006, and later than the middle of the eighth century A.D. More probably, perhaps, it dates from the beginning of the ninth century. The note contained at the end of the book (p. 103),

that it was written in "the year of the tiger", explains nothing. It is the third year of the twelve-years cycle in use in East and Central Asia, and "the year of the tiger" was e.g. 750 A.D., and every twelfth year before and after that time, as for instance 810, 822, etc. Nor can it be definitely settled whether the book is of Buddhistic or of Manichæan origin; but most outer and inner criteria speak in favour of the latter. Judging from the other documents we have from East Turkestan, in the runic script, it also appears as if this script has been used chiefly in Manichæan circles.

I shall now give a transcription of the text (where the numbers in the margin indicate the pages of the original), with the translation placed opposite to it. As I think it unnecessary to print each of the short lines of the book separately, I use | to designate the beginning of a new line, and || to indicate the beginning of a new page.

In the text I make no special reference to the notes which follow, merely arranging these according to the numbers of the paragraphs. Therefore, with each paragraph, I beg the reader to compare the notes concerned.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 I. T(ā)n:si:m(ā)n: y(a)r(i)n:
 <i>kičā : (a)ltun : örgiln : üzä :
 olu(rup(a)n : m(ā)ñil(ā)y ür :
 m(ā)n : (a)nēa : biliñl(ā)r :
 (ā)dgū : ol :</i></p> <p>2 II. ala:(a)tliγ:y ol:t(ā)ñri :
 <i>m(ā)n : y(a)r(i)n : kičā :
 (ā?)šür : m(ā)n : utru : (ā)ki :
 (a)y(l(i)γ : kiši : oγlin :</i></p> <p>3 <i>soqluśmīs : kiši : qorqmīs :
 qorqma:t im(i)s : qut:b ing(ā)y :
 mātñ : timīs : (a)nēa : biliñ :
 (ā)dgū : ol :</i></p> <p>4 III. (a)ltun : q(a)n(a)tli(i)γ :
 <i>t(a)l(i)m : q(a)r(a) : quš : m(ā)n :
 t(a)n(i)m : tūsi : t(a)qī : tūkā : </i></p> | <p>I. I am Ten-si (i.e. the Chinese Emperor). Early and late I enjoy sitting on the golden throne. Know ye this. This is good.</p> <p>II. I am the Way-God on a piebald horse. Early and late I amble (?) along. He met a two-month-old child of man. The man was afraid. "Fear not; I will give you blessing," said he. Know this. This is good.</p> <p>III. I am a golden-winged, bold (?) black-eagle. The appearance of my body may</p> |
|---|---|

- m(ā)z k(ā)n : t(a)l|uyda : y(a)t-*
(ī)p|(a)n : t(a)pladu|q(ī)mīn :
 5 *tu|t(a)r : m(ā)n : s(ā)b|dūk(ī)min :*
yil|yūr : m(ā)n : (a)nd|ar :
kūclūg : | m(ā)n : (a)nēa :
bi|liñl(ā)r : : | (ā)dgū : ol :
 6 || IV. *örūñ : s(ā?)ri : | toγ(a)n :*
quš : | m(ā)n : ēint|(a)n : r̄r(a)ē :
ūzā : | oluruup(a)n : | m(ā)ñil-
 7 *(ā)yūr : | m(ā)n : (a)nēa : bi|liñl-*
(ār) : :

- V. *| b(ā)g : (ā)r : yont|in(a)ru :*
b(a)rmīš : aq : bisi : | qulunla-
mīš : (a)ltun : tu|yuγlug :
 8 *(a)dγ|(ī)r l(ī)q : y(a)raγ|(a)y :*
t(ā)bāsin|(ā)rū : b(a)rmīš : |
örūñ : in|g(ā)ni : butu|lamīš :
(a)ltu|n : budll(u)γ : | buγral(ī)q :
| y(a)raγ(a)y : (ā)bi|ñ(ā)rū :
 9 *k(ā)lm||iś : āzūnē : q|unēuyi :*
urī|(a)nmīš : b(ā)g||ik : y(a)-
raγ(a)y : | tir : m(ā)ñil|g :
b(ā)g : (ā)r : (ā)rm||iś : añr̄γ :
(ā)dg|ū : ol : :

- 10 || VI. *(ā)d(ī)γlī : toñ|uzlī :*
art : | ūzā : sooq(u)š|mīš :
(ā)rmīš : | (a)d(ī)γ|(ī)ñ : q(a)r-
n|ē : y(a)r(ī)lmīš (:) | toñuzuñ : |
 11 *(a)zr̄γē : s̄nm||iś : tir : (a)nēa | :*
biliñ : : | y(a)bl(a)q : ol : :

- VII. *(ā)r : t(ā)rkl(ā)yū : |*
k(ā)lir : (ā)dgū : | sōz : s(a)b :
 12 *(ā)tl|i : k(ā)lir : ti||r : (a)nēa :*
bili|ñl(a)r : : | (ā)dgū : ol :

- VIII. *(a)ltun : b(a)šl̄r̄γ | :*
yūl(a)n : m(ā)n : | (a)ltun :

not yet be fully developed.
 Lying (in wait?) near the sea
 I preserve those I am fond of;
 those I love, I feed on. So
 strong am I. Know ye this.—
 This is good.

IV. I am a white—(?) falcon.
 I enjoy sitting on the sandal-
 wood trees. Know ye this.

V. A prince went to his
 stud-horses. His white mare
 had brought forth a colt. The
 stud of golden-hoofed stal-
 lions will thrive. He went
 to his camels. His white
 she-camel had brought forth
 a young male camel. The
 stud of golden—ed(?) he-
 camels will thrive. He came
 to his house. Thirdly, his
 wife had brought forth a male
 child. "The princely house
 will thrive," says he. The
 prince was happy. This is evil
 and good.

VI. A bear and a wild boar
 had met in a mountain pass.
 The belly of the bear was
 torn open; the tusks of the
 wild boar were broken. Know
 this.—This is bad.

VII. A man comes running.
 He comes bringing good words
 and messages. Know ye this.—
 This is good.

VIII. I am a golden-headed
 snake. When they had cut

- 13 *quru|rs(a)q(i)m̄in : || q̄il(i)č̄in :* open my belly with a sword
k(ā)sip(ā)n : ōzūm : | yol : I myself (was thrown) out of
in²t̄i|n² : b(a)s̄(i)m̄in : | yol : the way (?), my head (they
(ā)bintl(i)n : tir : (a)n̄ca : threw out ?) from the houses (?)
biliñl(ā)r : : | y(a)bl(a)q : on the way. Know ye this.
ol : : This is bad.
- 14 || IX. *uluṛ : (ā)b : ōr|t(ā)nmiš :* IX. A large house was burnt
q(a)t̄i|n̄a : t(ā)gi : q(a)l|m(a)- down. Not even a layer (?)
duq : bōki|n̄a : t(ā)gi : of it remained, not even its
qod|m(ad?)uq¹ : tir : (a)n̄ca : enclosure (?) was left. Know
biliñl(ā)r : : | y(a)bl(a)q : ye this.—This is bad.
ol : :
- 15 || X. *s²n²g(ā)n² : b(a)rs : |* X. I am a —(?) tiger. My
m(ā)n : q(a)muš : | ara : head is between the reeds.
b(a)s̄(i)m̄ : (a)n̄d|(a)ṛ : (a)lp : So brave am I, so clever am I.
m(ā)n : | (ā)rd(ā)m̄lig : m|(ā)n : Know ye this.
(a)n̄ca : biliñl(ā)r : :
- 16 || XI. *s(a)r(i)ṛ : (a)tl(i)ṛ :* XI. A messenger comes
s(a)bēi : y(a)z(i?)ṛ : (a)tl(i)ṛ : upon a yellow horse, an envoy
y(a)l(a)b(a)č̄ : (ā)dg|ū : sōz : upon a lazy (?) horse, bring-
s(a)b : (ā)l|ti : k(ā)lir : ti|ṛ : ing good words and messages.
(a)n̄ca : biliñ | (a)n̄ṛi : (ā)dgū : Know this. This is evil and
ol : good.
- 17 || XII. *(ā)r : (a)bqa : b(a)rm̄i|s̄ :* XII. A man went hunting.
t(ā)ṛda : q(a)m̄l|(a)m̄iš : Upon a mountain he per-
t(ā)ṛid|ā : (ā)rkl(i)g : ti|ṛ : formed shaman tricks (?) and
(a)n̄ca : biliñl(ā)r : : (became) powerful in heaven.
y(a)b(i)z : ol : : Know ye this.—This is ill.
- 18 || XIII. *t(ā)ṛilig : | qurtqa :* XIII. A pious old woman
yu|rt(ā)a : q(a)lm̄iš : | y(a)ṛl(i)ṛ : stayed at home. By licking
q(a)m̄ič̄ : | buluñ(i)n : y(a)lṛ| the edges of a greasy spoon
(a)yu : tirilm̄iš : ōlūmdā : | she lived and escaped death.
 19 *ozm̄iš : tir : || (a)n̄ca : biliñ-* Know ye this.
l(ā)r| : : |
- XIV. *quṛunur : | ṛi(a)čqa :* XIV. They tied a raven to
bam|is̄ : q(a)t(i)ṛt̄i : b|a : a tree. Tie it tightly, tie it
(ā)dgūti : ba | : tir : (a)n̄ca : well. Know ye this.
b|iliñl(ā)r : :

¹ MS. *qod|muq.*

- 20 || XV. *üzä : tum(a)n : | turdī :* XV. The fog was hanging
(a)sr|a : toz : t|urdī : qu|š : above, the dust was lying
oʃ(l)i¹ : uē|a : aztī : | kiyyik : below. The young bird went
 21 *o|ʔlī : yügü|rü : aztī : | kiši :* astray while flying; the young
o|ʔlī : yorī|yu : aztī : | y(a)na : deer went astray while running;
t(ä)ñri | : qutīnta : | ücünē : the child of man went astray
yül|ta : qop : (ä)s|(ä)n : tükäl : while walking. By the blessing
 22 || *körüşm(i)š : | qop : ögir|är :* of Heaven they all met again
s(ä)binür | : tır : (a)nča : | in the third year, hale and
bilinl(ä)r : | (ä)dgü : ol : hearty. They all rejoice and
 are glad. Know ye this. This
 is good.
- 23 || XVI. *turuq : (a)t : s|(ä)mrīti :* XVI. A lean horse rushed
yī|rin : öp(ä)n : | yügürü : off having bethought itself of
b|(a)rmış : utr|u : yirdä : | the place where (it had pre-
 24 *oʃrī : sooq|uşup : tut|uup(a)n :* viously been) fattened. There
minm|ış : yilīnā | : qudursur| a thief met it, caught it,
īnīnā : t(ä)g|i : y(a)rīp(a)n : | and mounted it. Galled even
q(a)mş(a)yu : um|atın : turu|r : to — — (?), he stands in-
tır : (a)nča : b|ilīn : y(a)bl(a)q(:)| capable of movement. Know
ol : this. This is bad.
- 25 || XVII. *özlük : (a)t : öñ | :* XVII. A riding horse re-
yirdä : (a)r(i)p : öñuup : turu : | mained standing at the
q(a)lmış : t(ä)ñr|i : kücünä : first (?) place, exhausted
t|(a)ʔ : üzä : yol : | sub : and languishing. Thanks to
körüp|(ä)n² : yış : üzä : || Heaven's power it saw way
 26 *y(a)š : ot : körü|p(ä)n : yorīyu | :* and water upon a mountain,
b(a)rīp(ä)n : sub(:) | içip(ä)n : and upon the forest-clad hills
yaš | : yip(ä)n : ölü|mdä : ozmış | : it saw fresh grass and went
tır : (a)nča : bi|linl(ä)r : : | thither. By drinking the
(ä)dgü : ol : water and eating the fresh
 grass it escaped death. Know
 ye this.—This is good.
- 27 || XVIII. *k(ä)rākū : içi : |* XVIII. How is the interior
nā : t(ä)g : ol : | tügünükī : | of the tent-trellis? How is
nā : t(ä)g : ol : | köz(ü?)nükki : | its vent for smoke? How
nā : t(ä)g : kör|üklüg : ol : beautiful is (the view from?)

¹ MS. *oʃi*, *uʃi*, no doubt clerical error for *oʃü*.² The writer has omitted the lower oblique line in *k*.

28 (ā)g|nī : n(ā)t(ā)g : (ā)dg||ū : its window (?) ? How good
ol : b(a)γ(i)šī(:) | nā : t(ā)g : is its roof (?) ? How is its
b(a)r | : ol : tir : (a)nē|a : cordage? Know ye this. This
bīlīn|l(a)r : (a)nīγ : (ā)d|gū : is evil and good.
ol : : |

29 XIX. aq : (a)t : q(a)rī|(i-)
sīn : āē : b|olurta : t|(a)lu-
lap(a)n : (a)γ|(a?)nqa : ōtū|gkā :
īdmī|š : tir : qor|qma : (ā)dgūt|i :
30 ōtūn : (a)γ|īnma : (ā)dgū|ti :
γ(a)lb(a)r : t|ir : (a)nēa : bīlī|n :
(ā)dgū : ol :

XX. titir : bur|ra : m(ā)n :
ōr|ūn : kōpūk|ūmin : s(a)ē(a)r : ||
31 m(ā)n : āzā : | t(ā)hrikā : |
t(ā)gir : (a)sr|a : yirkā : | kirūr :
t|ir : uđīγm|(a)γ : ođγur(u)¹ : |
γ(a)t(i)līγ : | turγ(u)ru : ||
32 yoriγur : | m(ā)n : (a)nā(a)γ :
k|ūēlūg : m(ā)n (:) | (ā)nēa :
bīlīn|l(a)r : (ā)dgū : ol :

XXI. q(a)ra : ōpgū|k : γīl :
γ(a)ru : | m(a)zq(a)n : t(ā)di : ||
33 ōdm(ā)n : kōr|m(ā)n : ūrk(i)tt|
(i)n : tir : (a)nēa : b|il(i)n : : |

XXII. uzuntontu|γ : kūz(ā)n-
34 ūsi|n : kōlkā : || iēγ(i)nmīš : |
γ(a)r(i)n : γ(a)hray|ur : kiēa :
k|(ā)hānūr : ti|r : (a)nēa :
bīlīn|l(a)r : muñluγ | : ol :
añīγ : | γ(a)bl(a)q : ol :

35 || XXIII. oγl(a)n : k(ā)kūk : |
t(ā)zkin : bu|ttē : ēu(?)k : | tīn :

XIX. A white horse, intend-
ing to reform its antagonist (?)
in (the ?) three existences (?),
referred it to penance(?) and
prayer. It says: "Fear not!
Pray well! Do not be afraid!
Implore well!" Know this.
This is good.

XX. I am a — (?) male
camel. I disperse my white
froth. It reaches to heaven
above, and penetrates the earth
beneath. It says: "I go on
my way awakening those who
sleep and causing those who
rest to arise. So strong am I."
Know ye this. This is good.

XXI. A black hoopoe (?)
may not become domesticated
(literally "brightened") in a
year. It said: "Do not — (?),
and do not look at me; you
have frightened me." Know
this.

XXII. A monk dropped his
bell into a lake. In the morning
it tinkles, in the evening it
jingles. Know ye this. This
is painful. It is evil and bad.

XXIII. A boy found a
cuckoo(?) roaming about — (?).

¹ MS. ođγur, which cannot be right.

- qut|luγ : bol|zun : tir : | (a)nēa :* Would that it might be happy !
biliñ|l(ā)r : (ā)dgū : ol : Know ye this. This is good.
- 36 || XXIV. *t(ā)glūk : qul|un :* XXIV. An afflicted foal
irk(ā)k : | yonda¹ : (ā)mig : applies to a male horse to be
tilāyūr : | kūn : ort|u : yū- healed. In the middle of the
türāk | : tūn : ort|u : qanta : day being loaded, in the middle
 37 *n|(ā)gūdā : bol|γ(a)y : ol :* of the night being bloody, in
ti|r : (a)nēa : biliñ|l(ā)r : which (condition) is it to be?
y(a)b(i)z : ol : | : Know ye this. This is ill.
- XXV. *(ā)ki : öküz|üg : bir :* XXV. Two oxen were bound
 38 *b|uq(a)rsīqa : || kölm(i)š :* together with one fetter. They
q(a)m|š(a)yu : umatī|n : turur : stand without being able to
tir : (a)nēa : bi|liñ : y(a)bl(a)q : | move. Know this. This is bad.
ol : | :
- XXVI. *t(ā)n : t(ā)n|l(a)rd|i :* XXVI. The morning dawned.
 39 *udu : yir : || y(a)rudī : ud|u :* Then the earth brightened.
kūn : to|γdī : q(a)m(i)γ : Then the sun rose and the
ūzā : y(a)ruq : | boltī : tir : | light shone over everything.
(a)nēa : biliñ : | (ā)dgū : ol : : Know this. This is good.
- 40 || XXVII. *b(a)y : (ā)r : qonī :* XXVII. A rich man's sheep
ürküp(a)n : | b(a)rmīš : bō|rikā : took fright and went away. It
sooq|uśmīš : bō|ri : (a)γzī : met a wolf. The wolf's mouth
(ā)m|simīš : (ā)s(a)n : | tūāk(ā)l : (still) sucked(?). (The sheep)
 41 *bolm|miš [sic !] : tir : | (a)nēa :* was hale and hearty. Know
biliñ|l(ā)r : (ā)dgū : | ol : | ye this. This is good.
- XXVIII. *q(a)n : olurup|(a)n :* XXVIII. After having
 42 *ordu : | y(a)pmīš : il|i :* ascended the throne, a Khan
turmīš | : tōrt : bu|luñt(a)qī : built a capital. His kingdom
(ā)dgūsi : uy|urī : tiri|lip(a)n : remained firm. The best and
m(ā)n|il(ā)yūr : b(a)d|izl(ā)yūr : cleverest(?) from the four
 43 *tir : (a)nēa : || biliñ|l(ā)r :* quarters of the globe enjoy
(ā)dgū : ol : | : gathering there, and adorn it.
 Know ye this. This is good.
- XXIX. *oyma : (ā)r : | oγl(a)n-* XXIX. A gambler(?) staked
in : | kišisin : | tutuγ : ur|up(a)n : his son(s) and his servants.
usič : | oy(u)γ : (a)l(i)p : He went away after having
 44 || *b(a)rmīš : oγ|lin : kišis|in :* won the hazardous(?) game.
utuz|m(a)duq : y(a)na : | tooquz- Without losing his son(s) and

¹ i.e. *yonda*.

on : | boš : qoñ : | utmīs : oγ|lī :
 45 yutuz|ī : qop : ög|ir(ā)r : tir : |
 (a)nča : biliñ|l(ā)r : (ā)dgū | :
 ol :

XXX. črγ(a)n̄ : (ā)r : o|γlī :
 q(a)zγ|(a)nča : b(a)rm|īs : yolī :
 46 y|(a)ramīs : ög|irā : s(ā)bīn|ū :
 k(ā)lir : ti|r : (a)nča : biliñ|l(ā)r :
 (ā)dgū (:) | ol : : |

XXXI. b(a)rs : kiγik : ||
 47 (ā)ñkā : m(ā)ñk|ā : b(a)rmīs : |
 (ā)ñin : m(ā)ñi|n : bulmīs : |
 bulup(a)n : u|yasīñaru : | ögīrā :
 s(ā)b|inū : k(ā)lir | : tir :
 48 (a)nča : || biliñ : (ā)dg|ū : ol : : |

XXXII. bir : t(a)b(ī)lqu : |
 yūz : bolt|ī : yūz : t(a)b(ī)lqu :
 49 miñ : | boltī : miñ : || t(a)b(ī)lqu :
 tū|m(a)n : boltī : | tir : (a)nča :
 b|iliñl(ā)r : : |(a)s(i)γī : b(a)r : |
 (ā)dgū : ol : : |

50 XXXIII. ki|ā|izig¹ : || subqa :
 su|uqmīs : t(a)qī : | ur : q(a)t(ī)γ-
 dī : | ba : tī|r² : (a)nča : |
 biliñl(ā)r : | y(a)bl(a)q : ol :

XXXIV. q(a)n : sūkā :
 51 b|(a)rmīs : y(a)γ|γ : s(a)nnō-
 mīs : | kōčūrū : | qonturu : |
 k(ā)lir : ōzi : | sūsi : ögī|rā :
 s(ā)binū | : ordusīñ|(a)ru :
 52 k(ā)lir : || tir : (a)nča : bi|liñ-
 l(ā)r : : | (ā)dgū : ol : |

XXXV. (ā)r : sūkā : b|(a)rmīs :
 yol|ta : (a)tī : (a)rm|īs : (ā)r :

¹ See the note to this paragraph.

his servants he won again
 ninety stray sheep. His son(s)
 and his attendants all rejoice.
 Know ye this. This is good.

XXX. A poor man's son
 sallied forth in search of gain.
 His journey was successful.
 He comes rejoicing and glad.
 Know ye this. This is good.

XXXI. A tiger went out in
 search of game and prey. It
 found its game and prey, and
 after having found it comes to
 its den rejoicing and glad.
 Know this. This is good.

XXXII. One spiræa be-
 comes a hundred; a hundred
 spiræas become a thousand; a
 thousand spiræas become ten
 thousand. Know ye this.—
 There is profit hereby. This
 is good.

XXXIII. The felt is put
 into water. Still beat it, tie it
 tightly. Know ye this. This
 is bad.

XXXIV. A Khan went to
 the army (i.e. in war) and con-
 quered the enemy. He comes
 home permitting them to
 nomadize and settle down
 (wherever they please). He
 himself and his army come to
 his capital rejoicing and exceed-
 ing glad. Know ye this.—
 This is good.

XXXV. A man proceeded to
 the army. His horse got tired

² MS. *tī*.

- 53 *qor|u : qušqa : || soqušm(i)š : |*
qor|u : quš : | q(a)natīna : |
urup(:) (a)nīn¹ : | q(a)liyu : |
b(a)r|ip(a)n : ögiñ|ā : q(a)nīna : |
t(ā)gürmiš : | ögi : q(a)nī : ||
 54 *ögir(ā)r : s(ā)b|inür : tir | :*
(a)nča : bilin|l(ā)r : : | (ā)dgū :
ol :

XXXVI. *öküş : (a)tl(i)γ : |*

- ögr(ū)nčün : y|ooq : qobī : ||*
 55 *(a)tl(i)γ : qor|q(i)nčün : yooq : |*
učruylur | : qutun : y|ooq : |
tir : (a)nča : bilin|l(ā)r : | (a)nīγ :
y(a)bl(a)q | : ol : : |

XXXVII. *bir : q(a)rī : ||*

- 56 *öküzüg : | bilin : bi|čā :*
qomu|rsqa : yi|miš : q(a)mš|(a)-
yu : umatī|n : turur : | tir :
(a)nča : b|ilin|l(ā)r : | y(a)-
bl(a)q : ol :

- 57 || XXXVIII. *q(a)mīš : ar|a :*
q(a)lmīš : | t(ā)nīri : una|m(a)-
duq : (a)bīnč|u : q(a)tuñ :
b|olzun : ti|r : (a)nča :
bil|in|l(ā)r : (ā)dgū(:) | ol : :

- 58 || XXXIX. *[(a)t]iγ² : t(ā)r|*
trū : kišā|miš : q(a)mša|yu :
umatī|n : turur : | tir : (a)nča :
bi|lin|l(ā)r : : | y(a)bl(a)q :
ol (:)

on the way. The man met a swan. The swan placed him upon its wings and flew up with him. It brought him to his mother and father. His mother and his father rejoice and are exceeding glad. Know ye this.—This is good.

XXXVI. The fact of having many horsemen will give you no satisfaction; you have no (reason to) fear wanting horsemen. Your luck is not (dependent upon) the extreme (?). Know ye this. This is evil and bad.

XXXVII. An old ox was being eaten by ants, by their gnawing around its body. It stands without being able to move. Know ye this. This is bad.

XXXVIII. She lives among the reeds. I wish she may have the consolation of becoming queen (or mistress), (though) not favoured by Heaven. Know ye this. This is good.

XXXIX. A horse was fettered awkwardly. It stands without being able to move. Know ye this.—This is bad.

¹ MS. *urupnīn*, read *urup (a)nīn*, or better *urup[(a)n:] (a)nīn*.

² The MS. has *t(a)γiγ*, "the mountain," which makes no sense whatever. I have supposed that it is a clerical error for *(a)tiγ*, "a horse." The writer has perhaps first written *tγ*, i.e. *(a)μ(i)γ*, which he afterwards intended to alter to the more distinct *(a)tiγ*, but then he forgot to efface the first *γ*.

- 59 || XL. $t(a)l(i)m$: $ur\bar{i}$: |
 $y(a)r(i?)n\bar{c}a$: $y(a)s|i\bar{c}in^2$:
 $y(a)l(i)m$: $q(a)y(a)r$: $y(a)ra$:
 $uruup(a)n$ | : $y(a)l\bar{u}usun$ | :
 $yoriyur$: | tir : $(a)nd(a)r$: ||
 60 $(a)lp$: $(\bar{a})rmi\bar{s}$: | $(a)n\bar{c}a$:
 $bili\bar{n}l(\bar{a})r$: | $(\bar{a})dg\bar{u}$: ol : |

XLl. $\bar{o}r\bar{u}\bar{n}$: s^2r^2i : | $ing(\bar{a})k$:

- 61 $boz|a\bar{r}ul(a)\bar{c}\bar{i}$: $b|olm\bar{i}\bar{s}$: $\bar{o}lg(\bar{a})y$:
 $m(\bar{a})n$: $tim|(i)\bar{s}$: $\bar{o}r\bar{u}\bar{n}$: $s^2|r^2i$:
 $irk(\bar{a})k$: | $boza\bar{r}u$: $k(\bar{a})l|\bar{u}rmi\bar{s}$:
 $\bar{i}d|uqluq$: $y(a)ra|r(a)y$: $\bar{u}l\bar{u}gd|\bar{a}$:
 62 $ozm\bar{i}\bar{s}$: || tir : $(a)n\bar{c}a$: $bil|i\bar{n}$:
 $(\bar{a})dg\bar{u}$: ol : |

XLII. $uzuntonlu|r$: $i\bar{d}i\bar{s}in$: |

- $(a)y(a)q\bar{i}n$: $god|up(a)n$: $b(a)r$:
 63 $m\bar{i}\bar{s}$ | : $y(a)na$: $(\bar{a})dg\bar{u}t|i$:
 $s(a)q\bar{i}nm\bar{i}\bar{s}$: | $i\bar{d}i\bar{s}(i)mt\bar{a}$: |
 $(a)y(a)q(i)mta$: $\bar{o}\bar{n}i$: $q(a)n\bar{n}\bar{c}a$:
 $b(a)r|\bar{i}r$: $m(\bar{a})n$: $ti|r$: $y(a)na$:
 $k(\bar{a})l|m\bar{i}\bar{s}$: $i\bar{d}i\bar{s}i|n$: $(a)y(a)q\bar{i}n$:
 64 $(\bar{a})s(\bar{a})n$: $t\bar{u}\bar{u}k(\bar{a})l$: $bul|m\bar{i}\bar{s}$:
 $\bar{o}g\bar{u}r(\bar{a})r$: $s(\bar{a})bin\bar{u}r$ | : tir :
 $(a)n\bar{c}a$: | $bili\bar{n}l(\bar{a})r$: | $(\bar{a})dg\bar{u}$:
 ol : |

XLIII. $tor(a)n$: $\bar{u}g|\bar{u}z$: $qu\bar{s}\bar{i}$:

- 65 || $qu\bar{s}l(a)y\bar{u}$: $b(a)rm\bar{i}\bar{s}$: $utr|u$:
 $t(a)l(i)m$: $q(a)r|a$: $qu\bar{s}$: $qo|pu$:
 $p(a)n$: $b(a)rm|\bar{i}\bar{s}$: tir : $(a)n\bar{c}a$ | :
 $bil(i)\bar{n}l(\bar{a})r$: | $y(a)bl(a)q$: ol :

- 66 || XLIV. $tor(a)n$: $qu\bar{s}$: |
 $t(\bar{a})\bar{n}rid(i?)n$: $q|od\bar{i}$: $t(a)b(i)$:
 $\bar{s}r|(a)n$: $tip(\bar{a})n$: $q|(a)pm\bar{i}\bar{s}$:
 $tor|(a)n$: $qu\bar{s}$: $tir|\bar{n}(a)q\bar{i}$:
 67 $su\bar{c}ul|unm\bar{i}\bar{s}$: $y(a)na$: || $t\bar{i}t\bar{i}n$:
 $m\bar{i}\bar{s}$: | $tor(a)n$: $qu\bar{s}|\bar{u}\bar{n}$:
 $t\bar{i}r\bar{n}(a)q|\bar{i}$: $\bar{o}g\bar{u}\bar{s}\bar{u}p(\bar{a})n$:
 $q(a)l\bar{u}y\bar{u}$ (:) | $b(a)rm\bar{i}\bar{s}$: $t(a)b(i)$:
 $\bar{s}r|(a)n$: $t(\bar{a})risi$: $\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{u}\bar{s}(\bar{u})p(\bar{a})n$: |

XL. A bold (?) youth — (?) hit a steep rock with his arrow and cleft it. He goes along quite alone and says: "Such a gallant achievement it was." Know ye this.—This is good.

XLI. A white — (?) cow was going to calve. It said: "I shall die." They brought (her) a white — (?) bull-calf. Destiny will be fulfilled. She escaped the (supposed) fate. Know this. This is good.

XLII. A monk departed leaving his cup and his bowl. He again reflected well. He says: "Wherever else am I to go, away from my cup and my bowl?" He returned and found his cup and his bowl safe and sound. He rejoices and is exceeding glad. Know ye this.—This is good.

XLIII. A falcon, the bird of the river (?), went out hawking. A bold (?) black-eagle rose and went towards it. Know ye this. This is bad.

XLIV. A falcon from heaven fell on it, saying: "A hare!" The claws of the falcon slipped (?), and were held in check. The falcon flew up after having had its claws worn (?). The hare ran away after having had its coat torn off (?). "Thus!" it says. Know

- 68 *yügürü* : *b|| (a)rmış* : *(a)nd(a)r* : | ye this. This is ill.
tir : *(a)nča* : *b|ilil(ā)r* : |
y(a)b(i)z : *ol* : |

XLV. *kiyik* : *oγ|lī* : *m(ā)n* :

- 69 *ots|uz* : *subsu|z* : *q(a)lti* : *uy|in* :
n(ā)čuk : *yo|rīyīn* : *tir* : | *(a)nča* :
biliñ|l(ā)r : *y(a)b(i)z* : |
ol : : |

- 70 XLVI. *t(ā)bā* : *titi|gkā* :
tūsm|iš : *b(a)sīnu* : | *yimiš* :
ōz|in : *tilkū(:)* | *yimiš* : *tir* : |
(a)nča : *bil(i)ñl(ā)r* : *y(a)b-*
(la)q (:) | *ol* : :

- 71 || XLVII. *(ā)r* : *ōmāl(ā)yū* : |
b(a)rmış : *t(ā)ñ|rikā* : *sooq|uš-*
mīš : *qu|t* : *qolmīš* : | *qut* :
birm|iš : *(a)r(i)l(i)ñta* : | *yīlqīñ* :
 72 *bo|lzun* : *ōzū|ñ* : *uzun* : *b|olzun* :
ti|mīš : *(a)nča* : *b|il(i)ñl(ā)r* : |
(ā)dgū : *ol* :

XLVIII. *q(a)ra* : *yol* : ||

- 73 *t(ā)ñri* : *m(ā)n* : | *sīnuqīñin* : |
s(ā)p(ā)r : *m(ā)n* : | *üzūūkiñin* : |
ulayur : | *m(ā)n* : *ilig* : | *itmiš* :
m(ā)n : | *(ā)dgūsi* : *bo|lzun* :
 74 *tir* : || *(a)nča* : *bil(i)ñl(ā)r* : : |

XLIX.¹ *b(a)rs* : *kiyi|k* :

- (ā)ñl(ā)yū* : *m(ā)ñ|l(ā)yū* :
b(a)rmış | : *ortu* : *yir|dā* :
 75 *m(a)ñ(a)qa* : | *sooqušmīš* : || *s²r²i* :
m(a)ñ(a) : | *y(a)l(i)m* : *q(a)yag|a* :
ōnūp : *b|| (a)rmış* : *ōlū|mtā* :
ozm|iš : *ōlūmtā* (:) | *ozup(a)n* :
ōg|irā : *s(ā)bin|ū* : *yoriyur* (:) ||

XLV. "I am a young deer.
 Without grass and without
 water how shall I be able (to
 manage)? Whither shall I go?"
 Know ye this. This is ill.

XLVI. A camel fell into a
 pit (?). Reassuring itself, it
 ate; but it itself was eaten by
 a fox. Know ye this. This is
 bad.

XLVII. A man went creep-
 ing along. Then he met God
 and asked him for blessing.
 He gave him his blessing and
 said: "Would that you might
 get horses in your horse-fold!
 May your life be long!" Know
 ye this. This is good.

XLVIII. I am the black
 Way-God. What is broken off
 for you, I put on; what is torn
 for you, I piece together. I
 have organized the kingdom.
 Would that it might fare well!
 Know ye this.

XLIX. A tiger went out to
 search for game and prey. On
 its way it met a — (?). The
 — — (?) ascended a steep rock
 and was saved from death.
 After having been saved from
 death it roams about rejoicing

¹ The writer had here begun to rewrite the first 3-4 lines of paragraph XLVIII. He has, however, carefully scraped it out again and written this paragraph above it; but that which had first been written is still faintly discernible beneath the new script.

76 *tir* : (*a*)*nċa* : *b|il|n* : (*ä*)*d|g|ü* :
ol : |

L. *t|ı* : (*a*)*t* : *qu|drunq|n* :
t|ü|g|ü|p : *t|ı|g|r|ä|t* : *y(a)|z|i|ı* : ||
 77 *qodı* : *y(a)|d|r|(a)|t* : *tooguz* : |
q(a)|t : *ü|č|(ü)|rg|ü|n* : *topu ul|(u)|ı*
*(a)|nċa*¹ : *t|(ä)|rit|z|ün* : *tir* : |
(a)|nċa : *b|il|n|l|(ä)|r* : *y(a)|b|la|q* :
*o|l|ı*² :

78 || LI. *t(a)|l|(i)|m* : *q(a)|ra* : |
quš : *m|(ä)|n* : | *y(a)|š|(i)|l* :
q(a)|ya : | *y(a)|yl|(a)|ı|(i)|m* :
q|ı|z|il : *q(a)|ya* : | *q|ı|š|l|(a)|ı|(i)|m* : |
 79 *ol* : *t(a)|ı|da* : || *turap(a)|n* :
m|(ä)|n|l|(ä)|y|ür : *m|(ä)|n* : (*a*)*nċa* :
b|il|ı|n|l|(ä)|r : |

LII. (*ä*)*r* : *bosuš|ı|ı* : *t|(ä)|n|ri* : |
 80 *bul|ı|l|(i)|ı* : || *boltı* : *ar|a* : *kün* :
to|ı|m|ış : *bos|annċ* : (*a*)*ra* :
m|(ä)|n|ı : *k|(ä)|lm|ış* : | *tir* :
(a)|nċa : *b|il|ı|n|l|(ä)|r* : | (*ä*)*d|g|ü* : *ol* :

81 || LIII. *boz* : *bul|ı* : | *yor|ı|d|ı* :
bud|un : *üzä* : *y(a)|ı|d|ı* : *q(a)|ra* :
bul|ı|t : *yor|ı|d|ı* : | *q(a)|m|(i)|ı* :
üzä : | *y(a)|ı|d|ı* : *t(a)|r|ı* : *b|ı|š|d|ı* :
 82 || *y(a)|š* : *ot* : *önd|ı* : *y|ıl|q|ı|qa* : |
k|ı|š|ı|k|ä : (*ä*)*d|g|ü* : *boltı* : *t|ı|r* :
(a)|nċa : *b|il|ı|n|l|(ä)|r* : (*ä*)*d|g|ü* : |
ol : :

83 || LIV. *qul* : *s(a)|b|ı* : *b|ä|g|ı|n|(ä)|r|ü* :
öt|ü|n|ür : *quz|ı|ı|un* : *s(a)|b|ı* :
t|(ä)|n|rig|(ä)|r|ü : *y(a)|l|b|(a)|r|ur* :
üzä : | *t|(ä)|n|ri* : (*ä*)*š|ı|d|ı* :
 84 (*a*)*sra* : *k|ı|š|ı* : || *b|ı|t|ı* : *t|ı|r* :
(a)|nċa : *b|il|(i)|n* : (*ä*)*d|g|ü* :
ol :

and exceeding glad. Know this. This is good.

L. Let a spirited (?) horse run round after having tied its tail (into a knot). Throw a lazy (?) horse upon the ground, strap nine layers of thy rugs (upon it), and thus let it sweat strongly. Know ye this. This is bad.

LI. I am a bold black-eagle. A green rock is my summer abode, a red rock is my winter abode. I enjoy staying on that mountain. Know ye this.

LII. Men were troubled, the sky was cloudy. In the meantime the sun rose. In the midst of sorrow came happiness. Know ye this. This is good.

LIII. A grey cloud passed; it rained over the people. A black cloud passed; it rained over everything. The crop ripened; the fresh grass sprouted. It was good for horse and man. Know ye this. This is good.

LIV. The slave's call prays to his master; the raven's call implores Heaven (or God). Heaven (or God) above has heard it; men below have understood it. Know ye this. This is good.

¹ MS. without separation, *topnuh|nċa* : , which must be three words.

² MS. *o|o*.

- LV. (a)lp : (ä)r : oylü | :
 sükä : b(a)rm|is̄ : sū : yiri|ntā :
 85 (ä)r(i)klig : || s(a)bcī : tūr|tmiš̄ :
 tir : | (ä)bin(ä)rū : k(ä)ls̄|(ä)r :
 özi : at|(a)nmis̄ : ögr(ü)nē|ülüg :
 (a)ti : | yitiglig : | k(ä)lir :
 86 tir : | (a)nca : bilinl|(ä)r :
 (a)nir : (ä)dgū : |

- LVI. ögrinā : q|utluγ :
 (a)dγ|(i)r : m(ä)n : y(a)r(a)q : |
 ir(a)c̄ : y(a)yl|(a)rim :
 qušluγ (:) | ir(a)c̄ : qis̄l(a)-
 87 r(i)m : || (a)nda : turuup|(a)n :
 m(ä)nül(ä)yür : | m(ä)n : tir : |
 (a)nca : bilinl|(ä)r : (ä)dgū :
 ol : |

- LVII. q(a)nr̄i : ölm|(i)s̄ :
 88 kōnāki : || toñmīs̄ : q(a)nr̄i :
 n(ä)lūk : | ölg(ä)y : ol : b|(ä)glig :
 ol : | kōnāki : | n(ä)lūk :
 toñr(a)y : ol : kün(ä)s̄|kā :
 olurur (:) | ol : (a)nca : bilinl| :
 89 n̄l(ä)r : : |
 bu : irq : b(a)sī|nta : az :
 (ä)mg(ä)ki : | b(a)r : kin : y(a)-
 na : | (ä)dgū : bolur : |

- LVIII. oylü : ögin|tä : q(a)n-
 90 inta : || öbk(ä)läp(ä)n : | t(ä)z-
 (i)p(ä)n : b(a)rm|is̄ : y(a)na :
 s(a)q̄i|nmis̄ : k(ä)lm(i)s̄(:)|ögūm :
 öqū ?|ti|n¹ : (a)l(a)yin : q(a)n̄ :
 (i)m : s(a)bin : ti|n̄l(a)yin :
 91 tip : | k(ä)lmiš̄ : tir : || (a)nca :
 bilinl|(ä)r : (ä)dgū : ol :

LIX. yilqa : t(ä)gm|išig :
 yidit|m(a)yin : (a)yqa : | t(ä)g-

LV. A brave man's son went to the army (in the field). When he was at the seat of war a messenger prodded him, saying: "When (a man) comes home he himself becomes famous, and his horse comes rejoicing — (?)." Know ye this. This is evil and good.

LVI. I am a stallion happy in his stud. My summer residence is (under) leafy trees, my winter residence is (under) trees where birds crowd. I enjoy to stay there. Know ye this. This is good.

LVII. A prince (?) is dead; his pail (?) is frozen. Why shall the prince (?) die? He is of noble family. Why shall his pail (?) freeze? It is placed in the sun. Know ye this.

The beginning of this *irq* presents a little difficulty (?), but afterwards it becomes good again.

LVIII. A son fled in anger from his mother and father. He thought better of it and came (back). He came, saying: "I will take my mother's advice; I will hearken to my father's words." Know ye this.—This is good.

LIX. He who has reached a year I will not allow to

¹ MS. *ötin*, which I suppose to be a clerical error for *ögün*.

- mišig* : (a)r|tatm(a)yīn :
 92 (ä)dgūsi : bolz|un : tir : (a)nēa : |
 bilinl(ä)r : | (ä)dgū : ol :

decay (literally "stink") : he who has reached a month I will not allow to be ruined. Would that they might fare well ! Know ye this. This is good.

- LX. *tooquz* : (a)r(a)lī : |
 93 sīrun : kiyl|ik : m(ā)n : b(ā)d||iz :
 tiz : ū|zā : önüp(ā)n : | münrä-
 yūr : | m(ā)n : ūzā : t|(ā)ñri :
 (ā)sīdti : | (a)sra : kiši : |
 bilti : (a)nd(a)r : | küclüg : |
 94 m(ā)n : tir : || (a)nēa : bilin-
 l(ä)r : (ä)dgū : ol :

LX. I am a maral-deer (which lives) in nine thickets(?). Lifting myself on my slender knees I bellow. Heaven above has heard it, men below have understood it. So strong am I. Know ye this. This is good.

- LXI. *tur(u?)ñ(a)ya* : qu|š :
 tūšnāki|ñā : qonmīs : | tuymatin : ||
 95 tozqa : il|inmīs : uca(:) | una-
 tin : ol|urur : tir : | (a)nēa :
 bilinl(ä)r : y(a)b(la)q : |
 ol : : |

LXI. A crane settled among its comrades. Without perceiving it, it stuck fast in the dust, and it stands without being able to fly. Know ye this. This is bad.

- 96 LXII. *y(a)r(r)un* : ki|yik :
 m(ā)n : | y(a)yl(i)r : t(a)r|(i)-
 ma : (a)r(i)p(a)n : y|(a)yl(a)y-
 ur : tur|ur : m(ā)n : m|(ā)ñlig :
 m(ā)n : | : tir : (a)nēa : b|ilin-
 l(ä)r : : | (ä)dgū : ol :

LXII. I am a yargun (?) deer. After having ascended my summer mountain, I remain there and spend the summer. I am joyful. Know ye this.—This is good.

- 97 O. || LXIII. *q(a)nl(i)q* : sūsi : |
 (a)bqa : önmi|š : s(a)r|r : ič|rā :
 (ā)lik : ki|yik : kirmi|š : q(a)n :
 (ā)l(i)gin : | tutmīs : q(a)r|a :
 98 q(a)m(i)r : sūsi (:) || ögir(ä)r :
 ti|r : (a)nēa : bil|inl(ä)r : : |
 (ä)dgū : ol :

LXIII. The army of the Khanate went forth to hunt. A wild goat (or an antelope) came within the enclosure (?). The Khan caught it with his hand. All his common soldiers rejoice. Know ye this.—This is good.

- LXIV. *kök* : buym|ul : to|r-
 99 (a)n : | quš : m(ā)n : || körük-
 lüg : | q(a)yaqa : qo|nuup(a)n :
 köz|l(ä)yūr : m(ā)n : | y(a)r(a)-
 q|r : to|rraq : ūzā : tūšüp(ā)n :

LXIV. I am a blue untrainable falcon. Settling down upon a sightly rock (with an extensive view), I spy. Seating myself on a leafy

- y | (a)y|l(a)yur : m(ā)n : | tir : poplar I spend the summer.
 100 (a)nčā : bī||liñl(ā)r : (a)nī|t : Know ye this. This is evil and
 (ā)dgū : ol : good.

- LXV. s(ā)miz : (a)t : (a)γ|zī : LXV. The mouth of a fat
 q(a)t(ī)γ : b|oltī : idi|si : horse has become hard. Its
 um(a)z : ti|r : (a)nčā : bili|| master cannot (remedy it?).
 101 ñl(ā)r : y(a)bl(a)q : | ol : | Know ye this. This is bad.

- (a)mtī : (a)mr(a)q : | oγl(a)n- Now, my dear sons, know
 īm : (a)nčā : | biliñl(ā)r : | ye this. This fortune-book is
 bu : īrq : bī|tig : (ā)dgū : ol : | good. In this way every one
 102 (a)nč(ī)p : (a)lqu : k(ā)n||tū : becomes master of his own fate.
 ālūgi : | (ā)rklig : ol :

COLOPHON

- 103 ||b(a)rs : yūl : (ā)ki|nti : (a)y :
 biš : y|ig(i)rmikā : t(a)y|
 günt(a)n : m(a)nīs|t(a)nt(a)qī :
 kič(i)g : | di(n?)t(a)r : burua : |
 γuru : (ā)š(i)dšič(i)m(i)z : isig :
 104 s(a)ñun : || itā-čūq : āčū|n :
 bitid(i)m :

COLOPHON

In the year of the Tiger,
 the second month, on the
 15th, I wrote this for our small
 hearers (?) of the di[n]tars and
 the burwa-gurus (?), Isig Sangun
 and Itā-chuq, staying at the
 residence (or the college?) of
 Taigüntan.

NOTES TO II

I. *Tän-si*, as Professor F. W. K. Müller has kindly pointed out to me, is the Chinese *t'ien-tzū* 天子, "the Son of Heaven, the Chinese Emperor." There are also other instances of Uiguric *si* expressing Chinese *tzū* (天子).

II. I do not know to which religion the "Way-God" (*γol täñri*) belongs, cf. XLVIII. — *sūr* I can read and understand only as *āsūr*, from *āl*, "to amble" (Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, p. 48. Osm. اشكت). — *qut*, "happiness, good fortune," here "blessing"; cf. XLVII.

III. *talim* (here, in XLIII, and LI attributive to *qara quš*, "(black-) eagle" [*Aquila chrysaetos*, R. B. Shaw, *A Sketch of the Turki Language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan*, ii, Vocabulary, p. 213], in XL to *urī*, "a boy, a youth"), it appears to me, according to the context, must be translated "bold". Should be kept distinct from *tālim*, "many," which in Uiguric script has hitherto been erroneously read in the connexion *talim qara quš* (e.g. Radloff, *Tiāstentik*, St. Petersburg, 1910, 47a, pp. 30 and 44; the same, *Kuan-ši-in Pusa*, ibid., 1911, l. 142,

pp. 12 and 25). Regarding this expression (in Buddhistic sources = Garuḍa) cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, 1911 (Abhandl. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. vom Jahre 1910), p. 81. I should prefer, however, not to refer *taltin* to the verbal root *tala-*, "to sting, to plunder," but to the root *tal-*, Osm. *dal-*, دالغ, "to dive, to intrude one's self, to rush in." Even if Garuḍa could possibly be conceivable here, it could not possibly be in XLIII and LI.

IV. *s²r²i* (i.e. *sāri*?) but it might also be read *āsri* or *āśri*? cf. XLI and XLIX), a word unknown to me (surely not = the doubtful Coman *seriv*, "tame," *Codex Cumanicus*, ed. G. Kuun, p. 225).

V. I do not know the signification of *budl* or *bodl* in *budlly*. Is it a hump or a pad or another characteristic part of the camel's body, as *tuyū*, "hoof" (= Karagassid id., Uriankhai *tuyū*, otherwise *tuinaq*, etc.), in the parallel lines about the horses? Or is *budlly* with double *l* only a clerical error for *bodl(u)γ*, from *bod*, "body, stature," consequently *altun bodl(u)γ*, "with a golden body, stature" ("golden-bodied")? The other new words which occur in this paragraph are easily understood, as *urilan-*, "to bring forth a boy" (*urī*), etc.

VI. *adry-ūn*, *toñuz-ūn* like *quš-ūn*, XLIV; notice the old genitive forms in *-ūn*, *-ūn*, which, after consonantal stems, have not yet been supplanted by the later analogically formed ending *-ūn*.

VIII. *quruy²saq* (evidently the same word as occurs in *Qutadqu Bilig*, 23, 6, erroneously explained by Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik*, ii, St. Petersburg, 1910, p. 40) = *qur²saq*, "stomach, belly," of the modern dialects.

I cannot understand *in²in²* otherwise than as the pronominal affix of the third person + the ablative ending *-tin* (*-din*) forming one word together with the preceding *γol*, though separated from it by the sign : (cf. e.g. *tükä : mürkän* III, *yaru : mazqan* XXI) and written with *n²*, *l²* instead of *n¹*, *l¹*. For the rest, the grammatical construction and the meaning of these lines are not clear to me.

IX. By *bök* I have thought of Teleut., etc., *pök*, "a locked-up place, lock, captivity, stopple" (Verbitzki, *Slovar*, p. 267).

X. I am doubtful how *s²n²g²n²* should be read and understood: *sängän*, from *sän-*, "become weak (?), abate, subside" (Verbitzki, loc. cit., p. 296; Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv, p. 453)? or *äsängän*, "scratching"? or *äsünägn*, "yawning"? or something else ("ravenous"?).

XI. *yazay* or *yazry* (cf. L) must signify some quality in a horse not quite good, probably "lazy, sluggish"; cf. Altai, Teleut. *yazlyq*, id., (about horses) "that soon gets tired, that easily sweats", Verbitzki, pp. 66 and 368; Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii, p. 254?

XV. *äsän tükät* (also XXVII, XLII), fixed hendiadys, as "hale and hearty", "sain et sauf", etc.; cf. Radloff, *Kuan-ki-im Pusar*, p. 32, n. 18.

XVI. *yilinä qudurnyänünä* is not clear to me. Is *yilinä* from *yil* (*γel*), "wind, air," and "till its air" = till it could not draw its breath? Or is *yil* = usually *γal*, "mane," with front vowel, as e.g. Karagass. *ēl* (Castrén), Sagai *ēlin*, Yakut. *siäl*? The latter would perhaps make the better sense. And is *qudurnyänünä* one or two words? is there

not some clerical error in it? and what does it signify? Is it related to *oudrug*, "tail" (compare Uriankhai *qudurγa*, "the hindmost strap," Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der Türkstämme*, ix, p. 185, No. 1314)? and can the whole signify "both as far as its mane and the root of its tail" = from head to tail? (The Osm., etc., *qudur*, "become furious," cannot be thought of, as the latter would here have to be termed *qutur* with *t*, and likewise *qutur* "to release".)

γayrī (*pan*), a hitherto unknown verb, cf. Osm. *γayr*, Chagatai *γayr*, "galled (by the saddle, etc.), a gall."

XVIII. Regarding the wooden trellis (Chagatai, Teleut. *kārāγā*) which often forms the lower vertical wall of the tents of the nomadic Turks, see e.g. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 1884, pp. 268 seqq. and p. 457.

Of the other names of the parts of the tent here occurring *tügünük* is = Teleut. *tünük*, Karagass. *tünnük*, Taranchi *tünük*, etc., "the vent for smoke."—*köz(ü?)nük* recalls most nearly *köznük*, *közinük*, *közünük*, *köznök*, "window" of the Abakan dialects; but were there windows in the tents? If there were not, one could, perhaps, think of *közönä*, *közönö*, "bed-curtain," of the same dialects?—*āγin*, "shoulder," here no doubt signifies the arching upper part of the tent covered with felt.—*bayış* = Eastern Turki, Chagatai *bayış*, the cordage which holds the tent together.

XIX. The MS. has *q^ra^s || sⁱnⁱ*, which no doubt should be read *qaršān*, from *qarš*, "opposite." I have, for lack of anything better, translated it by "antagonist", cf. e.g. *Qut. Bil.* 122, 10. 16. (Or is it perhaps a clerical error, with *s* written twice (cf. *bolm || miš*, XXVII, pp. 40 and 41), for *q(a)r(š)ān*, "his senior"?)

aγan (or *aγūn*?) is a new word. As it forms a hendiadys with *ötüg*, "prayer," I have translated it "penance". Does perhaps the verb *aγan*—(Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, p. 87, ll. 62 and 65) mean, not "hinabstürzen", "versinken", but "do penance" ("in the fire of hell")?

XX. The signification of *tätir* (*tetir*) is unknown. But it is evidently the same word which we find twice in *Qutadγu Bilig*. First, 86, 26: *tätir* (MS. of Cairo *تتر*, MS. of Vienna *täbir*) *buγraş-täg, kör, öc süreä käg*, "Seine Rache verfolge er, wie der Kameelhengst," Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik*, ii, p. 206, where, without reason, he corrects the first word to "*täbä* (?)", "da mir ein Thiername *täbir* oder *tätir* unbekannt ist." Then, 152, 19: *terildi tümän ming tolu köp tetir* (MS. of Vienna *tätir*, MS. of Cairo *تتر*). Here the form is fixed, because the word rhymes with *qatir*, "hinny." Radloff, loc. cit., p. 451, where he translates the verse thus: "Es sind gesammelt unzählige treffliche Heerden," calls *tätir* "ein unbekanntes Wort, was dem Zusammenhange nach 'Pferdeheerde' bedeutet"; this cannot, however, be right, as horses are actually mentioned in the following line. It must be some other domestic animal that is meant, parallel to horses and hinnies. Lastly, we meet the same word in Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, p. 66: "*تتر, tätir?* arabische Kameelstuten" (النباة العربية). Arabian one-humped female camels were used and are still particularly used in Central Asia for pairing with the two-humped male camels which are native to the latter place (Houtsma, loc. cit., p. 62, under *بُر*; A. G. Leonard, *The Camel*,

its *Uses and Management*, London, 1894, p. 95: "When the breed is produced from male Bactrians and female Arabians it is said to be extremely hardy and tough, and able to stand extreme cold and exposure. On the contrary, when the parentage is reversed (male Arabian and female Bactrian) the progeny is useless, being vicious and refractory". Now, as *tätir*, *tätir* (i.e. *tetir*) in our text is used directly about the male camel, *buğra* (in *Qut. Bil.* 86, 26, on the other hand, *tätir buğrası* more probably is "the (Bactrian) he-camel of the shedromedary"), we may be justified in concluding that the word not only has signified an Arabian female camel, but possibly may also have signified a hybrid between a male Bactrian and a female Arabian camel, and this is the signification, then, which I should here suppose to be correct.

udîym(a)γ, only instance of the participle in *-γma* in this MS., and upon the whole, one of the very rare instances of an inflected form (accusative in *-γ*) of this participle.—*yatîγlîγ*, probably not *yatîγ + lîγ*, but rather accusative (*-γ*) of the participle *yat-îγlî*, "lying, resting," in spite of *ārikli* (LV; also in the Orkhon inscriptions) with *k*.

XXI. *öpγük* I identify with Chagatai *öbük*; according to Sheikh Suleiman's dictionary "birds with a crown upon their head; a hoopoe".

XXII. *uzantontuγ*, "a long-coat," i.e. one who bears a long coat; as it appears, a particularly, though not exclusively Manichean expression; cf. Radloff, *Chuvstuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, 1907, p. 31, n. 40; and Le Coq, *JRAS*, April, 1911, p. 302, n. 26. As the fact is specially emphasized that they are provided with a food-bowl, a drinking-vessel (see XLII), and, here, a bell, they thereby appear to be characterized as mendicant friars or ecclesiastics, not Manicheans in general. In the translation I use the term "monk".—*küzünü* = Teleut., Uriankhai *küzünü*, *küzünü*, "a little bell," Verbitski, p. 485; Radloff, *Proben der Volkalit.*, ix, p. 191 = *Übersetzung*, ix (in Russian), p. 163, 7. Different from *küzünü*, "a mirror."

XXIII. I am very uncertain how the first lines of this paragraph are to be understood, and the translation I have tried to give is only a conjectural one. What *čuk*; *tiñ* is, I do not know at all. *čuk* is in addition a wholly non-Turkish form, as *u* and *k* cannot be used conjointly in the same word. Is it perhaps the rendering of a Chinese expression unknown to me? Moreover, the form of the character *u*, which is otherwise usually symmetrical, is here somewhat abnormal, the upper oblique stroke being somewhat shorter than the lower one; therefore, perhaps, it might also be imagined that it ought in reality to be a *k*, the lower cross-stroke of which has been omitted (cf. XVII), consequently e.g. *č(ä)k(ä)k*. This is, however, equally unintelligible to me.

XXIV. *täglük*, cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, p. 29, "*toγa täglüg*, der Krankheit unterworfen," or better, "afflicted with sickness."

XXV. *buğ(a)rāi* appears to signify the same as the differently formed Chag., Osm. *buğayru*, "fetter, chain for animals and criminals," Chagatai also *buğar*.

XXVII. *ānsi*- or *ānsi*- must according to the context signify "be toothless, unable to bite"; but the real signification of the word is

perhaps "to suck" = *ām-*, Osm. also *āmzā-*? (Scarcely = Telent. *āmā-* "herabhängen", Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, i, p. 968.)

XXVIII. *uyur* (or *oyur*), parallel to *ädgü*, is probably the same word as often occurs in the inscriptions of Yenisei (Radloff, *Die alttürk. Inschriften der Mongolei*, p. 356, "*oyar*"), and appears to signify "clever, able", or some such word. I suppose it is simply the present (aorist) participle of *u-*, "to be able."

XXIX. Here we appear to have the short verbal stem *oy-* in signification of *oyna-*, "to play," which occurs everywhere else, and *oyur* instead of *oyun*, "play" (Osm. *oyun-al-*, "win in play"); *oyma* may then signify "a gambler". Regarding *yutuz*, cf. Thomsen, *Ein Blatt in türk. Runenschrift*, p. 296, note.

XXXI. *ān* must be the same as is elsewhere called *an*, "game, an animal that is hunted." That here the word has *ā*, not *a*—which must be influenced by *mān*, "prey, food," with which it is always associated—is distinctly proved by the phonetic character of all the affixes.

XXXII. *tabıq* = Taranchi *tabıq*, Kirghiz *tabıq*, the *tabıq*, etc., of the Altai dialects, *Spiraea altaica*.

XXXIII. There had been written *kidizig*, but a thick vertical stroke is put through *d* either to alter it to *i* or to efface it. Regarding the manufacture of felt (*kidiz*, *kiziz*, *kiz*, *kigiz*, in the different languages), cf. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, pp. 413 seqq.; *Proben der Volksl.*, ix, p. 235, No. 328 = *Übersetz.*, ix (in Russian), p. 204. After the wool is beaten with sticks and pulled fine it is spread out upon a mat and wetted; the whole is rolled up upon a stick and tied round tightly with rope, then it is rolled backwards and forwards for a long time. After the ropes have been removed it is beaten for hours with the palm of the hand, and finally it is hung up to dry.

XXXVI. *učurıy*, cf. *učur*, "Spitze (?)," Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, p. 40, 107, "Gipfel," *ibid.*, p. 57 (5).

XXXIX. *tärtrü* occurs also in Le Coq, Dr. Stein's Turkish Khuastuanıft, JRAS., April, 1911, p. 289, L 136, corresponding to *tärtrü* in the parallel passage in the text published by Radloff, *Khuastuanıft, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, 1909, p. 6, L 60; p. 32, n. 48. The signification there appears to be "wrongly, erroneously" (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii, p. 1093: *tärtrü*, "verkehrt"). Thus also here, I have translated it "awkwardly".

XL. *yasičün* is instrumental case of *yasič* = Osm. *ياسیج*, *yasij*, "Pfeil (mit Spitze)," Zenker, *loc. cit.*, p. 951.—*yalıus*, "along," same form as in the inscriptions of Yenisei; otherwise with *z*: Eastern Turki *yalyuz*; Osm. *yalıüz*, etc.

XLII. Regarding *uzuntörlü*, see note to XXII.

XLIV. *tirnaq*, "claw, nail," the old form of this word (also *Qut. Bil.* 118, 16), wherefrom later *türnaq* (Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, pp. 35, 22; Yakut. *türnaq*), *tirnaq*, etc.

tüñ- appears to stand for *tüñ-*, "restrain oneself" (Abakan *tüñ-*, *tüñ-*, Verbitaki, pp. 395 and 389), reflexive form of *tü-* (with radical *d*, not *t*), "restrain, withhold, hinder."

Several other words in this paragraph are not clear to me, and I have

translated them only according to the context : *müculun-* (Abakan *ms.*, "to untie, unharness, etc.," Verbitzki, loc. cit., p. 311 ?) ; *ügüş-* or *ögüş-* ; *öñüş-* (cf. *öñ-*, "turn pale, wither").

XLVII. *ömälä-*. Cf. Taranchi *ömälä-*, Koibal. *ömäktä-*, etc., "creep."

L. Regarding *yazay* or *yazıy*, see note to XI.—*yadrat* = Altai *yayrat-*, "to overthrow, throw down," from Uigur. *yad-*, "spread."—*ücürgü* (as still in the Abakan dialects) is a rug put under the saddle ; Verbitzki, loc. cit., p. 417 (*ücürgü*), Katanov in Radloff, *Proben d. Volkslit.*, ix, pp. 376 and 387, No. 339 (*ücürgü*).—A verb *top-* seems unknown elsewhere, but must be the same as the well-known *topla-*, "to compress."—*türüt-* "to sweat" = Karagass. *türüt-*, Yakut. *tirit-*, while otherwise the form *türlä-* is used.

LVII. *qanyı*, I suppose, must be some unknown derivate of *qan*, "a khan," perhaps "a prince" ? (not, of course, = Osm. *qanyı*, *hanıy*, "which of them ?")

könäk (l. 2), *könäk* (l. 4), can apparently only be the word *könäk* or *könök*, "a pail," which occurs in several dialects. If it is asked what a pail has to do here, I can only refer the reader to the account of—probably old—burial ceremonies of the Abakan-Turks (the Beltirs) recorded by N. F. Katanov, *O pogrebal'nikh obriadakh u tiurkskikh plemën central'noi i vostočnoi Azii*, Kasan, 1894, p. 11 ; also in Radloff, *Proben der Volkslit.*, ix, p. 376 = *Übersetzung* (in Russian), ix, p. 356. Before the door of the house of the deceased is placed a pail (*könäk*) of water, from which all wash after the burial. It may or may not be a similar custom which is thought of here.

Regarding *ırq*, see above, p. 193.

LXI. *turañaya* or *turnıaya*, "crane," interesting form, cf. Karagass. *turña*, Yakut. *turıya*, in the majority of the other Turkish languages *turna*.

LXIV. *buymul* must be the same word as Chagatai *muymul*, which, according to Künoš, *Şeiḫ Suleiman Efendi's Čagatai-Osmanisches Wörterbuch*, Budapest, 1902, p. 146, signifies "a falcon unsusceptible of training".

COLOPHON (pp. 103, 104). Regarding the year of the tiger, see p. 196. —*manistan*, Middle Iranian (Sogdian ?) loan-word, "abode, residence."—*Taygūntan* is evidently a Chinese name (*T'ai-kiun-t'an* ?) ; but the locality itself is unknown to all the authorities whom I have consulted. It may have been a monastery or a temple to which a college or scholastic establishment may have been attached.—Regarding the Manichaean term *dintar* (*ditar* appears to be a clerical error only), see v. Le Coq., *JRAS.* 1911, p. 303, n. 33.—*burua : yuru* are non-Turkish words ; they look as if they could be Sanskrit *pūrcaguru*, "a former guru."—In *s²d²s²iēmz*, as it apparently should be read, there appears to be a clerical error ; (*ä*)*ä*(*i*)*d*(*i*)*ä*(*i*)*z* (+ *m*(*i*)*z*) could probably be thought, "they who hear (attend lectures) together," but in that case *i* stands wrongly between *s²* and *ä*.

MS. III

CH. 0014

This number, which was also found near Tun-huang, consists of three or four loose fragments. The condition in which they appear implies that the original sheets to which they belonged have been intentionally torn to pieces and crumpled up.

The largest fragment, *a*, is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and 12 to 14 inches long, and consists of eleven entirely preserved lines of writing and larger or smaller portions of three others. Each line consists on an average of twenty characters. The other fragments are but small. *b* is a somewhat rectangular fragment of the right side of a sheet, and contains the beginning of five lines; of the fifth, however, only the upper part of the characters remains. The width of the fragment is about 6 inches and has barely reached the middle of the original sheet. The fragments *c* and *d*, of which the latter is quite small, fit together, so that they in reality constitute one fragment only, of a width similar to that of *b*, but somewhat more irregular in form. The fragments *b*, *c*, *d* are so rudimentary that it is impossible to translate them. The contents, which in all three fragments appear to be of a philosophical or religious nature, as well as the homogeneous script and paper, show that they have all belonged to one treatise, but no direct connexion exists between them.

The script is exceedingly beautiful and distinct. As regards characteristic forms of letters it may be pointed out that both l^1 and b^2 are entirely closed below; b^2 , for instance, has about the form of an 8 with a small projection above.

Scattered among the lines Chinese characters of later origin occur.

Lastly, I want to add that I have had no opportunity of seeing the originals, but have had only photographs at

my disposal; these are, however, so excellent that they fully compensate for the originals.

a

[— — — — —]

1. *ziniñ* : *ölmāz* [.]
2. : : *tanuugluy* : *s(a)b* : *tamṛalīy* :
3. *bitig* : : *īšidmīštā* : *körü* :
4. *körmiš* : *yig* : : *miñ* : *kiši* : *yü*
5. *zin* : *bil(i)gineä* : *bir* : *kiši* : *at*
6. *ī* : : *bil(i)g o* : : *azmazun* : *tip* :
7. *yirēi* : *y(a)ratī* : *y(a)nūl²mazun* : *t*
8. *ip* : *bilg(ā)g* : *urū* : : *azmaz* : *y*
9. *ī[r]ēi* : *y(a)nūl²m(a)z* : *bilgā* : *unūl²m*
10. *maz* [sic] : *ötügēi* : *y(a)nūl²maz* : *bitkā*
11. *ēi* : : *bilgālig* : *y(a)nūl²maz* : *yī*
12. *rēilig* : *azmaz* : : *y(a)nūl²mas(a)r* :
13. *bilgā* : *bol[γuy* : ?] *azmas²(a)r* : *yī*
14. [*rēi* : *bolγay* : ? : *y(a)nūl²ma* [. . .]

b

[. *yī*]

1. *rēi* : *bolmaz* [. *b*]
2. *itkāēi* : *yooq* : *a* [.]
3. *yooq* : | : *tūtūnēs* [.]
4. *n²i* : *kōni* : *ōkm* [.]
5. . . *m* : *(a)r¹t¹a* (or *ī*?) : *yo[oq*]

c, d

1. [.] *n¹l¹n¹* : *tut*
2. [.] *gū* : *tutm(a)z* : :
3. [.] *īr¹* : *subnīr¹ī* : *b¹*
4. [.] *gl(ā)r* : *(a)rγa* : *bolu*
5. [.] *īrγu* : *(ā)rs(ā)r* : *(a)ld¹ī* (or *a*)

a

[— — — — —]

does not die — — (as regards) an attested word or a sealed writing, then seeing (with one's own eyes) is better than hearing. One man's name (i.e. one individual) with the faces of a thousand men on the strength of his wisdom—that is wisdom. In order that one shall not lose one's way he (?) has appointed a guide; in order that one shall not err he (?) has ordained the wise man (or the wise)—a guide who does not lose his way, a wise man who does not err, an intercessor who does not forget, a tutor (?) who does not err. He who has a wise man (by his side) does not err. He who has a guide does not lose his way. If he does not err, he (himself) [will] become wise; if he does not lose his way, [he himself will become a] guide [— — —]

NOTES TO III

a, ll. 3 and 4. *körül kör-*, "to see seemingly" = "to see with one's own eyes". Cf. *baqa kör-* (e.g. *Qut. Bil.* 125, 1), "to see regardingly" = "to look narrowly".

a, l. 6. *bilgo* must according to common orthography be read *bil(i)g o*, but may perhaps be *bilg(ā) o*, "that is the wise man." *o*, late form for *ol*.

a, l. 8. *bilgy* must on account of its parallelism to only designations of persons be read *bilg(ā)g*.

a, l. 10. *ötügi*, from *ötüg*, "a prayer, a request, a petition,"—as is obviously proved by this passage—does not signify "one who prays" (Radloff, *Wörterb.*, i, p. 1280, "*ödükci*"), but "an intercessor", one who receives addresses or petitions in order to submit and recommend them to the sovereign or an authority. This signification agrees also better with *Qut. Bil.* 108, 3, *ötügi körükmez*, "no intercessor is required" (Radloff, who himself in the note remarks that if signifying "der Bittsteller" another form might be expected, translates: "Ich brauche nicht erst zu bitten[!], wenn ich Sorgen habe; ehe meine Zunge sich bewegt, hört er mein Wort").

a, ll. 10 and 11. *bikāci* (also IV, l. 10, *bitgāci*), an unknown word (different from *bitigci*, "a clerk, secretary"). According to the context it appears to signify something like "a tutor", or as in IV, l. 10, "a steward, commissary," and this agrees well with the use of the same word (*bitgāci*, *bitigāci*) in two places in the hitherto unpublished Berlin Turfan MSS., which Dr. v. Le Coq has kindly communicated to me.

cd, l. 3. *sub(a?)jiri* or *sub^h* is a non-Turkish word; perhaps Indian (cf. e.g. Sanskrit *Çubhāṅkara* ?)

MS. IV

CH. 00183. (PLATE IIIb.)

Finally, from Tun-huang comes another curious document which I shall now mention. It is a sheet that, as far as I can judge from the photograph (I have not seen the original), appears to have been carefully folded. With the exception of a few damaged places, mainly where there appears to have been such an old fold, it is on the whole well preserved.

What immediately strikes us as being peculiar with this document, is the script. We have here not only an instance of a plain and ordinary handwriting, but this also gives a decided impression of having originated from an unpractised hand. The script, besides presenting peculiar forms of certain characters, for instance *a*, when compared with the elegant script of the two preceding numbers, is exceedingly clumsy right through, and looks as if "written with a match", as we say in Danish. Moreover, the characters are rather unlike, both as regards their form and their size; great inconsistency is shown in the use of the sign for separating words, : , and the lines, especially in the lower half of the sheet, run very irregularly.

But the contents also are peculiar. The author, probably an officer or another military person, bearing the rather high-sounding name Baghatur Chigshi, pronounces in angry terms his discontent with the board afforded for him and for a number of other persons, his superiors and fellows, on their arrival at a place which has not been indicated more closely. Here we must have before us, either some private notes or a private letter, and all probability favours the belief that it is the latter. The opening word "Then" (*y(ä)mä*) might imply that the MS., though it appears in its present form as a complete whole, yet is but the end of a note, the beginning of which is wanting.

p 102.

p 101

(a) II. Book from Tun-huang. Ch.0033 pp. 101-102. scale $\frac{3}{5}$ (b) IV. MS. from Tun-huang. Ch.00183. scale $\frac{3}{7}$

With regard to the age of the MS. nothing definite can be stated, but it appears, if anything, to date from the later part of that period when the runic script was in use, probably the ninth century.

The text runs as follows:—

1. *y(ā)mā : bišinc : (a)y s(ā)kiz yig*
2. *(i)rmigā bilig kōñūl*
3. *s(a)ñun : b(a)ñap : k(ā)lti : y(a)baš*
4. *tutuuq buzaē tutuuq ör*
5. *ā bōrt : tutuuq : altun t*
6. *(a)y s(a)ñun : y(a)rt(i)mlīq (ā)rūr : atī*
7. *öz apa tutuuq : ulatī qam*
8. *(i)rtlīy yūzlūg otuz (ā)r*
9. *k(ā)lt(i)miz bir : kūn bir qoñ*
10. *iki kūp : b(ā)gmi : bitgāēi :*
11. *isiz y(a)ñiz qul b(i)ñidim*
12. *atīm b(a) atur ēigši :*

Then, in the fifth month, on the eighteenth, came Bilig Kōngül Sangun after having taken over the command. The adjutants(?) are Yabash Tutuq, Buzach Tutuq, Örä Bört Tutuq, and Altun Tay Sangun. We came: (the Chief,) Öz Apa Tutuq by name, followed by, all told, thirty men of rank and consideration. On one day one sheep and two water-butts! Bāgni(?), the commissary, is a wretched and good-for-nothing slave. Written by me, Baghatur Chigshi by name.

NOTES TO IV

ll. 1 and 2. *yig(i)rmigā*, later form with the ending *-gā* instead of the earlier *-kā*.

l. 2. Regarding *bilig kōñūl* as appellative in Buddhistic terminology, "reason," literally "wisdom-mind", "wise mind", see F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, II, p. 13.

ll. 5 and 6. *tay sañun* is Chinese 大將軍 *tai tsiang-kün* (*ta Chiang-chün*), "great general."

l. 6. *y(a)rt(i)mlīq* I have with some doubt interpreted as "adjutants" (or officers attached to the staff), having assumed that *yartim* might be =

Osm., Chagatai *yardım*, "help, assistance." The five persons mentioned in ll. 2-6 would then be the general with his staff, while in ll. 7-8 we have the particular corps to which the writer belonged, together with the name of its chief.

l. 8. *atlır yüzläg*, hendiadys, cf. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, p. 19, s; Radloff, *Kuan-kü-im Pasar*, p. 47, n. 94.

l. 10. Regarding *bitgäci*, see above, p. 217, note to IIIa, ll. 10 and 11.

l. 11. *isiz* (*esiz* [for *es-siz*, literally "mindless"], wrongly "*äzis*", Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, i, p. 898) *yabız*, hendiadys, cf. Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, p. 23, s; *isiz yarız*.

As a thirteenth line, it appears as if, below the first three characters of l. 12, there had been very indistinctly written (*a*)*ltu* (?), which, however, cannot belong to the text.

LIST OF WORDS

Roman numerals indicate the texts published here (I, pp. 186-7; II, pp. 196-209; III, pp. 215-16; IV, pp. 218-19; II is, however, as a rule not indicated, therefore absence of Roman numerals is = II. Arabic numerals after I, III, and IV indicate the line, for II the page of the MS. The order of the characters followed here is: (1) vowels, *a*, *ä*, *i*, *o* and *u* indiscriminately, *ö* and *ü* id.; (2) consonants, in the same order as the common European characters.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>ab</i> , 17, 97. | <i>anča</i> , 1, 5, etc. |
| <i>abünč-u</i> , 57. | <i>andaγ</i> , 5, 15, 32, 59, 68, 93. |
| <i>adıγ</i> , 10. | <i>añıγ</i> , 9, 16, 28, 34, 55. |
| <i>adır</i> , 86. | <i>apa</i> , n.pr., Ia 19, 21, c 4; IV, 7. |
| <i>adırlıq</i> , 7. | <i>aq</i> , 7, 28. |
| <i>aγ</i> -, <i>-ipan</i> , 96. | <i>ar</i> -, <i>-ip</i> (<i>a. oñ-</i>), 25; <i>-mīs</i> , 52. |
| <i>arja</i> (?)n (<i>a. ötüg</i>), 29. | <i>ara</i> , 15, 57, 80. |
| <i>arıl</i> , 71. | <i>aral-ı</i> , 92. |
| <i>arız</i> , <i>arız-ı</i> , 40, 100. | ? <i>arja</i> , IIIc 4. |
| <i>al</i> -, <i>-ayın</i> , 90; <i>-ip</i> , 43; <i>-di</i> , | <i>art</i> , 10. |
| IIIc 5 (?). | ? <i>arta</i> or <i>-ti</i> , IIIb 5. |
| <i>ala</i> , 2. | <i>artat</i> -, <i>-mayın</i> , 91. |
| <i>alanı</i> , n.pr., Ia 4, 10. | <i>asıγ</i> , 49. |
| <i>alp</i> , 15, 60, 84. | <i>asra</i> , 20, 31, 83, 93. |
| <i>alqu</i> , 101. | <i>at</i> (horse), Ib r. 2 (?), 6; II 23, |
| <i>altı</i> , Ia 15. | 25, 28, 52, [58], 76, 85, 100; |
| <i>altun</i> , 1, 3, 7, 8, 12; n.pr., IV 5. | <i>-lıγ</i> , 2, 16, 54, 55. |
| <i>amraq</i> , 101. | <i>at</i> (name), IV 6, 12; <i>-lıγ</i> |
| <i>amtı</i> , 101. | (<i>a. yüzläg</i>), IV 8. |
| <i>ančıp</i> , 101. | <i>atan</i> -, <i>-mīs</i> , 85. |

- ay*, Ia 1; II 91, 103; IV 1.
ayaq, 62, 63.
ayın-, -*ma*, 29.
aylıq, 2.
az-, -*masar*, IIIa 13; -*maz*, IIIa 8, 12; -*mazun*, IIIa 6; -*tī*, II 20, 21.
ab, 8, 13, 14, 85.
ad [.] *ü*, n.pr., Ia 13.
adgū, 1, 3, 5, 9, etc., 11, 16; -*si*, 42, 73, 92; -*ti*, 19, 29, 62.
āgin, *āgn-i*, 27.
āki (*eki*), 2, 37; cf. *iki*.
ākinti, 103.
ālākūl, n.pr., Ic 7.
ālig, 97.
ālik (*kiyik*), 97.
alt-, -*i*, 11, 16.
ām, 36.
āmgāk, 89.
āmsi- or *āmši-*, -*miš*, 40.
ān (*ā. mān*), 47 (twice).
ānlā- (*ā. mānlā-*), -*yū*, 74.
ār, Ib r. 6; II 7, 9, 11, 17, 40, 43, 45, 52, 71, 79, 84; IV 8.
ār-, -*ikli*, 84; -*ūr*, IV 6; -*miš*, 9, 10, 60; -*sār*, IIIcd 5.
ārdāmlig, 15.
ārklig, 17, 102.
āsān (*ā. tūkāl*), 21, 40, 63.
? āsngān, 15.
(? āsri, see sāri.)
? āš-, -*ār*, 2.
āšid- (*ešid-*), -*ti*, 83, 93; cf. *išid-*.
? āšidšiçi, 103.
īčrīn-, -*miš*, 34.
īd-, -*miš*, 29.
īduqluq, 61.
īqāč, 6, 19, 86.
īnal, n.pr., Ib r. 1, b v. 7.
īnanču, n.pr., Ic 8.
īrq, 89, 101 (p. 193).
ič, 27.
ič-, -*ipān*, 26.
īčrā, 97.
īčrāki, Ia 10, 21; *īčirāki*, Ia 4.
idi, 100.
idiš, 62, 63.
iki, IV 10; cf. *āki*.
il, 41-2, 73.
ilin-, -*miš*, 95.
ini, Ia 17.
ingāk, 60.
ingān, 8.
(? intin, 13.)
irkāk, 36, 61.
isig, n.pr., 103.
isiz (*i. yabīz*), IV 11.
išid-, -*miš*, IIIa 3; cf. *āšid-*.
it-, -*miš*, 73.
itā-čuq, n.pr., 104.
o, IIIa 6.
u-, -*matīn*, 24, 38, 56, 58, 95; -*maz*, 100; -*yīn*, 69; -*yur* (?), 42.
uč-, -*a*, 20, 95.
učruqluq, 55.
ud-, -*u*, 38, 39.
udī-, -*γma*, 31.
odtur-, -(u), 31.
(? uq, 20.)
oqlul, *oql-i*, 2, 20, 21, 44, 45, 68, 84, 89.
oqlan, 35, 43, 101.
oqrī, 23.
ol, 1, etc.; *anīn*, 53.
ula-, -*yur*, 73.
ulat-, -*i*, IV 7.
uluq, 14, 77.
olur-, -*upan*, 1, 6; -*ur*, 95.
on, Ib r. 2 (? *ūč-*); II, 44 (*toquz-*).

- una-, -maduq, 57.
 unaʕan, n.pr., Ia 2.
 unüt-, -maz, IIIa 10.
 on-, -up, 25.
 ur-, 50; -upan, 43, 53 (?), 59;
 -ti, IIIa 8.
 urı, 59.
 urılan-, -mıš, 9.
 uruñu, n.pr., Ia 2, 7, 12, 17,
 20, b r. 1, 9, b v. 3, 5, 7, c 4.
 ordu, 41, 51.
 ortu, 36, 74.
 usiç, 43.
 ot, ut, n.pr., Ib v. 9.
 ot (grass), 26, 82; -suz, 68.
 ot (fire), Ia 6.
 ut-, -mıš, 44.
 otuz, Ia 1; IV 8.
 utuz-, -maduq, 44.
 utru, 2, 23, 65.
 uya, 47.
 oyurı, 43.
 uyur, see u-.
 oyma, 43.
 oz-, -mıš, 18, 26, 61.
 uzun, 72; -tonluq, 33, 62.
 ö-, -pän, 23.
 öbkälä-, -pän, 90.
 üç, Ia 11; II 29; üç-on ?, Ib r. 2.
 üçün, Ia 9 (b r. 2 ?); II 104.
 üçünç, 9, 21.
 ücürgü, 77.
 öd-, -mäh, 33.
 ög (ö. qan), 53, 89, 90.
 ügä, n.pr., Ia 11, c 2.
 ögir- (ö. sabın-), -ä, 46, 47,
 51, 75; -är, 22, 44-5, 54,
 64, 98.
 ögür (ögr-i-), 86.
 ögüş-, -üpän, 67.
 ügüz, 64.
 ögrünç, 54.
 ögrünçülüg, 85.
 ökl-, IIIb 4.
 öküş, 54.
 öküz, 37, 56.
 öl-, -gäy, 61, 88; -mıš, 87;
 -mäz], IIIa 1.
 ülüg, 61, 102.
 ölüm, 18, 26, 75.
 ömälä-, -yü, 71.
 ön-, -üp, 75; -üpän, 93; -di,
 82; -mıš, 97.
 öñ, 25.
 öñi, 63.
 öñüş-, -üpän, 67.
 örä bört, n.pr., IV, 4-5.
 örün, 6, 8, 30, 60, 61.
 örgin, 1.
 ürk-, -üpän, 40.
 ürkit-, -tiñ, 33.
 örtän-, -mıš, 14.
 ötüg, 29.
 ötügçi, IIIa 10.
 ötün-, 29; -ür, 83.
 öz-i, 51, 70, 85; -ikä, Ia 6;
 -üm, 13; -üñ, 72.
 öz (apa), n.pr., IV 7.
 üz-, -ük, 73.
 üzä, 1, 6, 10, 20, 25, 31, 39,
 81, 83, 93, 99.
 ba-, 19, 50; -mıš, 19.
 barqatur, n.pr., IV 12.
 barış, 28.
 balıq, Ia 14, b r. 11.
 bar, 28, 49.
 bar-, -ipan, 26, 53; -ır, 63;
 -dı, Ib v. 10, c 2; -duq, Ib r.
 10; -mıš, II, 7, 8, 17, 23, etc.
 bars, 15; (b. kiyik), 46, 74; b.
 yıl, 103; n.pr., Ia 16, b v. 5.
 basın-, -u, 70.

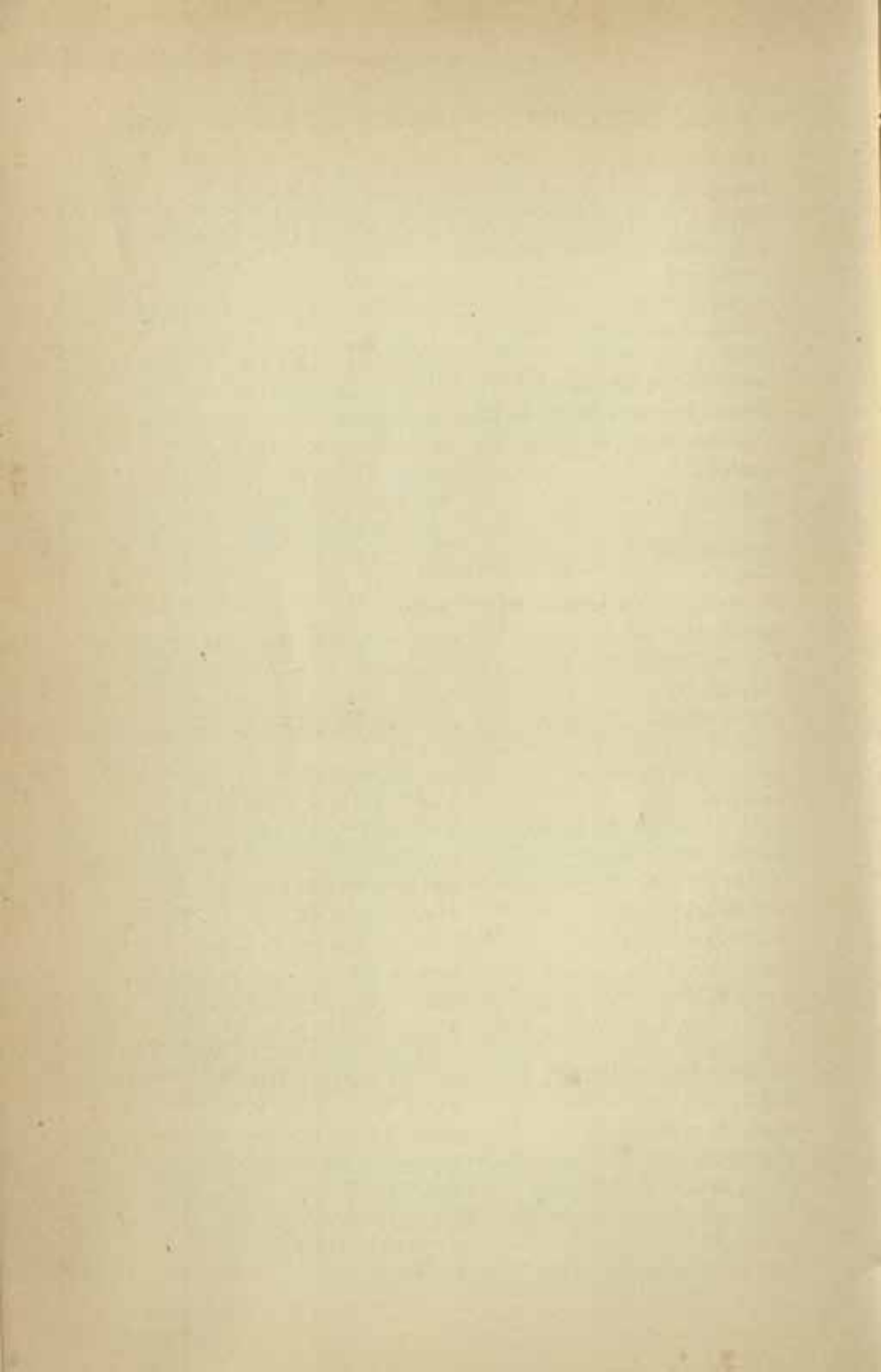
- baş*, 13, 15, 89.
başla-, -p, IV 3.
başlır, 12.
bay, 40.
bayırqu, Ia 15.
? bayluq, Ib v. 4.
? bācā, n.pr., Ia 21.
bādiz, 92-3.
bādizlā-, -yūr, 42.
bāg, 7, 9, 83.
bāgliq, 88.
bāgliq, 9.
? bāgni, n.pr., IV 10.
bi, 7.
bič-, -ā, 56.
bil, 56.
bil-, -iā, -iālār, 1, etc.; -ti, 84, 93.
bilig, IIIa 5, 6 (?); IV 2 (b. *kōñül*, n.pr.).
bilgä, IIIa 8, 9, 13.
bilgäliq, IIIa 11.
? bindir, n.pr., Ib r. 4.
bir, Ia 8, 9, 12, 21, c 2, 3, 6; II, 37, 48, 55; IIIa 5; IV 9.
bir-, -gäy, 3; -miš, 71.
birlä, Ia 22.
biš, 103; -inč, IV 1.
biš-, -dī, 81.
biti-, -dim, 104; IV 11.
bitig, 101; IIIa 3.
bitgäci, IV 10; *bitkäci*, IIIa 10-11, b 2.
bu, 89, 101.
bučur, n.pr., Ic 1.
budun, 81.
? budllur (*bodllur*?), 8.
buıra, 30.
buıralıq, 8.
bol-, -u[-], IIIc 4; -ur, II 89; -ıay, 36 [IIIa 13]; -māš, 40-1, 60-1; -tī, Ia 3, 5, 7, 8, etc.; II, 39, 48, 49, 80, 82, 100; -zun, 35, 57, 71-2, 73, 92.
bul-, -upan, 47; -māš, 47, 63-4; -tī, 35.
bulūt, 81.
bulūtllır, 79.
bolur, 29.
bulun, 18; -taqī, 42.
buqarsī, 37.
burua : *ıuru*, 103.
bosannē, 80.
bosusllur, 79.
boš, 44.
butula-, -māš, 8.
buymul, 98.
boz, 81.
buzac, n.pr., IV 4.
bozarı, 61.
bozarıula-čī, 60.
bök, 14.
böri, 40.
bört, IV 5.
čırqañ, 45.
čıntan, 6.
čır (*sarır*-), n.pr., Ia 18.
čigši, Ia 3, 5, 17; IV 12.
čik, n.pr., Ia 4.
? čuk, 35.
čur, Ia 2.
ditar (*dintar*?), 103.
? ıuru, 103.
kādım, n.pr., Ia 12.
kākūk, 35.
kāl-, -ır, 11, 16, 46, 47, 51, 85; -miš, Ib r. 3, 11; II 8-9, 63, 80, 90; -sār, 85; -ti, IV 3; -timiz, IV 9.
kālūr-, -miš, Ia 11; II 61.
-kän, see *-qan*.

- känsig*, n.pr., Ia 18.
käntü, 101-2.
käñrän-, -ür, 34.
käräkü, 27.
käs-, -ipän, 13.
kiiz (kidiz ?), 49.
kičä, 1, 2, 34.
kičig, 103.
kin, 89.
kir-, -ür, 31; -miş, Ia 14; II 97.
kiša-, -miş, 58.
kiši, 2, 21, 43, 44, 82, 83, 93.
kiyik, 20, 68; *alik k.*, 97; *bars k.*, 46, 74; *sırın k.*, 92; *yarın k.*, 95, 96.
küč, II 25; n.pr., Ib r. 12.
küčlüg, 5, 32, 93.
köçür (k. qontur-), -ü, 51.
kögür-, -miş, Ib r. 6.
kök, 98.
köküz-, -māk, Ic 6.
köl, 33.
kül, n.pr., Ia 17.
köl-, -miş, 38.
külüg, n.pr., Ia 7, b r. 7.
kün, 36, 39, 80; IV 9.
kön-, -miş, Ia 6.
könäk, 88.
künäs, 88.
köni, IIIb 4.
könäk (= *könäk*), 88.
könül, IV 2.
küp, IV 10.
küpä (kü-apa ?), n.pr., Ia 8.
köpük, 30.
kör-, -ü, IIIa 3; -üpän, II 25, 26; -män, 33; -miş, IIIa 4.
küräbir, n.pr., Ib r. 9.
körüklüg, 27, 99.
körüs-, -miş, 22.
közünük, 27.
küzünü, 33.
közlä-, -yür, 99.
 ? *lač* [in ?], n.pr., Ib v. 4.
 -lī -lī, 10.
maṛa, 74, 75.
manīstan-taqī, 103.
mān, 1, 2, 4, etc.
māñ, 47.
māñi, 80.
māñilig, 9, 96.
māñilä-, -yür, 1, 6, 42, 79, 87.
māñlä-, -yü, 74.
mīn-, -miş, 24.
mīñ, 49; IIIa 4.
muñluṭ, 34.
müñrä-, -yür, 93.
nä-täg, 27, 28.
näčük, 69.
nägü, 36.
nällük, 88.
qal-, -miş, 18, 25, 57; -maduq, 14.
qalī-, -yu, 53 67.
qaltī, 69.
qamīč, 18.
qam(i)ṛ, 39, 81, 97; IV 7-8.
qamış, 57.
qamuş, 15.
qamla-, -miş, 17.
qamša-, -yu, 24, 38, 56, 58.
qan, 41, 50, 97; n.pr., Ia 16.
qan (blood), 36.
-qan-, -kän: *tükä mäkän*, 4; *yaru mazqan*, 32.
qanat, 53.
qanatlıṛ, 3-4.
qannäa, 63.
qanṛī, 87, 88.
qanliṛ, 97.
qañ (ög q.), 53, 89, 90.

- qap-*, -mīš, 66.
qara [Ib r. 12 ?]; II 32, 72, 81,
 97; *q. quš*, 4, 65, 78.
qarī, 55.
qarīn (*qarn-i*), 10.
qaršī, 28-9.
qat, 14, 77.
qatır, 100; -tī, 19; -dī, 50.
qatun, 57.
qaya, 59, 75, 78.
qazıanč, 45.
qılıč, 13; n.pr., Ia 6, b r. 10,
 11-12.
qışlar, 78, 86.
qıyağan, n.pr., Ib v. 9, c 3.
qızıl, 78.
qobī, 54.
qoçu (*balıq*), n.pr., Ib r. 11.
qod-, -upan, 62; -m(ad?)uq, 14.
qodī, 66, 77.
 ? *qudursuʿinnīna*, 24.
qudruq, 76.
qorıu (*quš*), 52, 53.
quł, 83; IV 11.
quł-apa, n.pr., Ic 4.
qol-, -mīš, 71.
qulun, 36.
qulunla-, -mīš, 7.
qomursıa, 56.
qon-, -upan, 99; -mīš, 94.
qunčuy, 9.
qontur-, -u, 51.
qoñ, 40, 44; IV 9.
qoñčī (-lärkä), Ic 5.
qop, 21, 22, 44.
qop-, -upan, 65.
quruısaq, 12.
qorq-, -ma, 29; -mīš, 3.
qorqınč, 55.
qurtıa, 18.
quš, 20; *qara q.*, 4, 65, 78;
- qorıu q.*, 52, 53; *toğan q.*, 6,
 64 (*t. ügüz quşı*), 66, 67, 98;
tur(u?)ñaya q., 94.
qušla-, -yu, 65.
quşluı, 86.
qut, 3, 21, 55, 71.
qutuz, n.pr., Ia 17.
qutluı, 85, 86.
quzıun, 19, 83.
sab, 11, 16, 83, 90; IIIa 2.
sabčī, 16, 86.
sac-, -(a)r, 30.
sarıır, 97.
sannč-, -mīš, 51.
sahun (Chin.), Ia 13, 16, 20,
 b r. 7-8, 9, b v. 6, 9; II
 103; IV 3 (*tay s.*), 6.
saqın-, -mīš, 63, 90.
sarıır, 16; (*s. čır*) n.pr., Ia 18.
sāb-, -dük, 5.
sābin-, -ū, 46, 47, 51, 75; -ār,
 22, 54, 64.
säkiz, IV 1.
sämiz, 100.
sämrit-, -i, 23.
 ? *sngān*, 15.
sāp-, -ār, 73.
 ? *s(a)ri*, 6, 60, 61, 75.
sırıun (*kiyik*), 92.
sīn-, -uq, 73; -mīš, 10-11.
si (Chin.), 1.
sub, 25, 26, 50.
subñırī, IIIcd 3.
subsuz, 68-9.
sučulun-, -mīš, 66.
surıču (*balıq*), n.pr., Ia 14.
suq-, -mīš, 50.
soquš-, -up, 23; -mīš, 2, 10,
 40, 53, 71, 74.
sū, Ia 10; II 52, 84, 97.
süčür, n.pr., Ia 20.

- söz* (s. *sab*), 11, 16.
tabılqu, 48, 49.
tabıŋqan, 66, 67.
taŋ, 17, 25, (58 ?), 78, 96.
talım (*qara quş*), 4, 65, 78;
 (*urı*), 59.
talula-, -*pan*, 29.
taluy, 4.
tamŋalır, IIIa 2.
tan, 4.
tanuqlurı, IIIa 2.
tañ, 38.
tañlar-, -*dı*, 38.
tapla-, -*duq*, 4.
taqı, 4, 50.
tarır, 81.
tay-gün-tan (Chin.), n.pr., 103.
tay-sañun (Chin.), IV 5-6.
täbä, 8, 69.
-täg, 27, 28.
täg-, -*ır*, 31; -*miş*, 91.
tägi, 14, 24.
tägür-, -*miş*, 53.
täglük, 36.
tän-si (Chin.), 1.
tänlig (*apa*), n.pr., Ia 19.
tänri, 2, 17, 21, 25, 31, 57, 66,
 71, 73, 79, 83.
tänrilig, 18.
täri, 67.
tärit-, -*zün*, 77.
tärklä-, -*yä*, 11.
tärträ, 58.
täz-, -*ipän*, 90.
täskin, 35.
tır, 76.
tınla-, -*yın*, 90.
tırnaq, 66, 67.
tifin-, -*miş*, 67.
ti-, -*miş*, 3, 61, 72; -*p*, 90;
 IIIa 6, 7-8; -*pän*, II 66;
 -*r*, 9, 11, 11-12, etc. (p. 192
 note).
tigin, n.pr., Ia 16.
tigrät-, 76.
tilä-, -*yür*, 96.
tilkü, 70.
? tiñ, 35.
tirä, n.pr., Ia 13 (*b v. 6 ?*).
tiril- (to gather), -*ipän*, 42.
tiril- (to live), -*miş*, 18.
titig, 69-70.
titir, 30.
tudun, Ia 2.
toŋ-, -*dı*, 39; -*miş*, 80.
toŋan (*quş*), 6, 64, 66, 67, 98.
toŋraq, 99.
tuman, 20.
tonlurı (*uzun*-), 33, 62.
toñ-, -*ŋay*, 88; -*miş*, 88.
toñuz, 10.
top-, -*u*, 77.
toquz, Ia 1; II 77, 92; -*on*, 44.
tur-, -*u*, 25; -*upan*, 79, 87; -*ur*,
 24, 38, 56, 58; -*dı*, 20; -*miş*, 42.
tur(u ?)ñaya (*quş*), 94.
turuq, 23.
turŋur-, -*u*, 31.
tut-, -*ar*, 4-5; -*upan*, 23-4;
 -*maz*, IIIcd 2; -*miş*, II 97.
tuturı, 43.
tutuq, Ib r. 3; IV 4, 5, 7.
tuy-, -*matın*, 94.
tuyurılurı, 7.
toz, 20, 95.
tüg-, -*üp*, 76.
tügünük, 27.
tükä-, -*mäz-kän*, 4.
tükäl (*äsän t.*), 21, 40, 63.
tümän, 49.
tün, 36.
tört, 42.

- türt-*, -*mış*, 85.
törtinç, Ia 1.
tüs, 4.
tüs-, -*üpän*, 99; -*mış*, 70.
tüşnäk, 94.
tütünçs[-], IIIb 3.
tüzmiş, n.pr., Ic 3.
yabaş, n.pr., IV 3.
yabız, 17, 37, 68, 69; IV 11.
yablaq, 11, 13, 14, 24, 34, 38, 50,
 55, 56, 58, 65, 70, 77, 95, 101.
yadrat-, 77.
yaγ-, -*dī*, 81.
yaγaq, 86.
yaγaqlıγ, 99.
yaγā, 51.
 (yaγāir- or) yaγāri-, -i-pan, 24.
yaγlıγ, 18.
 ? yaγmīš, n.pr., Ib r. 3.
yalabač, 16.
yalım, 59, 75.
yalbar-, -ur, 30.
yalğa-, -yu, 18.
yalñus-un, 59.
jana, 21, 44, 62, 63, 66, 89, 90.
yanıl-, -*masar*, IIIa 12; -*maz*,
 IIIa 9, 10, 11; -*mazun*,
 IIIa 7.
yañra-, -*yur*, 34.
yap-, -*mış*, 41.
yar-, -a, 59.
yara-, -*ay*, 7, 8, 9, 61; -*mış*,
 45, 46.
yarat-, -i (for -*dī*), IIIa 7.
yarıl-, -*mış*, 10.
yarın, 1, 2, 34.
yari(?)nča, 59.
yariq, Ia 2, 4, 8, 9, 11, etc.
yarū-, -*dī*, 39; -*maz-qan*, 32.
yarūq, 39.
yarñun (kiyik), 95.
yarlıγ, Ia 3, 5, 7, 8, etc.
yartımlıq, IV 6.
yasıç, 59.
yaş, 26, 82.
yaşıl, 78.
yat-, -i-pan, 4; -iγli (or yaγlıγ-
 liγ?), 31.
yayla-, -*yur*, 96, 99.
yaylaγ, 78, 86.
yaylıγ, 96.
yazarγ or yaγıγ, 16, 76.
yäma, IV 1.
yidit-, -*mayın*, 91.
yıl, 21, 32, 91, 103.
yılan, 12.
yılqı, 71, 82.
yış, 25.
yi-, -*mış*, 56, 70; -*pän*, 26;
 -*yür*, 5.
yig, IIIa 4.
yigirmi, 103; IV 1-2.
yil, 24.
yir, 23, 25, 31, 38, 74, 84.
yirči, IIIa 8-9, 13-[14], b 1.
yirčilig, IIIa 11-12.
yitiglig, 85.
yol, Ib r. 6; II 13, 25, 45, 52;
 y. tääri, 2, 72.
 ? yul[uq?], n.pr., Ib v. 2.
yont, 7, 36.
yoq, 54, 55; IIIb 2, 3 (?), 5 (?).
yorı-, -*dī*, 81; -*yın*, 69; -*yu*,
 21, 26; -*yur*, 32, 59, 75.
yurt, Ib r. 2 (?); II 18.
yosuq, Ia 21-2, b r. 8.
yutuz, 44.
yügür-, -ü, 20, 23, 67.
yütürük, 36.
yüz (a hundred), 48.
yüz (face), IIIa 4-5.
yüzlüg, IV 8.



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

IMAGINATIVE YOJANAS

Many readers of this Journal are probably acquainted by this time with an interesting Sanskrit work, entitled Kautīliya-Arthaśāstra, for our introduction to which we are indebted to Mr. Shamasastri, who published the text of it in 1909,¹ and has given an abstract account of some parts of it in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 34 (1905), and a translation of books 5 to 15 (the end) in the same Journal, vols. 38 (1909) and 39 (1910). This work ascribes itself to the well-known Chāṇakya, —mentioned in it as Kautīliya and Viṣṇugupta,— the king-maker and minister of the Maurya king Chandragupta. In any case, it is certainly an early text, calculated to throw light in various directions on the ancient Indian administration: and we are greatly obliged to Mr. Shamasastri for having made it accessible to us.

Chapter 2 of book 10, text p. 362 ff., deals with "the march of the camp and the protection of the army in times of distress and attack." Here, the second paragraph begins:—"In the front (*should go*) the leader; in the centre, the harem and the master [the king]." This direction in connexion with an army proceeding on a campaign seems somewhat quaint: but it is endorsed by Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita*,² in a passage which shows that in ancient India the privilege of having the companionship of the fair sex on active service was by no means confined to the king. However, what we are interested in here is another clause in the same paragraph, which runs:— Yōjanam = adhamāḥ, adhyardham madhyamāḥ, dvīyōjanam = uttamāḥ. This has

¹ Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore; Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 37.

² Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 199.

been translated by Mr. Shamasastri thus:¹—"The army of the lowest quality can march a *yōjana* ($6\frac{9}{11}$ miles a day); that of the middle quality a *yōjana* and a half; and the best army two *yōjanas*."

There have been many speculations as to the length of the *yōjana* in ancient India; with the result that various imaginative values have been evolved. This rendering adds another such value, the origin of which is as follows. The same work, the Kautīliya-Arthaśāstra, gives on p. 106 f. a table of the measures of length. On p. 107 it tells us (lines 8, 9) that 1000 *dhanus* are 1 *gōruta*, and 4 *gōruta* are 1 *yōjana*: this gives 1 *yōjana* = 4000 *dhanus*. At the top of the same page it mentions a *dhanus* of 108 *āṅgula*, in respect of which it says:—*Gārhapatyam=ashtaśat-āṅgulaṁ dhanuḥ pathi-prākāra-mānaṁ pauruṣaṁ cha agnichityānām*. The learned translator took this *dhanus* to be the *dhanus* which is contemplated in line 8. Further, he has assumed the value of 108 *āṅgula* to be 9 feet: compare his translation, loc. cit., p. 113, where he has said "... a *śama* (14 *āṅgulas* or inches)".² And he thus obtained $\frac{4000 \times 9}{1760 \times 3} = \frac{1200}{176} = \frac{75 \times 16}{11 \times 16} = 6\frac{9}{11}$ miles as his value of the *yōjana*.

But (to borrow an expression which is found in various places in the book)—"Not so, says Kautīliya:" that is not the way to determine the value of the *yōjana*.

In the first place, 108 *āṅgula* are not 9 feet. As closely as matters can be taken, 12 *āṅgula* are 9 inches: see pp. 233, 237, below. So 108 *āṅgula* are 6 ft. 9 in. And this would reduce by one-fourth the value of the *yōjana* arrived at as stated above.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1910. 109.

² It may be noted that just below this his translation says:—"A bow means five *aratnis* ($5 \times 24 = 120$ *āṅgulas*). Archers should be stationed at the distance of five bows (from one line to another)..." The text says (p. 379):—*Pañcāratni dhanus, tasmin dhanvināṁ sthāpayēt*. This does not define the *dhanus*: it mentions a special *dhanus*, to be used in making a battle-array.

But further, the work does not contemplate the use of the *dhanus* of 108 *añgula* for the determination of its *yojana*. It presents its table of the measures of length in a somewhat disjointed form, owing to various parenthetical excursions into special subsidiary measures which we may avoid in tracing the regular course of the table, which is well known from other works. Like some of the other Hindū tables, it starts (p. 106, line 3) with the *paramānu* or 'most minute atom', which is defined elsewhere, e.g. by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, 57/58. 1, as being the smallest particle of dust which is seen where the sun shines through a lattice, and as being "the first of measures". But we need only take up its table from the *añgula*, the 'finger-breadth', which Varāhamihira calls in the same passage, verse 2, the *mātrā* or 'unit'.¹ It takes its measures up to the *añgula*, through four intermediate grades, by 'eights': it defines the *añgula* (line 7) as being equal to 8 *yava-madhya*, or 8 times the middle of a barley-corn; that is, to the width of 8 barleys laid side by side: and it further defines it as the middle breadth of the middle finger of a middle-sized man. It tells us (line 11) that 12 *añgula* are 1 *vitasti* or 'span', and (line 13) that 2 *vitasti* are 1 *aratni*: here, by its *aratni* of 24 *añgula* it means the measure which in other tables is usually called *hasta* or *kara*, 'the fore-arm, the cubit'; and, in fact, it adds *prājāpatya hasta* as another name of its *aratni*.² In the regular course of the table it tells us next (line 20) that 4 *aratni* [i.e. 4 *hasta* or cubits] are 1 *daṇḍa*, 'staff', or *dhanus*, 'bow' [from which

¹ Compare, for a much earlier time, the *Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa*, 10. 2. 1. 2:—*Tasyaish=āvamā mātrā yad=añgulayah*; "this is his lowest measure, namely the fingers." In the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, Kern's reading, *mātrā*, seems better than the *saukhyā* of the other edition.

² In some tables the *aratni* is distinguished from the *hasta*, and is defined as measuring 21 *añgula*. But the *Sulvasūtra* of Baudhāyana defines it as equal to 2 *prāddśa* each of 12 *añgula*, and so agrees in making it equal to 24 *añgula*. In any case, our present point is that the *Kaṭṭilya-Arthaśāstra* gives its value as 24 *añgula*.

it follows that 1 *dhanus* = 96 *āṅgula*]. Then comes a parenthesis (p. 107, lines 1 to 7) about the *daṇḍa* or *dhanus* and certain measures made by it, which begins by mentioning, in the words quoted on p. 230 above, the *gārhapatya dhanus*, 'the householder's *dhanus*' or 'the *dhanus* for building the sacred fire-place', which, it says, measured 108 *āṅgula*, and was "the measure for roads and ramparts, and is the *pauruṣa* for the laying out of sacrificial fire-altars." It is this reference to roads which, coupled with an omission to compare other tables, has misled Mr. Shamasastri. We know well from many other versions of the table that this *dhanus* of 108 *āṅgula* is not a part of the regular table: it is a special measure, to be used, as regards roads, for determining evidently, not the lengths of them or distances along them, but the widths of them, and so to be used in laying out roads and ramparts. The regular table runs on from the definition of the *daṇḍa* or *dhanus* as equal to 4 *aratni*, and therefore equal to 96 *āṅgula*, to the statement (p. 107, line 8) that 1000 *dhanus* are 1 *gōruta*: after which it immediately says that 4 *gōruta* are 1 *yōjana*. We may add that the *gōruta* of the Kautīliya-Arthaśāstra is the *krōśa* of other tables.

Now, the *āṅgula* or finger-breadth may be the theoretical unit: it may well have been originally the actual unit and the source of the other measures. But we can hardly doubt that the *hasta* or cubit eventually took its place as the practical unit; and that a correct scale was maintained by keeping in public offices a standard *hasta* marked off into 2 *vitasti* and 24 *āṅgula*. At any rate, the *hasta* is the practical measure to which we must attend in estimating all the others. And in connexion with the *hasta* we must always bear in mind the definition given by Varāhamihira,¹ that the "normal

¹ *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, 68/67. 105; quoted in this Journal, 1911. 208. Compare Āryabhaṭa: see 1907. 655.

man" was taken as measuring 96 *āṅgula* [= 4 *hasta*]: on the two sides of that there were the "low man" measuring 84 *āṅgula* [= 3½ *hasta*], and the "finest man" measuring 108 *āṅgula* [= 4½ *hasta*].

The author of another translation, published in 1891, proposed to take the *hasta* at 15 inches; with the result that he, though dealing with a table which gives a *yōjana* exactly twice as long as that of the Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra, arrived at "about 7½ miles" [for 7½] as the value of the *yōjana*. But with this valuation of the *hasta* we have 4 ft. 4½ in., 5 feet, and 5 ft. 7½ in., as the heights of the short man, the normal average man, and the tall man. We are hardly prepared to endorse that.

On the other side, with Mr. Shamasastri's estimate of the *āṅgula* as equal to an inch, the heights of the three men become 7 feet, 8 feet, and 9 feet. This, again, we are hardly inclined to accept.

There is, however, ample evidence from the Greek accounts that the ancient men of Northern India—(and that is where these measures and definitions had their origin)—were decidedly tall men. And it is in fact clear, from various indications, that we must value the ancient Indian *hasta* or cubit at closely about 18 inches. But it is hardly possible that it can have been appreciably in excess of that figure. On the other side, it is very improbable that it should have been much below it. Following Colebrooke,¹ I take the *hasta* for easy computation at exactly 18 inches, which gives ¾ inch as the value of the *āṅgula*: it is, of course, somewhat improbable that the national measures of two quite different peoples should fit each other so precisely; but an allowance for this will be made in the result. This value gives 6 feet as the accepted standard height of the "normal" Indian man; with 5 ft. 3 in. for the "low" man, and 6 ft. 9 in. for the "finest"

¹ *Essays*, I. 540, note.

man. It gives 1 *dhanus* = 4 *aratni* or *hasta* = 6 feet. And thus we have—

$$\frac{4000 \times 6}{1760 \times 3} = \frac{800}{176} = \frac{50 \times 16}{11 \times 16} = 4\frac{6}{11} \text{ or } 4\frac{5}{4} \text{ miles}$$

as the real value of the *yōjana* of the Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra.

There are various methods, besides that one which has given the text for this note, of evolving imaginative values of the *yōjana*. But it will suffice to notice two of them, which, in another line of research, have been used for similarly evolving imaginative values of the Greek *stadium*.¹

One method is this: it is to be noted because, though fortunately it has not been carried far as yet, there have been lately some indications that it may still be taken up. The idea is to take, e.g., the statement of the Sūrya-Siddhānta, 1. 59, that the diameter of the earth is 1600 *yōjanas*; to apply it to 7904 miles as the true mean diameter; and so to deduce 4.94 miles as the value of the *yōjana*, or 4.91 if we should work by substituting circumferences for diameters.² But this is based on crediting a Hindū astronomer of about A.D. 1000 with a refinement of knowledge which has been attained only in recent times as a result of the development of modern science and all its appliances. The position is opposed to everything that we learn from the Hindū books: and the facts are simply as follows. Each leading Hindū astronomer has stated, in *yōjanas*, either the diameter of the earth, or the circumference, or both: so also, we may add, he has given in *yōjanas*, or has shown how they were to be determined in *yōjanas*, all the other details of the

¹ See remarks by Bunbury, dismissing such results, in his *History of Ancient Geography*, 2nd ed. (1883), vol. 1, pp. 210, 620, note 5, and 624.

² See the Sūrya-Siddhānta, translation by E. Burgess and Whitney, *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, vol. 6 (1860), p. 183. The value 7904 miles has been slightly improved since then: it seems customary now to quote the mean equatorial diameter as 7926 or 7926.6 miles.

universe; but we need not go beyond the earth here. But the figures never agree as between school and school. And the case really is, not that all the astronomers were expressing one and the same value for the diameter or the circumference of the earth in different kinds of *yōjanas*, but that they all were laying down different values for the diameter and the circumference in one and the same *yōjana*. The *Sūrya-Siddhānta* used the *yōjana* of $9\frac{1}{11}$ miles, which we may take for practical purposes as 9 miles (see p. 237 below). And what it really teaches is that the diameter is 14,400 miles; nearly twice the truth.

The other method has been to take the statements made by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian and Hiuen-tsiang, as to the distances between places in India visited by them, which are given sometimes in the *yōjana*, sometimes in the Chinese *li*, and sometimes in days' journeys; to disregard any possibility of mistake that may attend the identification of any particular place; to ignore the point that distances stated in even numbers of a unit which, so far as the *yōjana* is concerned, is at any rate not smaller than $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, can rarely, and only by chance, be at all exact; to correct according to caprice any given statement of distance which does not adapt itself to a particular view; and to strike averages from the addition of speculative totals thus arrived at. This line of procedure has produced a variety of valuations of the *yōjana*, eight of which, ranging from 4 to 9 miles, have been quoted in this Journal, 1903. 65, with the very just remark that they are "extremely perplexing", by a writer who then, by using the Chinese measures instead of the Indian ones, proceeded to increase the number by adding two more, in arriving at the conclusions (*ibid.*, 79, 104) that Hiuen-tsiang used a *yōjana* of 5.288 miles, and Fa-hian used one of approximately 7.05 miles. This process is as little sound, and its results are as little useful, as if we were to seek to establish the value of the French *kilomètre* on

the basis of entries in the diaries of Japanese tourists in France, instead of going to the natural source of information, the French tables of distance.

The various imaginative *yōjanas* all disappear when we come to examine the bases of them; and what we have in their place is clear enough in the light of the tables and definitions which are found in so many Indian books. We have only to study those sources of information, and apply them, with care; and to bear in mind that we are not in the least concerned with the varieties of the cubit, the *kōs*, or any other measures, which came into existence under the Musalmān rulers: we are dealing with the Hindū period; and for that period the crucial guide is the definition of the three heights of men, regarding which see p. 233 above. I shall hope to show in another note what we really do learn from the tables for the pre-Musalmān period. Meanwhile I may make the following remarks.

As stated in a previous note on this subject,¹ in ancient India there were two *yōjanas* of specific lengths, both based on 1 *hasta* = 96 *āṅgula*; namely:—

- a short *yōjana* of 16,000 *hasta* = 8,000 yards
= $4\frac{4}{11}$ or 4·54 miles;
- a long *yōjana* of 32,000 *hasta* = 16,000 yards
= $9\frac{1}{11}$ or 9·09 miles.

The short *yōjana* was the Māgadha *yōjana*, and was used largely in the Buddhist books: and as we have seen, it is the one that is taught in the Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra. The long *yōjana* was the general Indian *yōjana*, and was used by the astronomers, as I will show hereafter.

The values given above are based on taking the *hasta* or cubit at exactly 18 inches, for easy computation. For

¹ This Journal, 1906. 1011.

practical purposes, however, we may avoid small fractions in the results, and take the values thus:—

the short *yōjana* = $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles;

the long *yōjana* = 9 miles.

And if we like to go into refinements, from these last-mentioned values we arrive at—

17·82 inches as the length of the *hasta* or cubit;

8·91 inches as the measure of the *vitasti* or span;

0·7425 inch as the value of the *angula* or finger-breadth.

But here again, I think, we may be content to use the values 18 inches, 9 inches, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, for any ordinary application of these three measures.

The same treatment gives 5 ft. 11·28 in., or say 5 ft. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., as the accepted standard height of the normal Indian man. This, I think, will not be objected to for ancient India, in the light of what we learn from the Greek accounts, and of what we know about the men of the north-west of the present day. If anyone should wish to cut it down lower, we must bear in mind that we cannot go much below 5 ft. 3 in. as the height of the short man. Suppose, however, that we pay no particular attention to the short and the tall man, and take 5 ft. 10 in. as the standard height of the normal or average man, with 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches as the length of the cubit: this gives—

the short *yōjana* = $4\frac{8\frac{3}{8}}{19\frac{3}{8}}$ miles;

the long *yōjana* = $8\frac{1\frac{6}{8}}{19\frac{3}{8}}$ miles.

For these values, again, I think, we may fairly substitute $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 9 miles for practical purposes.

Though there were two *yōjanas* in ancient India, there was only one *krōśa* or *kōś*. There were 4 *krōśa* in the short *yōjana*, and 8 in the long *yōjana*. And the value of the *krōśa* was $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles, = 1 mile 240 yards, on the basis of 1 *hasta* = 18 inches; or $1\frac{1}{8}$ mile, = 1 mile 220 yards, if we take the even values of $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 9 miles for the two kinds of *yōjanas*.

It is precisely because there were two *yōjanas* but only one *krōśa*, that Aśoka, who was a practical man, tells us in his seventh pillar-edict that he laid out camping-grounds, provided with wells and rest-houses, along his high-roads, at intervals, not of a *yōjana*, but of 8 *kōs*. If he had used the term *yōjanīkyāni*, 'at intervals of a *yōjana*', it would not have been clear whether he meant the Māgadha *yōjana* of 4 *kōs* or the general Indian *yōjana* of 8 *kōs*. But the term *adhakōsikyāni*, 'at intervals of 8 *kōs*', was clear from any point of view.

We also know that the Maurya kings marked each *kōs* along their high-roads: Megasthenes said, as reported by Strabo:¹—"They construct roads, and at every 10 *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances." With the *stadium* taken at 606 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet, 10 *stadia* are equal to 2022 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards, or 1 mile 262 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards:² or with a later valuation of the *stadium* at 582.48 feet, we have 10 *stadia* equal to 1941.6 yards, or 1 mile 181.6 yards. In either case we have the *krōśa*—(1 mile 240 yards, or 1 mile 220 yards, as we may like to take it)—as closely as Megasthenes could indicate it in his own national measure, without going into fractions.

It should be obvious that we cannot determine either the *krōśa* from the *stadium*, or the *stadium* from the *krōśa*, from a statement such as that made by Megasthenes: it ought to be plain that he simply had in view an Indian measure which was virtually the counterpart of 10 *stadia*, though it was not exactly commensurate with 10 *stadia*.³

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 6. 238.

² This is the value of the *stadium* maintained by Bunbury; see the references mentioned in note 1 on p. 234 above: also by Proctor, *Old and New Astronomy*, p. 68.

³ A critic has charged me with forgetting, in my note on the term *adhakōsikyā*, the statement of Strabo, i.e. of Megasthenes, about the pillars and the 10 *stadia*. On the contrary, it is one of the important data which I had before me. My critic himself proceeded to make the twofold mistake of using the double *kōs* of the Moghal period as a guide towards determining the original *kōs* for the Maurya period, and of taking 10 *stadia* = 2022 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards as the exact value of what he thought to be the half *kōs*.

The same observation applies to Albērūnī's remark about the *krōśa* being the Arabian mile.¹ We cannot determine either of these two measures from the other. Albērūnī, again, was only comparing two measures which were closely but not exactly alike.

The reason for both the arrangements made by the Maurya kings—the marking of each *kōś* along the high-roads, and the laying out of a camping-ground with a well and a rest-house at every eighth *kōś*—is found in the fact that the *yōjana* of 8 *kōś*, = 9 miles, was the standard length of a day's march for an ancient Indian army.²

In view of this, and of the point that the Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra teaches the *yōjana* of 4 *kōś*, = $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, we may perhaps explain its statement (see p. 230 above) about the armies of three qualities and the distances of 1, $1\frac{1}{2}$, and 2 *yōjanas*, as meaning that untrained troops with unpractised followers could only go 4 *kōś* in a day at first; as the army began to get into condition and to have its subsidiary arrangements fairly well in hand, it could cover 6 *kōś*; and finally, when the foot-soldiers were in good marching state and all the arrangements for supplies, for the transport of baggage and the pitching and striking of tents, etc., etc., were properly organized, it could do its 8 *kōś* a day.

J. F. FLEET.

THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF BUDDHA

In view of some inquiries which have been made to me recently, it seems desirable to sum up briefly the position in which we stand regarding the date of the death of Buddha. Two items are involved: the year, and the day. The matter lies in a nutshell, as follows.³

¹ Trans. Sachau, 1. 166.

² See this Journal, 1906. 411.

³ For details, reference may be made to my articles "The Day on which Buddha Died" and "The Origin of the Buddhavarsha", in this Journal, 1909. 1 ff., 323 ff.

When Buddha lived, there was no existing era in which his birth or his death, or any other event, could be dated : and so no guide of that kind has come down to us.¹ In this as in all matters of the ancient Indian chronology, our starting-point is the initial date of the Maurya king Chandragupta ; the time at which he began to reign. We know from the Greek accounts that this must be placed between B.C. 325 and 312 : and various considerations point to the end of B.C. 321 as the most probable time. From the *Dipavaṃsa*, endorsed by its commentary the *Mahāvāṃsa*, we know that there was an interval of 56 years between the initial date of Chandragupta and the anointment of Aśoka to the sovereignty : we cannot understand this as meaning 56 years to a day : we take it as meaning 56 years and a short time over, and place the anointment of Aśoka fairly early in B.C. 264. We know from the same two works that Aśoka was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha : here, again, we cannot take the statement as meaning exactly 218 years to a day : we take it as meaning, in the usual Hindū fashion, that Aśoka was anointed at some time in the year 219 current, when 218 years had elapsed ; and we thereby place the death of Buddha in B.C. 483. There is, of course, no means of attaining absolute certainty. But I think that this result cannot be bettered.

So much as regards the year. As regards the day, there have been two traditions : that it was the full-moon day of Vaiśākha ; and that it was Kārttika śukla 8, the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. I have

¹ According to the Burmese, Buddha was born in the year 68, and died in the year 148, of an era founded by 'Eetzana' or 'Einzana', i.e. Añjana, the maternal grandfather of Buddha. There is no good reason for regarding this era as anything but a late invention. Besides, it would not help in any case : because we can only fix a starting-point for it by reckoning back from the death of Buddha, which is the point to be determined.

shown reasons for believing that the latter is the earlier and more authentic tradition. But the other tradition has prevailed: and there is no desire to suggest any departure from the practice, dating at any rate from the fifth century A.D., according to which the full-moon day of Vaiśākha is the day on which the death should be observed. The point is only one for consideration in determining the close details of the chronology of the time of Aśoka and his contemporary, Dēvānāpiya-Tissa of Ceylon.

Little, if anything, need ever be said again, so far as the date of the death of Buddha is concerned, about the reckoning current in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, which would place the event in B.C. 544. In the first place, it must be plain that this reckoning —no matter whether it had its origin in Ceylon or in Burma—is of late invention; dating from apparently the twelfth century A.D. In the second place, it has, as a vital part of it, the same statements of the Ceylonese chronicles about the intervals from the death of Buddha and the initial date of Chandragupta to the anointment of Aśoka: it follows, then, that, with this reckoning, we must place the anointment of Aśoka in $544 - 218 = \text{B.C. } 326$; that is, even before the earliest time that is admissible for the beginning of the reign of his grandfather Chandragupta.

J. F. FLEET.

MAHISHAMANDALA

Mr. Fleet's remarks (JRAS. 1911, p. 816) appended to my paper on this subject call for some notice. The questions to be considered are (1) whether the north of Mysore was included in the Maurya empire, and (2) whether the south of Mysore was Mahisha-maṇḍala.

As regards the first, the evidence is indisputable. No mention was made by me of Śravaṇa Belgōla, or of any of its inscriptions. The inclusion of the north of Mysore

in the Maurya empire is based on my discovery of edicts of Aśoka engraved on rocks in three places there. This may be held to be proof positive. And the following by Dr. Fleet himself (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, ii, 28) testifies to the same. He says: "A stone record almost invariably establishes the sovereignty or other jurisdiction, at the place itself where it stands, of any king, etc., by whose orders or in whose time it was drawn up." He seeks, however, to depreciate the evidence in the present case by representing that "these edicts are not administrative orders indicative of sovereignty over the locality in which they are: there is not even anything in them to mark them as emanating from a king: they are simply precepts about morality such as any friendly State would readily allow to be published by any of its subjects interested in them". This is not, it will be seen, a correct statement of the facts. The edicts are prefaced by ceremonious greetings to the High Officials to whom they are addressed, with all the formality of a royal mandate: the first edict begins with "The Beloved of the gods (thus) commands (*āṇapayati*)", and the second with "The Beloved of the gods says (*āha*)". The injunctions, whatever their nature, are thus the explicit commands of a ruler—the Beloved of the gods, that is, Aśoka—to his subjects. It is quite absurd to suggest that they are merely precepts "such as any friendly State would readily allow to be published by any of its subjects". Had any friendly State given such permission it would have been mentioned and acknowledgment made for the concession. This friendly State may be dismissed as a pure invention, and the sensitiveness of even the smallest Oriental powers to any encroachment on their sovereign rights is proverbial. There is, in short, no ground whatever for rejecting the plain matter-of-fact inference that these edicts of Aśoka indicate his sovereignty over the tract of country where they were found.

At the time of their discovery the eminent French *savant* who has identified himself with the edicts of Aśoka publicly remarked: "cette découverte fera époque dans l'archéologie indienne." And it unquestionably lifted the veil that shrouded the ancient history of this part of the South, and revealed a new vista of its past. What object there can be in attempting to deny this and thrusting us back into the darkness of ignorance, it is difficult to understand. One would have thought that such an unmistakable gleam of light would be welcomed.

I would also once again refer to the term *Mōryara-mane*, or houses of the Mōryas or Mauryas, applied to the kistvaens, etc., only in the north of Mysore and by the Badagas of the Nīlgiris, whereas in the other parts they are called Pāṇḍu-kolli, or cells of the Pāṇḍus. There is here no question of royal lines seeking a far-fetched connexion with those in the North. It is simply a name in use among the common people, which must have had its origin in the fact that such structures were erected or used by Mauryas, or during the period of Maurya supremacy in the part where the designation arose, whence it migrated with the Badagas to the Nīlgiris.

With regard to the second question, that Mahishamandala was one of the countries to which Buddhist missions were sent in the time of Aśoka, there is no dispute. And it must have been beyond the borders of the Maurya empire. To locate it in the same quarter as Māhishmati, assuming that the latter was on the Narmadā, is out of the question, for that must have been a part of the Maurya dominion. Taken together with Vanavāsa or Banavāsi, mentioned along with it as also receiving a mission, there is every reason to place it in the south of Mysore. The name suggests it, and the archæologists of the last century in holding that opinion were not far wrong. References were given in my paper to Tamil literature of the second century that warrant us in

identifying Mahisha-maṇḍala with Erumai-nāḍu—the equivalent of the name in Tamil—which was situated in the south of Mysore. The name Maysūr-nāḍ occurs in a copper-plate inscription of the third century, which if not an original must be a copy. And an instance was cited of the use there in Kannada itself of Emmeyara-kula.¹

If a reason be required for the country being named from *mahisha* or buffalo, it is not far to seek. For the Todas, the ancient tribe settled on the Nilgiris and acknowledged by all to be lords of the soil, hold sacred the buffalo in an especial manner, all their religious rites being centred upon it. Their language is Old Kanarese, the language of Mysore, and has been likened to Old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind as they call to each other from one breezy hill-top to another. The earliest specific mention of the Todas that has been met with, is in a Mysore inscription, of 1117,² but they must have been there for ages before. They have orders of priests consecrated to the service of the buffalo, their temples are dairies where buffalo milk is the holiest offering, and where the bell worn by the buffalo cow is the most sacred symbol. If, on the other hand, the name is supposed to refer to morals, we may adduce the custom of polyandry established among them from the earliest times. On one or both of these grounds the name Mahisha-maṇḍala may be accounted for and applied to the south of Mysore.

L. RICE.

¹ This was fairly old, and happened to catch the eye, but no special attention has been directed to this matter before. A diligent search might bring to light other and older examples. The word actually used was *kola*, which, as may be seen in the dictionary, is merely a *tadbhava* of *kula*—under *kolaja* for instance. It was quoted in the latter form as being better understood.

² *Ep. Carn.*, iv, Ch. 83.

REMARKS ON MR. RICE'S NOTE

I am not very willing to join in occupying the pages of this Journal with what is nothing but a controversial discussion: so I will simply take Mr. Rice's remarks *seriatim* as briefly as is practicable.

He has quoted me quite correctly as saying that an inscription on stone "almost invariably" establishes the sovereignty, etc., etc.¹ It does that, not by the mere existence of it at a particular place, but by its contents, when, for instance, it recites the general glory or some special achievement of a king or other ruler, or registers an assignment of state lands or revenues, or some other administrative act, made or performed by him or under his orders. As my words indicate, there are exceptions to the rule, owing to the nature of particular records on stone and other circumstances. And the record of Aśoka in the north of Mysore is such an exception. A somewhat misleading idea of the nature of the Aśoka records in general has been created by so often calling them "edicts". The record in the north of Mysore is not an administrative order: it is a precept about morality, published at a local Buddhist settlement through the local authorities, who were courteously addressed to that end in the preamble of it by the authorities who transmitted the communication. The verb *ānupayati*, which we have in one text of it against the simple *āha*, "he says", in the other text, is capable of various shades of meaning, and may be quite fairly rendered by "he issues a precept".

I have no inclination to deny full value to the compliment paid to Mr. Rice by the remark of the eminent French *savant*, that the discovery of the existence in Mysore of a record of Aśoka should make an epoch in

¹ I made the remark in the course of pointing out how different the case may be with records on copper, which, being portable, have often travelled to, and been found at, places far distant from the localities to which they belong.

Indian archæology. But it is difficult to recognize any fair basis for the inference which is suggested: I am not aware that the author of the remark has subscribed to the belief that Mahishamaṇḍala is Mysore; and he expressed in the same place the view, which I maintain, that the preamble of the record marks the locality at which it is as lying outside the dominions of Aśoka.

If we are to accept the point that kistvaens, etc., are popularly known in the north of Mysore as "houses of the Mauryas", as showing that those structures were erected or used by Mauryas, or that the Maurya sovereignty included the territory where the name is current, we must apply in the same way, *mutatis mutandis*, the point that such structures are known in other parts as "cells of the Pāṇḍus". But these are, of course, simply instances of fanciful beliefs, dating from medieval times, which exist more or less all over India, and have no value as historical evidence. It is the acceptance of such beliefs as these that has helped, along with reliance on imaginative chronicles and spurious records, to introduce so much fabulous history into Mr. Rice's writings.

The Mahishamaṇḍala of the Pāli books may be safely identified as being the territory of which the capital was Māhishmatī, the modern Māndhātā. It lay just on the south of a part of the Vindhya range, and so (whether it was or was not in the dominions of Aśoka) it was a border-land of the Buddhist Madhyadēśa or Middle Country. That is the point. Mr. Rice is making the old mistake about the Buddhist missions, based on not attending to what the books say about them. The missions were not sent out by Aśoka, and to places outside his dominions; they were sent out by the Buddhist high priest Moggaliputta-Tissa, to the territories lying round the Buddhist Middle Country.

The inscription on the Tanjore plates which mentions the "Maisunāḍu seventy" is unmistakably a spurious

record, fabricated not earlier than the tenth century. Mr. Rice asserts that, if not an original, it must be a copy of an original record belonging to the third century. No one with any claim to critical knowledge could advance such a proposition. And it would not help matters on, even if the record could be accepted from that point of view: the site of the present city of Mysore would still be, even in the third century, a small village incapable of giving a name to the province or to any appreciable part of it.

It seems strange to have to say anything more about the inscription which is held to show, as if it were something remarkable, that there was an Emmeyara-kula, a 'family of buffalo-keepers', residing near Seringapatam in A.D. 1175: it obviously has no value towards explaining an appellation used in the Pāli books in the fourth century. The suggestion itself is trivial: there must always have been buffaloes and buffalo-keepers everywhere in India, just as there are now.

What Mr. Rice reminds us of as regards the Todas simply endorses what we infer on other grounds as to the Erumai-nāḍu, the 'buffalo-country', of the Tamil poet: namely, that it lay outside and on the south of Mysore, and has nothing to say to any appellation that was ever applied to Mysore itself or any part thereof. I may add that the Mysore inscription of A.D. "1117" [properly 1116] distinctly tends to locate the Todas already on the Nilgiris, not in Mysore: the verse which mentions them, along with some other peoples, does so in asserting a conquest of the Nilgiris by a general of the Hoysala king of Mysore.

As I said in my previous note, the identification of Mahishamandala with Mysore, or any part thereof, or any other territory in that direction, has nothing at the bottom of it, except the point that the first part of the vernacular name, Maysūr, Maisūr, Mayisūr, of a village which began to rise to importance about A.D. 1500 and eventually

became the name-giver to the province, lent itself naturally in that period to be represented in Sanskrit by *mahisha* as giving the nearest approach to it in sound, and was thought by archæologists of the last century to have been actually derived from that word.

J. F. FLEET.

[*This discussion must now cease.*—ED.]

VERSES RELATING TO GIFTS OF LAND CITED IN INDIAN LAND GRANTS

It was a common practice in making grants of land in ancient India for the donor to emphasize the gift and endeavour to secure its permanence by inserting in the deed of grant one or more verses which had been laid down as law regarding gifts of land. Such verses either affirmed the beneficent nature of such gifts, or proclaimed the merit and blessings which accrue to those who make such gifts and those who scrupulously respect them, or denounced the iniquity of those who deprived grantees of the land given, and declared the punishment which awaits such evil-doers. These verses are often attributed to Vyāsa and are said sometimes to occur in the *Mahābhārata*, but are introduced at other times simply as poetical quotations, which were apparently well known. I have come across some of these verses in the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*, and it may be of service to collect some of the commonest quotations here and mention the various books where they are now to be found.

The general subject of gifts of all kinds is dealt with at more or less length in the *Mahābhārata*, iii, 199, and xiii, 57-81, and single statements may probably be found scattered in various other passages in that work. It is also expounded in the following *Purāṇas*:—*Agni*, 208-13 and 271; *Garuḍa*, 51 and 98; *Kūrma*, ii, 26; *Linga*, ii, 28-44; *Matsya*, 82-91, 223, and 274-89; *Padma*, iii, 24,

and vi, 33; *Varāha*, 99-111; and *Bhaviṣya*, iv (Uttara-parvan), 148-204, of which *parvan* the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* (133-81) appears to be another version.¹ It is also dealt with in some of the *Upapurāṇas*, as in *Saura*, 10. But the only passages that I have found which deal specifically with gifts of land are these: *Mahābhārata*, xiii, 62; *Agni*, 213; *Kārma*, ii, 26, 12-15; *Matsya*, 284; *Padma*, iii, 24, and vi, 33; *Bhaviṣya*, iv, 164 (of which *Bhaviṣyottara*, 145, appears to be another version); and *Saura*, 10, 20-30. Of these authorities the *Agni*, *Kārma*, *Matsya*, and *Saura* may be omitted, since their remarks are brief and general, and the three others contain the only important passages that I have found in this connexion. Besides these longer passages, stray remarks bearing on this subject are scattered in the *Purāṇas*, such as *Brahma*, 155, 5-9; *Hariv.*, 326, 16367.

I will first cite various verses quoted often in the grants and give the corresponding verses found in the above books, and offer in conclusion some remarks regarding the verses.

Two verses which are often quoted together (and often with one or more other verses added) are the following:—²

1. Bahubhir vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ :
Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis, tasya tasya tadā phalam.
2. Śaṣṭīm varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarge modati bhūmi-daḥ :
Ācchettā cānumantā ca tāny eva narake vaset.

They are sometimes found separately,³ and sometimes vary somewhat. Thus *dattā*⁴ appears instead of *bhuktā* in the first verse, and in the second verse we find *modati* replaced by *tiṣṭhati*⁵ or *vasati*⁶, and *ācchettā* by *ākṣeptā*.⁷

¹ The editions cited are these: *MBh.*, Calc.; *Agni*, *Garuḍa*, and *Līṅga*, by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calc.; *Kārma* and *Varāha*, Bibl. Ind.; *Matsya*, *Padma*, and *Saura*, Ānandās., Poona; *Bhaviṣya*, Venkateśvara, Bombay.

² Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 96, 104, 108, 115, 119, 122, 127, 133, etc.

³ e.g. verse (2) alone in FGL, pp. 238, 247.

⁴ FGL, p. 296.

⁵ FGL, pp. 167, 179. ⁶ FGL, p. 194. ⁷ FGL, pp. 108, 115, 137, 296.

Before considering where these verses come from, another verse may be mentioned which is often quoted in grants and sometimes along with the two former—¹

3. Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yo hareta vasundharām,
Sa viṣṭhāyām kṛmir bhūtvā pītṛbhiḥ saha pacyate.

This verse appears with many modifications. Thus the first half-line is varied, thus—²

3a. Sarva-śasya-samṛddhām tu yo hareta vasundharām.

The second line exhibits the greatest diversity; thus we find *śva-viṣṭhāyām*³ and *śva-viṣṭhāyām*⁴ instead of *sa viṣṭhāyām*, and *majjati* or *majjate*⁵ instead of *pacyate*; and also the last three words inverted thus, *pacyate pītṛbhiḥ saha*.⁶ Or this line is more largely modified, thus—⁷

3b. Śaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi viṣṭhāyām jāyate kṛmiḥ.

Or again, thus—⁸

3c. Gavām śata-sahasrasya hantur harati duṣkṛtam.

The only passage where I have found these three verses together is *Padma*, vi, 33, 26–30, which runs thus—

Bahubhir vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ ;
Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis, tasya tasya tadā phalam.
Brahma-ghno vātha strī-hantā bāla-ghnaḥ patito 'tha vā,
Gavām śata-sahasrāṇi⁹ hantā, tat tasya duṣkṛtam.
Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yo hareta tu vasundharām,
Sa ca viṣṭhā-kṛmir bhūtvā pītṛbhiḥ saha pacyate.
Śaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi svargo tiṣṭhati bhūmi-daḥ ;
Āhartā cānumantā ca tāvad vai narakam vrajet.

Verses 1 and 3 are found in *Bhaviṣya*, iv, 164, 22 and 34, where they stand thus—

Bahubhir vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ ;
Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis, tasya tasya tadā phalam.
Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yo hareta vasundharām,
Sa nara narake ghore kliṣyaty ā-pralayāntikam.

¹ FGL, pp. 104, 108, 137.

² FGL, pp. 119, 137.

³ FGL, pp. 108, 119, 137.

⁴ FGL, p. 289.

⁵ *Sic.* The reading might be *-sahasrāṇāḥ*.

⁶ FGL, pp. 119, 122, 127, 133.

⁷ JASB., 1910, vol. vi, p. 436.

⁸ IA., 1910, p. 196.

⁹ FGL, pp. 238, 247.

Verse 3*b* occurs in *Brahma*, 155, 6-7, thus—

Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yo hareta vasundharām,
 Śaṣṭir varṣa-sahasrāṇi viṣṭhāyām jāyate kṛmih.

Verse 3 is found in a modified form in *Padma*, iii, 24, 10, thus—¹

Sva-dattām para-dattām ca medinīm yo hared, dvija,
 Yuktaḥ koṭi-kulair yāti narakam cāti-dāruṇam.

Another verse often cited is this—

4. Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yatnād rakṣa, Yudhiṣṭhira,
 Mahīm, mahī-matām śreṣṭha; dānāc chreyo 'nupālanam.²

But in many instances *mahī-matām* is spoilt by being altered to *mahimatām*.³ The first line is sometimes changed to—

4*a*. Pūrva-dattām dvijātibhyo yatnād rakṣa, Yudhiṣṭhira.⁴

The only place where I have found this verse is *Bhaviṣya*, iv, 164, 38, where it stands thus—

Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yatnād rakṣed, Yudhiṣṭhira,
 Mahīm, mahī-bhṛtām śreṣṭha; dānāc chreyo 'nupālanam.

Another verse sometimes quoted is this—

5. A-pānīyeṣv arāṇyeṣu śuṣka-koṭāra-vāsināḥ
 Kṛṣṇāhaya 'bhijāyante, pūrva-dāyām haranti ye;⁵

and *hi jāyante* appears instead of 'bhijāyante'.⁶ The first line is sometimes altered to—

5*a*. Bhūṣv aṭaviṣv a-toyāsu śuṣka-koṭāra-vāsināḥ.⁷

The only place where I have found this verse is *Bhaviṣya*, iv, 164, 39, where it reads thus—

Toya-hīneṣv arāṇyeṣu śuṣka-koṭāra-vāsināḥ
 Kṛṣṇāhaya 'bhijāyante narā brahma-sva-bāriṇāḥ.

¹ The same idea is expressed, but in different terms, in *MBh.* xiii, 62, 3176-7; *Padma*, vi, 33, 35; and *Bhaviṣya*, iv, 164, 33.

² FGL, pp. 119, 122, 127, 133, 194, 198, 296.

³ FGL, pp. 96, 104, 108, 115, 137, 167.

⁴ See note 3.

⁵ FGL, p. 108.

⁶ FGL, p. 137.

⁷ FGL, p. 180. The actual reading there is *Bhūṣv aṭaviṣv a-toyāsu*, and Dr. Fleet suggests that the correct reading should be *Vindhyāṭaviṣv*, but it seems to me to be a mere clerical error for *bhūṣv aṭaviṣv*. *Bhū* means "land, district, piece of ground", and the plural, *bhūcas*, is given as meaning "districts" in Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

A verse that occurs rarely is—

6. Āsphoṭayanti pitarāḥ, pravalganti pitāmahāḥ,
Bhūmi-do 'smat-kule jātaḥ, sa nas trātā bhaviṣyati.¹

The only passage where I have found this is *Padma*, vi, 33, 17, where it appears thus—

- Āsphoṭayanti² pitaro, varṇayanti pitāmahāḥ,
Bhūmi-dātā kule jātaḥ, sa nas trātā bhaviṣyati:

which is a decidedly inferior version, especially as regards *varṇayanti*.

Among verses in metres other than the śloka, we find the following in the *Indravajrā* metre—

7. Agner apatyam prathamam suvarṇam,
bhūr Vaiṣṇavī, Sūrya-sutās ca gāvaḥ :
Dattās trayas tena bhavanti lokā,
yaḥ kūṭcanam gām ca mahīm ca dadyāt.³

This occurs most closely in *MBh.* iii, 199, 13480, where it stands thus—

- Agner apatyam prathamam suvarṇam,
bhūr Vaiṣṇavī, Sūrya-sutās ca gāvaḥ :
Lokās trayas tena bhavanti dattā,
yaḥ kūṭcanam gās ca mahīm ca dadyāt.

It also appears thus in *Padma*, vi, 33, 32—

- Agner apatyam prathamam suvarṇam,
bhūr Vaiṣṇavī, Sūrya-sutās ca gāvaḥ :
Teṣām an-antam phalam aśnuvīta,
yaḥ kūṭcanam gām ca mahīm ca dadyāt.

Lastly may be noticed what the grants say about the authorship of these verses. Verses 1, 2, 3c, 4, and 7 are cited in some grants as ślokas sung by Vyāsa, in the

¹ FGL, p. 119.

² *Āsphoṭa* is given in the dictionaries as a noun meaning "shaking, swaying to and fro", and Monier-Williams adds "the sound of clapping or striking on the arms (as made by combatants, etc.)". He gives the verb *ā-sphuṭ* in the causal as meaning "to split open, crush, grind; move, agitate quickly; shake". *Āsphoṭayanti* here must mean either "they clap their arms (in joy)" or, according to the meaning given by Childers to the Pali verb *appoṭheti*, "they soap their fingers in pleasure."

³ FGL, pp. 194, 198, 296.

following or equivalent words: "Vyāsa-gītāmś cātra ślokān udāharanti."¹ Verses 1, 2, 3, 4a, 5, and 5a are attributed to him in other grants in the following or equivalent words: "uktaṁ ca bhagavatā parama-rṣiṇā Veda-Vyāseṇa."² Again, verses 1, 2, 3a, 4, and 6 are attributed in other grants to him in the *Mahābhārata* in the following or equivalent words: "uktaṁ ca Mahābhārata bhagavatā Veda-vyāseṇa Vyāseṇa"³; and the same statement is made more fully and precisely regarding verses 1, 2, 3, 4a, and 5 in other grants, thus: "uktaṁ ca Mahābhārata śata-sāhasryām saṁhitāyām parama-rṣiṇā Parāśara-sutena Veda-vyāseṇa Vyāseṇa,"⁴ where the term *śata-sāhasryām* denotes the large text such as we have it now.⁵

These verses may occur in the *Mahābhārata*, though I have not succeeded in finding any of them in it, except verse 7. Most of the sentiments expressed in the other verses are met with, differently phrased, in *MBh.* xiii, 62; still, the ślokas in that chapter are not the same as these verses. On the other hand, these verses generally agree with passages in the *Purāṇas*, as cited, and since Vyāsa is said to have composed the *Purāṇas* also, the statements that they were uttered by him are correct to that extent according to Indian tradition.

It will be seen from the verses and passages mentioned that, while the verses agree substantially with the corresponding passages in the texts, yet there was considerable variation in the choice of words and in their arrangement, and that the donors of grants in citing the verses quoted the versions which were current in general use rather than copied them out of books. In the first passage set out above, from *Padma*, vi, 33, the third and

¹ FGL., pp. 194, 198, 238, 247, 296.

² FGL., pp. 96, 104, 108, 115, 167, 179.

³ FGL., pp. 119, 122, 127, 113.

⁴ FGL., p. 137.

⁵ See *MBh.* i, 1, 105, and 62, 2296.

fourth lines seem out of place among verses relating to land, yet the variation in verse 3c shows that the fourth and fifth lines were taken together to form one verse, their order being inverted and the fourth line being modified so as to adapt it to its new setting.

F. E. PARGITER.

NOTE ON THE AGE OF THE PURANAS

The foregoing note yields some useful data towards estimating the age of the Purāṇas, especially of the *Padma*, *Bhaviṣya*, and *Brahma* Purāṇas.

The verses numbered 1, 2, 3, and 6 occur in the *Padma*, verses 1, 3, 4a, and 5a in the *Bhaviṣya*, verse 3b in the *Brahma*, and verse 7 in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Padma*. The oldest grants in which I have found them are dated as follows: verses 1, 2, 4, and 4a, A.D. 475-6,¹ 482-3,² 493-4,³ and 496-7⁴; verses 3 and 3a, A.D. 482-3,² 493-4,³ and 496-7⁴; verse 5, A.D. 510-11⁵; verse 6, A.D. 493-4³; and verse 7 about 800 A.D.⁶ These dates show that verses 1 to 4 and 6 were in common use before the year 500 A.D., and verse 5 immediately after it; and these verses occur only in those Purāṇas so far as I have been able to find them; while verse 7, though it occurs latest, is found in the *Mahābhārata*, and so can hardly be the composition of an age later than those Purāṇas. All these verses, therefore, were well known before the end of the fifth century.

They are not cited as mere popular sayings, but as legal-religious maxims enunciated in the śāstras. They were so well established in general acceptance that people often did not know precisely in what books they were to be found, but attributed them naturally to the great Vyāsa (*Vyāsa-gīta*) and assigned them often to the *Mahābhārata*,

¹ FGL, p. 96.

² FGL, p. 104.

³ FGL, p. 119.

⁴ FGL, p. 122.

⁵ FGL, p. 108.

⁶ FGL, p. 296; and earlier, but undated, in id., pp. 194, 198.

much as well-known sayings in our own language are often popularly ascribed to the Bible or Shakspeare. The way in which these verses are cited shows that they existed long before 500 A.D., and it may be concluded that the three Purāṇas, the *Padma*, *Brahma*, and *Bhaviṣya*, in which they are found (supposing that they do not occur in the *Mahābhārata*), existed before, and even long before, the end of the fifth century. Now those Purāṇas are by no means early Purāṇas, but appear to be among the latest; hence it seems reasonably certain that the Purāṇas cannot be later than the earliest centuries of the Christian era.

F. E. PARGITER.

THE KAMBOJAS

As a snapper up of unconsidered trifles, I occasionally discover that my particular prize has been already snapped up, considered, and turned into a thing of value by some one else. This, I find, is the case with my remarks about the Kamboja *śavati* (*ante*, JRAS. 1911, p. 802). The whole subject of the Kambojas had been previously worked out by Professor E. Kuhn on pp. 213 ff. of the First Series of *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour of the late Shams-ul-ulamā Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana* (Strassburg and Leipzig, 1904). As the book is not likely to be familiar to students of Indian languages, I take this opportunity of giving the reference for their benefit.

G. A. G.

Regarding Dr. Grierson's important note on the language of the Kambojas in the July number of this Journal, I may call attention to a paper contributed by Dr. Ernst Kuhn to the Dastur Sanjana Memorial Volume (p. 213) on "Das Volk der Kamboja bei Yaska". Among the authorities cited by Dr. Kuhn, who would appear to have established

beyond reasonable doubt that the Kambojas were a tribe of the Iranians, is a remarkable gāthā from the Pali Jātaka Book, which I had noticed myself—

Kiṭā paṭaṅgā uragā ca bhekā
hantvā kimim sujjhati makkhikā ca,
ete hi dhammā anariyarūpā
Kambojakānaṃ vitathā bahunnaṃ.

The commentator explains: ete kiṭādayo paṇe hantvā macco sujjhātīti etesaṃ pi Kambojaraṭṭhavāsīnaṃ bahunnaṃ anariyānaṃ dhammā (ed. Fausböll, vi, 210).

The Cambridge translation somewhat freely reproduces the gāthā—

Those men are counted pure who only kill
Frogs, worms, bees, snakes or insects as they will,—
These are your savage customs which I hate,—
Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate. (Vol. vi, 110.)

This gāthā by itself establishes a close connexion between the Kambojas and the ancient Iranians, with whom the destruction of noxious or Ahramanic creatures was a duty. But the Kambojas are almost always referred to in Indian literature, both Brahmanic and Buddhist, with regard to their fine breed of horses (*Kambojaka assatara*, Jataka iv, 464, 4; कम्बोजका अश्ववरा, *Mahavastu*, ii, 185). And this is confirmed by the Sanskrit koshas, e.g. the *Nāmalingānuśāsanam* of Amara, वनायुजाः पारसीकाः कम्बोजा बाल्हिका¹ हयाः, and the *Anekārthasamgraha* of the Jaina lexicographer, Hemacandra, कम्बोजः पुनरश्वानाम् भेदे.

Zimmer (*Altind. Leben*, p. 102) refers to the Kambojas as a north-western tribe, and speaks of the close relation between the Kambojas and the Persian Kambujiya without further particularizing the latter. It is to be noted, on the other hand, that Nepalese tradition regards Tibet as the Kambojadesā and the Tibetan to be the Kamboja-bhāṣhā

¹ The Bāhlikas are no doubt the Pahlavas or Parthians.

(Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique*, p. 134). And it is very curious that the early Tibetan mode of the disposal of the dead seems to have been similar to the Iranian. According to the Greeks the practice of exposing the dead to birds of prey was common even in Taxila (Vincent Smith's illuminating note at p. 135 of his valuable *Early History of India*; see also a clear reference to the practice in ancient India, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 159, ed. Bendall, and the *Mahāsilava Jātaka*). I have gone more fully into this interesting analogy between the usages of ancient India and Persia and have called attention to other parallels in my forthcoming *Religion of the Iranian Peoples*, translated from Tiele's *Geschichte*.

G. K. NARIMAN.

ORIGIN OF ABHINAVAGUPTA'S PARAMARTHASARA

The learned world is indebted to Professor L. D. Barnett for having published Abhinavagupta's Paramārthasāra in JRAS. for July, 1910, with his faithful translation, accompanied with notes paraphrased from Yoga Muni's *ṭikā*. We wish to trace the original for that work, after observing that the 18th āryā is not metrically defective as observed by him on p. 710, footnote 3. The metre is *upagīti*, a variety of *āryā*.

In notes on stanzas 2 and 3 (p. 719) we find that *ādhāra-kārikā* or Foundation-Epitome is the original of Abhinavagupta. The *ādhāra* is the support of the world, viz. Śeṣa, and the work referred to here is the *Āryā-pañcācīti* or Paramārthasāra of Bhagavān Śeṣa, edited by Pt. Bālaśāstrin in No. 56 of the Pundit (vol. v, January 2, 1871). As we learn from Weber's *Indian Literature* (Eng. trans.), p. 237, n. 251, it is said in ZDMG. xxvii, 167, that Abhinava has adapted that work of the Vaishnavite school to his Śaiva system of Pratyabhijñā.

On p. 708 Professor Barnett says the Telugu edition of Paramārthasāra, consisting of seventy-nine āryās,

published in 1907 at Madras, paraphrased by Paṭṭisapu Venkaṭeśvaruḍu, borrows a number of verses from Abhinavagupta's work. I could not get information about that work from Madras, although I wrote to the Ananda Press and to Professor T. Rājgopālāchāriar. But I fancy that work is the same as Śeṣa's Paramārthasāra, for we find in Śabdakalpadrūma, pt. iv (published 1892 A.D.), under "Vedānta", the extract from Śeṣa-nāga's Paramārthasāra, consisting of seventy-nine āryās. This extract begins with the 8th stanza of the edition of Āryāpañcācīti. I may note here that this text in the Śabdakalpadrūma agrees more with the text of Paramārthasāra of eighty-nine stanzas published in April, 1882, with Pt. Kevaldin's Hindi translation from the Navalkishore Press of Lucknow. This Navalkishore edition foolishly ascribes the work to Śankarācārya, although the beginning and the end mention Śeṣa as the author, and it nowhere mentions Śankara; and further, the editor does not give reasons for his strange ascription. From Professor T. Rājgopālāchāriar I learn that Śeṣa's P. has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, edited by Professor T. Gaṇapatiśāstrin.

The Navalkishore edition differs from the Pundit edition in adding two stanzas at the beginning, and in omitting stanzas 75 and 77 of the Pundit edition. Further, between st. 80 and 81, as well as between 82 and 83, the Navalkishore edition and the extract under "Vedānta" in Śabdakalpadrūma insert one āryā. The latter also omits st. 75 and 77.

The edition of Śeṣa's P. in the Pundit is printed very badly; the text has many gaps left and is often unmetrical and obscure. The extract in Śabdakalpadrūma shows more improved text, which, in its better readings, agrees with that of the Navalkishore edition. The Navalkishore edition, on the other hand, agrees more with Abhinavagupta's Paramārthasāra. The arrangement and sequence

of the stanzas of these texts differs from those of the Pundit edition: e.g., st. 39 of the Pundit occurs between 42 and 43; st. 59 occurs between 63 and 64; st. 68 and 69 are transposed; st. 72 occurs after 74.

It appears that the text of the Navalkishore edition is the authentic text, and was current more or less at the time of Abhinavagupta. For the first stanza closely agrees with the first stanza of Abhinavagupta, reading *param parasyāḥ prakṛteḥ* (which is more intelligible) for *param parasthaṁ gahanāt* (of Abhinavagupta), and *Viṣṇum* for *Śambhum*. Further, the stanza inserted between 80 and 81 of the Pundit edition by the Navalkishore edition occurs almost verbatim in Abhinavagupta as st. 82, Abhinavagupta using *vetti* for *veda*.

Now let us see what additional stanzas are reproduced wholly or almost wholly by Abhinavagupta. I shall number the stanzas of Śeṣa according to the Pundit edition, since that is the edition likely to be possessed by scholars in general—

Abhinava	Śeṣa	Abhinava	Śeṣa	Abhinava	Śeṣa
6 = 14		34, 35 = 30		61 = 71	
7 = 15		36 = 34		69 = 76	
8 = 16		38 = 33		70 = 78	
9 = 17		50 = 62		71 = 79	
26 = 25		52 = 58		83 = 81	
27 = 26		54 = 54		84 = 82	
30 = 28		60 = 73		100-2 = 83-5	

The expressions *ādhāraṁ bhagavantam* (st. 2) and *adhāra-kārikā* (st. 3) of Abhinavagupta, as well as the reproduction of twenty-three stanzas, wholly or almost so, and the great indebtedness to the other stanzas of Śeṣa's current work, leave little doubt that the original of Abhinavagupta's work is the present extant work of Śeṣa. This work has been cited by the author of the commentary Chandrikā on Prabodhachandrodaya in his

tikā on st. 33 of Act v. The verse quoted is *rāhur adṛśyo 'pi yathā*. This is ascribed by the commentary to Śeṣa, and occurs in the current text of Śeṣa (Pundit text, st. 16). Now this verse is reproduced almost wholly by Abhinavagupta, in whose work it appears as st. 8. The author of the Chandrikā, who has often quoted Abhinavagupta, does not cite this stanza under his name. This is further evidence to show that our text of Śeṣa is the original of Abhinavagupta's work.

Reminiscences of Śeṣa's P. are found in the Prabodha-sudhākara of unknown authorship, appearing in Kāvya-mālā, pt. viii. We ask the readers to compare, e.g., st. 133 and 153 of the latter with st. 11 and 43 respectively of Śeṣa.

This work of Śeṣa goes under the name of Pātañjalyāryāḥ, and is included by the Pundits among Yoga treatises (*vide* Yogadarśana with Mañiprabhā, edition in Benares Sanskrit Series, No. 75, by Pt. Damodar Lal Goswāmi, preface, p. i, last para.). Of course, although a yoga treatise, it deals only with the philosophic portion and may be called *śeṣvara-sāṅkhya-nibandha*, as also appears from Yoga Muni's comment on Abhinavagupta's work, st. 2. In Tattvasamāsa, Patañjali is said to be the disciple of Pāṇcaśikha (Max Müller's *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 293), who is described as a great Sāṅkhya teacher and a savant in the doctrine of Pāñcarātra theosophy, as we find from the Mokṣadharma of the Śāntiparva. This explains the Vaiṣṇavite character of the Pātañjalyāryāḥ. This follows from the hypothesis that Śeṣa is identical with Patañjali. This identification is supported by Abhinavagupta, who calls them ādhāra-kārikāḥ (st. 2), where ādhāra is the support of the world, i.e. Śeṣa, as appears from Yoga Muni's comment, and who cites Patañjali's Yogasūtra, i, 16, in his comment on the Nāṭyaśāstra, ch. vi, with the label Bhujaṅgavibhūnā 'py uktam. As appears from the last stanza of Śeṣa, the work Paramārtasāra was based on the doctrine of the Upaniṣads.

This is quite true, because we find reminiscences of Upanisad passages; e.g., *ko mohah kah śokah*, etc., is a reminiscence of the *Īśāvāsyā* (st. 58), while *ātmajñas tarati śucam* (st. 67) is a reminiscence of the *Chāndogya*, viii, 1, 3, *tarati śokam ātmavit*.

V. V. SOVANL

MEERUT COLLEGE.

BAO = VIHARA

On p. 165 of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1893, vol. xxii, Major (now Sir) R. C. Temple suggests that the origin of the word *bao*, used by the Portuguese (and others) in India to denote a Buddhist monastery, is to be found in the Talaing *bha*, "monastery." No doubt that is correct, except that the Talaing word is *bhā*, not *bha*; but he might have added that it is the same word as the Indian *vihāra*. The Shwezigon and Shwesandaw II inscriptions write it *bihār*, the Kalyāṇi inscription has *wihā* and (irregularly) *wihā*. In Talaing we often find a confusion between *b* and *w* (representing the Indian *v*), e.g. *bajra*, *Bisnū*, *Bissukarmma*, in the Shwezigon inscription. Moreover, there is a strong tendency in the language to reduce dissyllabic words to monosyllables, or as near thereto as may be. In accordance with that general rule, the first vowel of a word like *bihār* dwindles regularly to *a* or *ē*, and in this case it has vanished altogether. The modern form of the language admits no final *r*. There can therefore be no doubt that *bhā* represents *vihāra*.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE ETHIOPIC SENKESSAR

In my article in the *Journal* for 1911, p. 739, on the "Ethiopic Senkessār" I mentioned, on p. 744, what seemed to me the important fact that "the Jesuit missionaries, who undoubtedly took much interest in

Abyssinian hagiography, never mention the Senkessār", and inasmuch as the term Synaxarium does not appear in the indices to the works of Paez, D'Almeida, etc., I was led to infer that it was not mentioned therein. But recently my friend Dr. Duensing has written to me pointing out that the Senkessār is mentioned in Paez ii, 605, under the name of "Cenquesar". Yet in spite of this mention I still hold my opinion maintainable; for, although the Jesuits may have heard of the Senkessār, it seems to me certain that they made no use of it.

I. GUIDI.

CORONATION CHRONOGRAM

The following *tārīkh*, commemorating the Coronation of His Majesty King George V, may interest the readers of the Journal. The letters of the *whole* line make up the date 1911. I may mention it is original.

* بَعُوْنَ اَللّٰهُ جَرَجِيْسٌ خَامِسٌ قَيْسِرْ هِنْدٌ حَامِيْ اَلْمَلِكِ وَالْدِّيْنِ

"By Divine assistance, George the Fifth, Emperor of India, Defender of the Kingdom and of the Faith."

GEORGE RANKING.

LA FONDATION DE GOEJE

Communication

1. Le conseil de la fondation n'ayant subi aucun changement est composé comme suit : MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), H. T. Karsten, J. A. Sillem, M. Th. Houtsma, et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le capital de la fondation étant resté le même, le montant nominal est de 19,500 florins hollandais (39,000 francs); en outre, au mois de novembre 1911 les rentes disponibles montaient à plus de 2,500 florins (5,000 francs).

Novembre, 1911.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MAQRIZÎ. 'EL-MAWÂ'IZ WA'L-ITIBÂR FI DHIKR EL-KHITAT WA'L-ÂTHÂR. Text edited by M. GASTON WIET. Cairo, 1911. Vol. I, Fasc. I, Chap. 1-12: pp. xvi, 184. In Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Tome 30^e.

The need of an improved text of the *Khitaṭ* has long been apparent, and this handsome edition, issued under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction and of the Fine Arts, will be generally welcome. The undertaking is a vast one; the estimate is a minimum of ten volumes for the text, besides one to contain the author's biography, etc. But the work is being pushed on; another part, completing vol. i, is shortly to appear, and vol. ii will not be long delayed.

M. Wiet seems to have discharged his task with much care and ability. The notes, which are ample, indicate the variants in his MSS., which are some thirty in number, and give necessary explanations of the text with references to passages bearing thereon in other authors. M. Wiet's research extends not merely to printed texts, but to MSS. The numerous citations from the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn 'abd al-Ḥakam are corrected by the Paris MSS. Ar. 1686 and 1687. This text M. Wiet had, himself, intended editing, but in a graceful note on p. 79 he admits priority for Professor Torrey's long announced edition in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" series, and with good reason, for at the remote date, 1895, given for the inception of Professor Torrey's work M. Wiet must have been receiving, rather than diffusing, knowledge. And those of us to whom the date seems less remote may well begin to doubt whether we shall ever be able to profit by Professor Torrey's edition.

Other works, however, in the "Memorial" series which already are, or shortly will be, at M. Wiet's command, may aid him in his task. Mr. Guest's edition of al-Kindi's *Governors and Judges of Egypt*—often cited in the text—should more than replace the partial editions of that work by Professor Gottheil and by Mr. Koenig, whose texts M. Wiet has used whilst avoiding their errors; see pp. 114, n. 4, and 96, n. 19. Again, Professor Margoliouth's edition of Yākūt's *Irshād al-Arīb*, which grows apace, (and which should lead M. Wiet, when citing Yākūt's other work, to specify it as *Buldān*), provides a full notice of the grammarian al-Kisā'i mentioned on p. 89, n. 5; see *Irshād*, v, 183–200. On p. 113 is a quotation from an Egyptian writer, Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'il al-Ḍarrāb. The mention of him in the *Kawākib* (note 2) can be supplemented from the article "Ḍarrāb" in the *Ansāb* of al-Sam'āni, the facsimile of which, long announced in the "Memorial" series, will, after its five years' incubation, soon see the light. He is described there (fol. 361*) as an Egyptian traditionist, to whom Ibn Mākūlā read over the *Muruwwa*. The latter, who died *circa* A.H. 488, read also under the traditionist's son, 'Abd al-'Azīz, and this clue to the father's date disclosed a notice of him in Dhahabī's *Ta'rikh al-Islam* (B.M. Or. 48, 229*, *sub* A.H. 392), which states that he was born A.H. 313, and was author of the *Muruwwa*. Dhahabī says, too, that he read under the traditionist Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Iṣṭakhri, *ob.* A.H. 336 (B.M. Or. 48, 231*), and under Ibrāhīm b. al-Muwallad al-Rakki, *ob.* A.H. 342 (*ib.* 256*), and in the life of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Mādarā'i (vizier to Khumārawaih, died A.H. 345) he quotes him as authority for al-Mādarā'i's monthly gifts of grain to the amount of 100,000 *Riḍl* (*ib.* 271*)—an instance, presumably, of *Muruwwa*.

In a note on p. 168 M. Wiet acknowledges his indebtedness to a brother Orientalist for a statement about

a talismanic figure at Baghdad, contained in the introductory matter to *Khaṭīb Baghdādī* (text ed. Salmon). A better reference would have been to Mr. Guy le Strange's *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, where Khaṭīb's statement appears on p. 31. Elsewhere (p. 45, n. 26) M. Wiet cites this work. As was indicated by its reviewer in the *Journal*, 1901, p. 351, it constitutes, in reality, an edition of Khaṭīb's text and a translation, and that, again, worked up into literary form. Salmon's text, which was later in date, was, in fact, not needed.

References occur also to Baihaqī's *Maḥāsīn wa Masāwī*, ed. Schwally, on p. 105, nn. 10 and 15; p. 126, n. 9; and p. 171, n. 5, and these imply no small labour on Mr. Wiet's part, for that text is without either index, or indication of contents beyond the bare headings of its chapters.

On p. 93, n. 11, is a mention of Sa'īd b. Jubair's fairy wife who, after bearing him children, disappeared at the sound of her companions' voices. This pious Moslem was once detected anticipating the falcon who used to rouse St. Francis of Assisi for prayer (see *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 869, n. 1); here he is found anticipating Matthew Arnold's *Forsaken Merman*.

M. Wiet's work shows throughout evidence of wide and careful research, and it may, indeed, be questioned whether the indications of variants in the notes are not excessive. At any rate, in the case of the lengthy quotations from Ibn 'abd al-Hakam, where M. Wiet has corrected the text of the *Khiṭaṭ* by the Paris MSS. of that author's work, the variants in the *Khiṭaṭ* MSS., some of them immaterial and some obviously blunders, might have been safely disregarded.

The London text of Ibn 'abd al-Hakam (B.M. Stowe, Or. 6), to which M. Wiet presumably had not access, discloses some variants from his text as settled by the Paris MSS. These may have interest, and I append such as I have noticed.

For تعاملوا (79, l. 5), تكاملوا (3^b, l. 1); after مصر (81, l. 2) add بعد ان قرق الله قوم نوح (4^a, l. 3); after مَحْمَرَت (ib., l. 3) add بعد الغرق (ib.); after وتزوجوا (ib., l. 4) add فيذلك (ib., l. 5); for التي ب (ib., l. 5); for سميت مافه ومافه بلسان القبط ثلثون (82, l. 7), خلف (ib., l. 8); read (93, l. 10) قد قدروا يدبروا (93, l. 10) (3^a, l. 5); after المنابر (ib., l. ult.) add كان بها الف منبر (ib., l. 7); for المرید (99, l. 12), التريد (2^a, l. 11); for الجيلي (100, l. 4), الحجلي (ib., l. 17), named, *Ansāb*, 155^a, l. 15, 'Abd Allah b. Yazīd, cf. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, vi, No. 162; after أم دُئین (ib. penult.) add توفيت حين (ib., n. 6) confirmed (2^b, l. 1); Suyūṭī's reading (ib., n. 6) confirmed (2^a, l. 6 a.f.); reading p. 109, n. 9, confirmed (3^b, l. 12); reading of text جبر (127, l. 9, and n. 11) confirmed (20^b, l. 6 a.f.); after بن حذيفة (129, l. 1) add العبدري (19^b, l. 13), but this should be read العدوي, see *Tabarī*, Index, *Nawawī*, 687, l. 4, and *Ansāb*, 386^b, l. 8, *sub nom.*; after فانقطعوا (ib., l. 12) add اى بيئا واحدا قد بقى منهم اناس (20^b, l. 17); تدور (167, l. 8) pointed thus (10^a, l. 19), cf. p. 169, n. 1. Finally, in the note (p. 120, col. 2) on the Muqauqis the name منيا in the text of the *Dīwān al-Inshā* should be مينا (25^a marg.); it is said also that on Babylon being attacked by 'Amr (25^b, l. 2), خلف في الحصن, and on this a note on the margin states: الاعرج: يقال له المندفور القبطى كان يدبر مصر من قبل المقوقس where the name may represent *βανδοφόρος*, "standard-bearer."

M. Wiet will have our best wishes in the carrying out of his important work.

H. F. A.

ARABIC CHRESTOMATHY. Selected passages from Arabic prose-writers, with an Appendix containing some specimens of ancient Arabic poetry. With a complete Glossary by ERNST HARDER, Dr. phil. pp. viii and *or.* London and Heidelberg: Julius Gross, 1911.

There is no lack of Arabic chrestomathies to serve as reading-books for beginners. The above-mentioned book cannot, however, exactly be ranked among them, being calculated for more advanced students. It contains scarcely a dozen pages of vocalized extracts from the Qorān, whilst the bulk of the work consists of unvocalized texts, and therefore presupposes a fair knowledge of grammar. At the same time, it forms a kind of introduction to Arabic literature almost from its beginning down to modern times. As to comprehensiveness, it surpasses all existing works of similar character, except De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, which will always remain unrivalled. Qorān exegesis is represented by an extract from Al-Baidawī's commentary, Tradition by a chapter of Al-Bokhārī's *Saḥīḥ*, and political economy by a section of the *Muqaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn. The student is introduced to the *Fiqh* literature by the preface of the *Kitāb al-Khāraj* of Abu Yūsuf al-Ḥanafī, one of the oldest authorities in Moslim law, and further by an extract from the *Compendium* of Abu Shujā. An excellent and very needful opportunity of learning the method of Arab grammarians is offered in the reproduction of the chapter on the verb of Al-Zamakhsharī's *Mufaṣṣal*. This is followed by a short extract from the same author's *Golden Necklaces*, which furnishes an appropriate specimen of *Adab* literature. Another example is given in the passages of Al-Meidānī's *Book of Proverbs*. Geography is represented by a lengthy extract from Al-Qazwīnī's *Cosmography*, and history by Al-Tabarī's account of the murder of the Caliph Omar. The next two pieces appear for the first time in print. The one is a letter from an Arab lady

in or near Fostāt, which, according to the compiler, dates from the second century of the Hijra. The letter is especially interesting on account of its unconventional spelling. Even assuming that the letter was written by a professional letter-writer, he must have been a person of education, and the looseness of his orthography shows that at this early epoch a certain relaxation of the academic rules of the grammarians seemed permissible for private use. The other document is a deed relating to the cultivation of a field. A rich harvest of similar letters and documents is waiting to be gathered in the various collections, such as the Cambridge Genizah and elsewhere. Many of these documents are of high historical, archæological, and linguistic value.

Romantic literature is represented by the story of the second journey of Sinbād the Sailor and the romance of the *Fugitive Mamlūk* by Jirji Zeidān (printed Cairo 1891), the learned editor of the journal *Al-Hilāl*. This is followed by an extract from the same author's *Geography of Egypt*. Quite a novel feature are the extracts from modern periodicals and newspapers, which give the European student an insight into a literature to acquire which he has but few opportunities unless he has ample leisure or makes them a special object of study. These extracts are particularly instructive because they give the reader a fair notion of the spiritual life of the educated classes in the Arabic-speaking East, of the general education in Egypt and the Sudān, and, above all, the present status of woman. Several of these articles are drawn from ladies' journals. The concluding pages are filled with political articles and essays of general interest, local and financial news, telegrams and advertisements. In view of this wealth of matter one feels that the compiler of the book was right in giving only a few specimens of ancient poetry, and for more serious study refers the student to Noeldeke-Müller's *Delectus*. It is,

however, to be regretted that he did not give a few specimens of later poetry with their new metres, and one or two *muwashshahs* and folk-songs. A few literary and perhaps bibliographical notes on the authors put in requisition would have been welcome. The glossary attached to the texts is concise, but seems quite full enough for the purpose, and shows in its small compass the development of the language for modern needs. In any case, the book brings out very clearly that students of modern Arabic must make themselves acquainted with the old, and that no one can acquire a sound knowledge of the vernacular of the educated classes without devoting earnest study to the classical tongue.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

A SUMERIAN GRAMMAR WITH CHRESTOMATHY, with a vocabulary of the principal roots in Sumerian and a list of the most important syllabic and vowel transcriptions. By STEPHEN LANGDON, M.A., Ph.D., Shillito Reader of Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology, Oxford. 310 pp. (10 × 6½ inches). Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1911.

The author explains Šumer, the country wherein the language now known as Sumerian was spoken, as being a phonetic change of KI-EN-GIN, "the land of the faithful lord," probably originally designating the region of which Nippur was the capital. As is well known, the inventors of the script, which developed into the cuneiform syllabary of Babylonia and Assyria, were formerly called Akkadians, and it is the late Professor Jules Oppert who first proposed the designation Sumerians, which the tablets indicate as the correct name. As for the meaning of *Kingi* (more fully *Kingira*), there is much uncertainty, but it is to be noted that the compilers of the bilingual lists explain *kingi* or *kengi* as meaning "country" (*mātu*)

simply, as well as *Šumeri* or *Šumer*—in other words, *Kingi* or *Sumer* would seem to have been "the country" *par excellence*.

As may be judged from the number of pages, the work is very complete, and a great advance on what has already been published. Noteworthy is the fact that inflection is associated with the use of postfixes to express the relations of case. By inflection the subject, object, adverbial accusative, oblique case, locative, instrumental, temporal, etc., are expressed, and by means of suffixes (postpositions) the dative (*-ra*, *-šu*, *-še*), instrumental (*-da*), ablative (*-ta*), etc. Nevertheless, even the inflections seem to have had a sufficiently distinct existence to make it possible that their force as distinct particles was felt. Indeed, this seems not only to be indicated by the interesting and valuable text published by the late G. Bertin in the *Journal of this Society* (Vol. XVII, Pt. I, Pls. I and II), where certain of them occur as infixes to the verbal forms, but also in other texts. That Sumerian was close to the borderland between postposition and inflection, however, seems to be undoubted. Prepositional phrases, and even prepositions, also exist in the inscriptions.

As one who has made the Sumerian historical inscriptions a speciality, the author has quoted from sources not generally used for grammatical purposes hitherto. This naturally makes his work especially valuable, and the chapters upon the phonology and the nouns are especially interesting. The verbal forms, with their many infixes, are well described, and the analysis of the phrase which they generally contain is brought fully into view.

The chrestomathy is in transcription only, due doubtless not only to the expense of reproducing cuneiform texts in the original character, but also to the extra space which would have been required. It includes "Gudea's dream", an "incantation to the Sun-god", and a "Song to Ištar". The "Selected Vocabulary" will be found very useful and

instructive to the student; it occupies fifty-eight pages. The list of classified syllables, or, as the author calls it, "List of the most important syllabic and vowel transcriptions," might have been made fuller in the matter of line-forms and significations, even at the risk of a little repetition (seldom a disadvantage in a book intended for students).

But it is undoubtedly the best book upon Sumerian grammar that has been hitherto issued, and full of suggestive and instructive matter even for the specialist.

T. G. PINCHES.

DIE KEILINSCHRIFTEN DER ACHÄMENIDEN, bearbeitet von
F. H. WEISSBACH. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 3.
8vo. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910.

As pointed out in the Preface, this is the first time that an attempt has been made to present all three versions of the Persian trilingual inscriptions in a single volume. It is needless to say that the name of the author is a guarantee for the thoroughness of the work.

The introductory portion, which consists of eighty-four pages, has chapters dealing with the inscriptions, languages, the systems of transcriptions, and the importance of the texts. They were written for Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I and II, Cyrus the Younger (?), and Artaxerxes III. To these are added certain inscriptions of undetermined origin, and the Babylonian cylinder of Antiochus Soter discovered by Rassam at Birs Nimroud.

The text (in transcription only) is arranged so that the reader has all the corresponding portions of each version either before his eyes or at least close at hand, together with the German translation; the left-hand page in each case having the Persian and Elamite, and the right-hand the Babylonian, the rendering, and notes thereon.

As one of the specialities of one of the most renowned of the members of the Royal Asiatic Society, Sir H. C.

Rawlinson, this book upon the Persian inscriptions which he studied is worthy of the notice of all belonging to this Society. His name appears as one of those who took a prominent part not only in decipherment, but also in the acquisition of material. The literature of the subject, as given by Dr. Weissbach, is exceedingly complete, and even humble workers find a place therein. In consequence of his many researches in the various publications which have appeared since the texts were first issued, the author has been able in many cases to improve the readings, and many additions to the material are recorded and made use of. Lists of the Persian and Elamite characters, as well as an alphabetical list of proper names, add to the value of the work, which, however, might have been the better for an index in addition to the table of contents. Nevertheless, the book is a welcome addition to the literature of the Old Persian inscriptions, whose importance cannot be overestimated; and the author deserves the thanks of all who study or take an interest in the three languages treated and used therein.

T. G. PINCHES.

TRAVELS AND STUDIES IN THE NEARER EAST. By A. T. OLMSTEAD, B. B. CHARLES, and J. E. WRENCH. Vol. I, Part II: Hittite Inscriptions. Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor and the Assyro-Babylonian Orient, organized by J. R. S. Sterrett. Ithaca, New York, 1911.

This contribution to the work being done in the Semitic East is typical of the immense interest which the study of Assyriology has aroused. Though the authors have gone over ground already many times traversed, their methods are so thorough that they may be said to furnish a model for all future work of the same nature. As is well known, rock-cut inscriptions are often considerably weathered, and even when this is not the case they may have been

damaged by the hand of man, or by some accident. The explorers belonging to the Cornell expedition have first cleaned the inscriptions; then, having beaten in the squeeze-paper, made a drawing of the same, and afterwards photographed them under the most favourable conditions whilst the paper was still adhering. A final copy was then in each case produced by comparing the first copy, the photograph, and the squeeze together. The result has been something as perfect as it is possible to produce, and many improved readings have been the result of this systematic method of securing trustworthy material.

The copies of inscriptions are included in the "plates", which number twenty-seven; the photographs of sculptures and inscriptions, with and without squeezes attached, amount to forty-five. The latter are half-tone blocks, and in many cases seem to be only moderately successful. The Ivriz sculpture, however, is remarkably good, the boldness of the figure with the bunches of grapes being very noteworthy.

The letterpress describes the monuments, and gives a statement of what has hitherto been done on each. Great credit is due to Professor B. B. Charles, who is responsible for the copies, for his part of the work.

T. G. PINCHES.

TABLETS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF DREHEM, with a complete account of the origin of the Sumerian Calendar, Translation, Commentary, and 23 plates. By STEPHEN LANGDON, Shillito Reader of Assyriology and Semitic Philology, Oxford. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Paris: Geuthner, 1911.

Dreheim is described as a small mound 3 miles south of Nippur, and is quite a recent discovery. It has furnished a number of tablets, similar to some of those found at Nippur (Niffer) and to the majority of the records from

Lagaš (Tel-loh). In many cases these documents have cylinder seal-impressions, some of them of historical and many of artistic interest, whilst those which have inscriptions are sometimes of special value on that account. The seal-impressions on the tablets found at Drehem are generally very fine.

This small work of twenty-five pages and twenty-three plates has translations or paraphrases of sixty-seven of these documents, covering a chronological period extending from the latter part of the reign of Dungi to the first year of Ibe-Sin—about thirty-one years—and, according to the chronological system of the author, corresponding with the period 2413–2382 B.C. The earliest text (No. 12) refers to three water-channels, at which ten men worked for sixty days, excavating in that time 3,240 cubic *U* (generally regarded as the *ammatu* or cubit) in the first instance and smaller sections in the other two. If the character at the beginning of line. 9 be Δ , the first was the water-course named after *Dumu-zida* or Tammuz, and the second that of Nannar-ursag. The name of the field in which they were is broken away.

This, however, is one of the more important texts of the collection; most of the others refer to cattle: "The contents of the tablets show that the Arabs have found the records of the cattle market of Nippur which supplied not only the great temple of Enlil and his consort Ninlil with animals for sacrifice but the other temples of Nippur as well. Frequent reference is made to cattle and sheep supplied to the city bakery *é-mu*."

An interesting account of the names of the months in use at the old town of Drehem is prefixed to the work. *Maš-azug-kur*, the "month of the eating of tender kids fit for the sacrifice, Aug.–Sept.," was the equivalent of *Bar-azag-gar* or Nisan, March–April, in later times, showing a backward movement of the calendar amounting to five months. "Evidently the Semites who wrote

šu-numun for the month Tammuz had completely forgotten that *šunumun* in Sumerian means the sowing of barley, which occurs five months later." Shiftings of individual months seem to have taken place from time to time, so that the revolution in the calendar here described is possibly not so unlikely as it would seem.

Treating of the name of the month equivalent with Iyyar, which is transcribed by the author as *gur-si-sa*, it is to be noted that the Rev. J. P. Way's tablet (Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, May 2, 1899) gives a month called *iti Gusisi*, or (as the inscription was possibly read in Semitic) *arah Gusisi*, "month of Gusisa" or "Gusisu", possibly a Semiticized form. This implies that the characters 𒂍𒀭𒂍𒀭𒂍𒀭 ought to be read *Gu(d)-si-sa*, and suggests the probability that the month-name *gar-ra-ne-mumu* (-*mama*) could, when the spelling admitted it, also be read with *gud* as the first element; cf. the variants *Gud-du-ne-ma(ma)*, *Gud-ta-ne-ma(ma)* in *Amherst Tablets*, vol. i, pp. 106, 137; Thureau-Dangin's *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes*, Nos. 326, 357, 366, 397, though it is not unlikely that some other explanation is possible. Another doubtful reading is that of the third month-name, *ezen a-ne-gun*, but with regard to this it seems not improbable that *Western Asia Inscriptions*, vol. iii, pl. li, No. 8, where the star-name 𒂍𒀭𒂍𒀭𒂍𒀭𒂍𒀭 is glossed *Ussi*, furnishes the key, in which case *Izin-* or *Ezen-Ussi* would be the pronunciation.

A valuable contribution, and a work as suggestive as any that Professor Langdon has written.

T. G. PINCHES.

POSTSCRIPT.—Professor Langdon writes to me a correction of his reading *Ne-ne-nig* (= the Semitic month *Ab*), which, according to Delaporte's 4th Drehem-tablet in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. viii, p. 186, should be *Ne-ne-gara*.

M. Delaporte's paper gives twenty-two excellently-edited texts, and has among the four viceroys mentioned, a new one, *Li-ba-[nu-]ug-ša-pa-aš* of Marḥaši.

T. G. P.

THE PROGRESS OF JAPAN, 1853-71. By J. H. GUBBINS,
C.M.G.

Mr. Gubbins has written an excellent book, indispensable to those who wish to understand how the Japan of 1853 came to be the Japan we know to-day, to emerge from a state of isolation and obscurity to the position of one of the great powers of the world, the arbitress possibly of the destinies of the Far East. The course of constitutional development is clearly traced, mainly from a Japanese point of view and upon the authority of Japanese documents. No book published in any European language treating of the period has adopted this plan, for few indeed are the writers possessed of a sufficient knowledge of the Japanese language to investigate the history of the time as told by the Japanese themselves, especially of late by the new school of Japanese historical scholars. Mr. Gubbins has largely removed the mystery that hung over these years, especially from 1853 to 1868, and makes it clear that the course of history was far from being as abnormal as is commonly supposed. To understand it a knowledge of Constitutional Japan at the time of Commodore Perry's visit (1833) is necessary, and this may be sufficiently gathered from Mr. Gubbins' pages. More important still is the lucid exposition given of the system of combined abdication and delegation that governed the whole administration from the Emperor and Shogun down to a grade fairly low in the hierarchy of office, a system which, more fully developed in Japan than elsewhere, assured a certain stability of form until the change in opinion attained its breaking-point after more than two centuries of domination.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

DOITS'-BUNTEN-KYOKWASHO. Deutsche Grammatik für Japaner. Von A. SEIDEL. Berlin.

This is an excellent introduction to German accidence, and in its numerous exercises and conversations furnishes a well-chosen and extensive vocabulary and phraseology which should be extremely useful to the Japanese student of German, who trusts more to memory than to a scientific study of the structure of a language. Hence the absence of paradigms of declension and conjugation and the lack of syntax will be less felt. An introduction written in *ji* and *kana* and also in *romaji* gives a good account of the phonetics and scripts of German, a matter of extreme importance where sounds differ so much as between German and Japanese. The pronunciation is carefully figured, and on the whole a better guide to its subject within its limits can hardly be conceived. It is interesting to note the new vocabulary of Japanese and the modern style of Japanese prose used in the explanatory parts—all in *romaji*—and the student of Japanese, English or German, may pick up a good deal of information from this outcome of Dr. Seidel's labours.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

WÖRTERBUCH DER DEUTSCH-JAPANISCHEN UMGANGSPRACHE.
Von A. SEIDEL. Berlin, 1910, Märkische Verlagsanstalt.

In this well-arranged, comfortably printed (in Latin characters), and copious volume of some 500 pages, containing perhaps some 30,000 words and compounds, we have another example of Dr. Seidel's industry. It is refreshing to find the system of spelling Japanese words devised by Hepburn and the English pioneers in Japanese adopted, by far the most economical and congruous with the language among the various systems that have been proposed. (The Japanese are engaged, it is said, in constructing a new system of extreme complexity.) Under

the main words a fair number of illustrative and idiomatic expressions are given, and a short grammar is prefixed, which perhaps was hardly needed, as of little profit to those who are likely to use the dictionary. A caution might have been added that *kango* words (Chinese origin) are usually pronounced with a slight accent on the first syllable, contrary to the usual Japanese pronunciation, nor is it made clear that of such words as (Chinese) *gien* each vowel is separately pronounced. There exist now excellent dictionaries of the spoken language, French-Japanese, English-Japanese, and German-Japanese, of which Raguet's *Petit Dictionnaire* is perhaps the most convenient in size and arrangement.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

A YEAR OF JAPANESE EPIGRAMS. Translated and compiled by WILLIAM N. PORTER. Illustrated by KAZUNORI ISHIBASHI. Oxford University Press, 1911.

This is a very prettily got up volume containing very prettily translated and illustrated Japanese so-called epigrams (*haikai* or *hokku*), arranged so as to suit all the days of a complete year. The original text of the *hokku* is given in roman, and notes are added on their authors and as elucidations of their meaning. It is best in most cases to leave the guesses of the commentators alone, and translate the texts without additions or omissions, adhering to them as closely as possible. Only in this way can their peculiar spirit be rendered. But this is not, at least always, the way chosen by Mr. Porter. Thus he renders the first epigram, *tori no koyo | hana aru katae | shi-hō-hai*, "Let birds and blossoms pay | due homage to the Emperor | upon each New Year's Day." This is not only a wrong translation but is mere bathos. The Emperor is not mentioned, nor is any homage paid to him. The true rendering is: "Now everywhere | are birds a-warbling, flowers a-showing | 'tis New Year's

Prayer."¹ The allusion is to the custom of the Emperor on New Year's Day publicly invoking (*hai*) the favour of the deities of the four quarters (*shihō*) for the Lord of Japan. This, the poet hints, is what the song of birds and show of plum-blossoms are now doing. A word may here fitly be added to explain what these *hokku* really are, as an immense amount of meaning is often read *into* them by commentators which is not *in* them. The older primitive Japanese *uta* were *naga-uta* of ten to a hundred or more lines—the longest I know has about 150 lines. These were composed of alternate lines of five and seven syllables (all open), and a concluding couplet of two lines each of seven syllables. Of this *naga-uta* the introduction (three lines) and the conclusion (two lines) were taken to form a *tanka* of thirty-one open syllables, and this was finally reduced to a *hokku* consisting of the introduction only, namely seventeen syllables. Compression could no further go, and the art of the *hokku* or *haikaishi* was to compress his meaning within this narrow compass, and there was no external suggestiveness beyond what was necessarily involved in the process of condensation of subject and expression. Most of them would be plain enough to a fairly well-educated Japanese, or to those to whom they were addressed. Apart from the difficulty of observance of more or less complicated rules *hokku* may, with a little practice, be perpetrated by the score.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

THE HISTORY OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

By DINESH CHANDRA SEN, B.A. Calcutta : published by the University, 1911.

This is a valuable contribution to the history of the Bengali language and literature, and I wish I were more

¹ Or simply and literally the singing of birds, the blossoming of the side branches of the plum-tree (taking *katae* = *katayeda*), the Imperial New Year's Prayer (*shihōhai*). The three ideas are enunciated, and the reader is left to connect them as he may choose.

competent to review it. I have been asked to notice it, and shall gladly make the attempt, but I have for so many years deserted Bengali for Persian that I am not able to do the work justice. It is a very full and interesting account of the development of the Bengali language, and has cost the author much physical and mental labour, and has even, we are sorry to say, injured his health. Dinesh Chandra, who was for several years a schoolmaster in Tipperah, is an enthusiastic admirer of Eastern Bengal, with its noble rivers and beautiful garden-city-like villages. He is a patriot, without being an intolerant one, and there is no bitterness in his writings. It has often been remarked that classical Latin authors show little feeling for Nature. Virgil and Horace are almost the only ones among them who delight in natural scenery. It was on this subject that Sir Archibald Geikie delivered a very interesting address to the Classical Association a few years ago. No such charge can be brought against Sanskrit or Bengali authors, nor, as far as can be judged from the romance of *The Two Fair Cousins*, does it apply to Chinese writers. Indeed, all Oriental poets seem to delight in descriptions of scenery and of flowers. Dinesh Chandra shares these feelings, and as he has a power of picturesque writing his descriptions are often eloquent. Chap. vi, p. 692, on "The Poetry of Rural Bengal", is a striking instance of this faculty.

The subject of the Bengali language and literature has been little noticed by English writers. The articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and the *India Gazetteer*, vols. ii and vii, are somewhat meagre, though the latter work has the merit of calling attention to Dinesh Chandra's Bengali work on the subject. The accomplished writer (Dr. Grierson) of the notice in vol. vii of the *Gazetteer*, p. 434, says that "Dinesh Chandra's *Banga Bhasha o Sāhitya* is one of the few works of serious research on European lines which has issued from a modern Indian Press".

The volume by Dinesh Chandra under review does not profess to be a complete history of Bengali literature. It ends at 1850, so that there is little or no notice in it of Bengali literature of the present day, and nothing is said about existing newspapers.¹ Perhaps, like Horace, he was afraid of treading on smouldering lava. I hope, however, that he will some day have the strength to give a second volume of lectures (the form which his book originally took), dealing with the literature of the day. What he has done in the present volume is to trace the rise of the Bengali language, and to analyse its early literature. It will probably be a surprise to Anglo-Indians to learn how old the Bengali language is, and how much has been done, and is still doing, in the way of collecting early Bengali manuscripts.² The common impression seems to be that Bengali is the product of the last century, but Dinesh Chandra has shown that there are Bengali compositions as old as the fifteenth century, and even earlier. Apparently, this fact was unknown even to Bengalis sixty years ago, for Babu Har Chandra Dutt, in an article in the *Calcutta Review* for January, 1852, on Bengali poetry, tells his readers that the oldest Bengali poem extant is the Chanda of Kabikankan, and he adds in a note that Kabikankan (Mukunda Ram) and Bhārat Chandra were contemporaries and lived in the time of Rajah Krishna Chandra of Nadiya, that is, in the middle of the eighteenth century!

The earliest Bengali poems are either translations from the Sanskrit or are religious verses, and apparently they are without literary value. Perhaps the most interesting of the latter class of compositions is the ballad-cycle about the Snake-goddess, Manasā Devī. As Dinesh Chandra

¹ There is a valuable article on early Bengali literature and newspapers by the Rev. Mr. Long in the *Calcutta Review* for January, 1850.

² See an interesting article by Mr. J. D. Anderson, in our *Journal* for April last, on the origin of Bengali, in which attention is called to the work being done by Bengalis in the investigation of their native speech.

remarks, the great respect for Manasā Devi, in the lower Gangetic valley, is a natural feeling.

"The plains of Bengal, especially the portions adjoining the sea, are infested with snakes, and deaths from snake-bite during the rainy season become so common as to cause considerable alarm to the people. The cottages of the poor villagers offer no protection to them from the venomous enemy, and when the floods come upon the mud-hovels and thatched roofs, snakes and other venomous reptiles take shelter there, and are not infrequently discovered hidden in beds or coiled up in pitchers or other household utensils. The poor people have no means of cutting down the jungles and keeping the village-paths clear. In their utter helplessness they are driven to take refuge in God. The God of the snakes is also the God of men, and by propitiating Him they hope to avert the danger with which, unaided, they cannot cope. A consolation comes to them surely, when thus resigned to His mercy."

It accords with this view that the rains are the special season for Manasā-worship. Whatever might tend to propitiate so dread a goddess was sure to appeal to the "business and bosoms" of the poor ryots of Eastern Bengal. The tiger was less dreaded, for he was chiefly destructive to cattle. The earliest writer on Manasā appears to be Hari Datta, a blind, or at least a one-eyed man, and a resident in the great eastern district of Mymensing. Dinesh Chandra supposes him to be as early as the twelfth century, but there seems to be no ground for this view beyond the fact that he preceded by some length of time Vijaya Gupta, who belongs to the fifteenth century, and was also a native of Eastern Bengal. Dinesh Chandra says that Vijaya Gupta's village is in the district of Bakarganj, but I suspect that it is now in Faridpur, for it is part of the village of Gaila, which is situated in the pargana of Kotwalipara, and in the midst of a very swampy country. It was, and perhaps still is, the abode of many pundits. At least two other natives of Mymensing, besides Hari Datta, wrote poems about Manasā Devi. One was Narayan Deva, who

was a contemporary of Vijaya Gupta, and whose home was in what is now the subdivision of Kishoreganj; the other was Rajah Rāj Singh, who, apparently, belonged to the family of the Susang Rajahs, and who lived about 125 years ago (p. 292). Dinesh Chandra has given (pp. 257 and 282) the story of Behula, the daughter-in-law of the famous Chand Swadagur, who had refused to worship Manasā Devī. With all its extravagance, it is an affecting tale of wifely fidelity, and has drawn tears from generations of Bengali men and women.

Apparently, the greatest of the early poets of Bengal is Mukunda Ram, known as Kabikankan, that is, "the jewel of poets." He belongs to the district of Bardwan, and lived in the sixteenth century in the time of Rajah Mān Singh. Like all Eastern poets, he seems to have written too much, for he has left 25,000 lines. Part of his work has had the advantage of having been translated into English verse by the late Professor Cowell,¹ who has compared him to Crabbe. This is on account of his realism. It follows that Mukunda Ram's poems cannot be altogether pleasant reading, and Dinesh Chandra admits this, saying that "Through all the romance of the situations he creates, there rises a sound of woe, a deep, pathetic tone and a murmur of grief and wailing, and a gloomy effect is left on the mind of the reader". It is characteristic of the Hindu mind, at least of the former generation, that Dinesh Chandra should add that the redeeming feature of Mukunda's poetry is the feeling of absolute resignation to the Deity which pervades the poem. It is this resignation, or fatalism, which has been the curse of Bengal, and which has, we fear, its root in cowardice, or, at least, in the lethargy and feebleness produced by an enervating climate. Long ago the Emperor Humayun, who was a Bengali at heart, felt the sweet

¹ His translation of three episodes from *Chandi* appeared in the *JASB.* for 1902, vol. lxxi.

poison of the soft air of Gaur, and gave the country the name of Jinnatabad, or the Paradise of Countries. The contemporaries of Ibn Batuta were more discerning, and called India a "blissful hell". It was the climate of Bengal, and the teaching of Buddhism, that has made Bengalis hope to get rid of snakes by hymns and an imaginary goddess, instead of cutting down jungle and keeping night-lights in their cottages.

Dinesh Chandra devotes many pages to an account of Chaitanya. This remarkable man was only a year or two younger than Martin Luther.¹ Both were religious reformers, but with what different results! Chaitanya was a dreamer and more akin to George Fox than to Luther. He abandoned his wife and his household duties, and his head was always in the clouds. If he did not actually commit suicide,² he certainly attempted to drown himself. I am not sure if he really helped the world. On the other hand, Luther broke the bonds of Rome, and laid the foundations of the German language by his translation of the Bible. It does not appear that Chaitanya or his followers did anything comparable to this for the development of Bengali.

It is pleasant to see that Dinesh Chandra does justice to Dr. Carey and to Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. This great man began life as an omlah in Rungpore, a fact which should be an encouragement to Bengali keranis. He was Dewan, or Serishtadar, in the Collectorate there, and was highly esteemed by his superior, Mr. Digby. (See Kissory Chand Mitter's article in the *Calcutta Review* of

¹ This is pointed out by the Rev. Lal Behari Dey in an excellent article on Chaitanya and the Vaishnavas in the *Calcutta Review* for January, 1851. At p. 769 Dinesh Chandra appears not to be altogether just to Lal Behari, and to underrate his knowledge of Bengali homes.

² Dinesh Chandra says, p. 472, that the *Chaitanya-charita-mrita* does not say how Chaitanya died; but according to Lal Behari Dey, Krishna Dās, the author of the book, ends with a description of Chaitanya's being brought ashore a corpse. His revival on the beach is no doubt as fictitious as the Sikh story about the escape of Arjun.

December, 1845.) Jacquemont, the French naturalist and traveller, describes an interview that he had with Ram Mohan in one of the volumes of his *Voyage dans l'Inde*, Paris, 1841. Ram Mohan Roy was enabled to visit England by the patronage of the King of Oude, and to him also he owed his title of Rajah. Let it be recorded to the honour of the Oude dynasty that it enabled Ram Mohan to visit England, and that it put upon the Gumti the first river-steamer in India!

At p. 982 of Dinesh Chandra's work there is a most interesting account of a sati, extracted from a book by Mr. Buckland. It is astounding to think that a man who was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in and after the Mutiny, and who died near the end of 1901, should have, as the Magistrate of Hooghly, superintended a sati, and have seen a woman stand the test which has made famous Mutius Scævola.

There are a good many misprints in Dinesh Chandra's book, but hardly any of them is likely to cause difficulty. The most important one that I have noticed, and which probably was not altogether a printer's error, is at p. 624, where Alâol is said to have translated the Persian poem *Hastapaikâr* of Nizâmi Gaznavî. This is a mistake for the *Haft Paikar* of Nizâmi of Ganj, the modern Elizabetpol.

H. BEVERIDGE.

LE MODERNISME BOUDDHISTE ET LE BOUDDHISME DU
BOUDDHA. Par ALEXANDRA DAVID. pp. 280. Paris:
F. Alcan, 1911.

This work, written with lucid simplicity and directness of style, and in a spirit of sympathy combined with disinterestedness, claims to fill a gap in French literature which cannot be said to exist in all the literatures of to-day. The author laments the want of popular manuals by French Orientalists on Vedântism, Buddhism, and

other ancient yet living phases of Aryan religion and philosophy. She reminds us that among the intellectual classes in India there exists a Vedāntist Modernism, circulating its publications by thousands, and, in the Further East, a Buddhist Modernism with a vast programme of reform and of propaganda, which may end by dwarfing the extent of the movement identified with Martin Luther. "Tout cela," she contends, "c'est de l'histoire contemporaine . . . cependant nous l'ignorons." And frank and free of speech in front of our cherished shrines, like Cromwell and his "Take away that bauble", she arraigns our culture for still confining the horizon of the young person to the Greeks: "si pâles à côté des penseurs hindous ["O upright judge!"], et dont les systèmes et les théories s'écartent tant, le plus souvent, de nos conceptions modernes," when "in India we have a living teaching near to the science of to-day, and even to that of to-morrow."

As a makeshift for the unwritten books that should minister to the needs of the busy laity and the studious youth, she has compiled a quite excellent exposition from the German and English handbooks that have been written, and from translations of what our German neo-Buddhist friends call Pali-Buddhism—no bad term for Theravāda. For a writer at second hand the exposition is illustrated by a more conscientious selection of references than is often the case in such works. Mme David sees in the Piṭakas the oldest sources known to us; and she confines herself to them and to the all but canonical Milinda. In an Appendix containing quotations from a miscellaneous collection, no discrimination in chronology is made. But for this negative defect, which *here* cannot prove very misleading, the modern Rangoon brochure from which she quotes, is responsible.

The closing chapter on "deux problèmes contemporains" discusses briefly the attitude of Buddhism towards women

and towards the social question. Mme David is now carrying out an inquiry, commissioned by the French Minister of Public Instruction, into philosophical and religious movements in the East. She combines in a high degree an interest in the growth and decay of religious beliefs with a desire to make such perspectives a living force in the present evolution of human culture. We have much to look forward to, should she publish the results of her inquiries.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

THE BRAHMANAIC SYSTEMS OF RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

By M. T. NARASIMHIENGAR. Madras, 1911.

In this paper the author essays the task of presenting a summary conspectus of the three great systems of the Vēdānta, viz. the Advaita, the Dvaita, and the Viśiṣṭādvaita. He rightly recognizes at the outset that the fundamental ideas of all the three schools are already implicit in the Upanishads, and then he passes on to give an epitome of the systems as formulated by Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva respectively, concluding with a brief comparison of their chief points of likeness and unlikeness. The essay, though summary and sometimes open to criticism (especially in his attempt to minimize the radical differences between the idealistic Advaita and its opponents), is thoughtful and well deserving of study.

L. D. B.

CATALOGUE OF MALAY MANUSCRIPTS AND MANUSCRIPTS
RELATING TO THE MALAY LANGUAGE IN THE BODLEIAN
LIBRARY. By RICHARD GREENTREE, B.A., and
EDWARD WILLIAMS BYRON NICHOLSON, M.A. Oxford:
Clarendon Press, 1910.

This catalogue includes only a dozen works, comprising two prose romances, a poem, a treatise on divination, four letters, a dictionary, and three grammars. But the value

of the collection is high, for five of the items date from the early years of the sixteenth century and four from the second half of the same. Now for obvious climatic and other reasons ancient Malay MSS. are extremely scarce: you might scour the East to-morrow without finding one that was three centuries old. Oxford, Cambridge, and two or three Continental libraries contain the few that have survived from that early period. The matter is of interest and importance, because these old MSS. come down to us straight from the golden age of Malay literature, and they embody the spelling of the period, which is in many respects different from the spelling of to-day.

It was therefore well worth while to catalogue the little Oxford collection. But I cannot quite agree with the reasons Mr. Nicholson's preface urges in support of this praiseworthy undertaking. They are, first, that "the opportunities . . . of acquiring . . . Malay MSS. are so rare that a delay of centuries might not have seen any considerable increase in their number" in the Bodleian; and secondly that "the chances . . . of obtaining a competent cataloguer for them are likewise so rare that it was well to seize the . . . opportunity" of securing Mr. Greentree's services in that capacity. I must, with great respect, observe that these statements seem to illustrate a certain aloofness which has sometimes been charged against the academic mind. If the Bodleian desired to add to its collection of old Malay MSS. a number of modern ones, it could easily have done so at a very moderate cost by invoking the aid of the Governments of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States through the Colonial Office. Moreover, it could with equal ease have found half a dozen competent cataloguers for them among Malay scholars residing permanently in this country or visiting it for long periods of furlough.

However, I do not mean to suggest that the work has not been properly done. On the whole the catalogue is a creditable performance, both in externals and in contents. So far as the former are concerned, it could hardly indeed be surpassed. We are given excellent plates illustrating the calligraphy and ornamentation of the several MSS., and the general get-up of the book is quite up to the high level of the Clarendon Press. As for the essence of the work, the descriptions are good and much technical knowledge of watermarks has been applied towards the determination of the dates of the MSS. The few criticisms I have to make concern matters of detail of secondary importance. I am at a loss to understand the principle of transliteration adopted for the rendering of Malay extracts. It does not appear to coincide with any recognized system, nor is it explained. The use of vowels with the mark of length (˘) may, I suppose, be justified by special reasons, but is not strictly in accordance with the real phonetic character of the language, or the usual practice. The use of *e* for the indeterminate vowel (usually written *ě*) is a mere convention, but the convention should have been noted and explained. I see no real advantage in these departures from the generally recognized system of orthography. And there are a good many others. Spellings like *pū'ād*, *'amār*, and *temat* seem to me to be neither Arabic nor Malay, neither literal nor phonetic. *Bahuas-nia* (for *bahwa-sanya* or *-sěnya*) is downright wrong, and so is *pertuah* (for *pěrtuha*, modern *pěrtua*).

One or two renderings and readings are also open to criticism. I take the title of the book on divination to be *kitāb ramal*, not *ramalī*. The former is the usual term, and besides, there is no trace of a vowel point (*kěsrah*) or dots under the final letter, and there is a dot, probably meant for *sukān*, over it. The account given of this work in the catalogue says that it was written "at the order of

the Sultān, the Pengīrān Rātū of Palembang". Where "Palembānī" is to be looked for is not explained; and, in fact, there is no such place. The original says *dari-pada suroh ibnu* (or *ibni*) *'l-sultānī Pangeran Ratu nĕgĕri Palembang*, i.e. "by the order of a king's son, the Pangeran Ratu of Palembang". The Pangeran Ratu was probably one of the princes of the reigning house, very likely the heir apparent, and *Palembānī* is a quasi-Arabic adjective, admissible in poetic diction. The spelling *Pengīrān* cannot be supported either on phonetic or etymological grounds.

These are minor details, but the catalogue was prepared as long ago as 1905. Since then Mr. Greentree's health has unfortunately broken down, and he has been unable to revise the proofs: had he had the opportunity, he would probably have corrected some of these slips. But it is rather a pity that, failing such revision by the author, the duty of seeing the little book through the press was not entrusted to some other Malay scholar.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ORIENS CHRISTIANUS: Halbjahrshefte für die Kunde des Christlichen Orients. Herausgegeben von Dr. A. BAUMSTARK. Neue Serie, Erster Band, Heft i. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1911.

We welcome the reappearance of this half-yearly Review, which, after having been for some time in abeyance, has made a fresh start under the auspices of the Görres Society and the editorship of Dr. Baumstark. The Review is divided into three sections, the first of which deals with the publication and criticism of original texts, the second consists of original essays, and the third contains miscellaneous matter and elaborate book-notices. Dr. Baumstark's essay on the *Peregrinatio Aethiopia*, or, as it used formerly to be called, the *Peregrinatio Silvia*, is the most elaborate and important contribution

to the present number. The travels of this lady pilgrim from Spain (or perhaps Southern Gaul), who visited the Holy Land and Edessa some time between 363 and 540 A.D., are of great importance in the determination of many liturgical and topographical questions. Dr. Baumstark essays to determine her date more exactly; he thinks it can be shown that she spent the three years 383-5 A.D. in Palestine, which is pretty nearly the date assigned to her by the late Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Wordsworth, if we remember right. Professor J. Strzygowski discusses the sacred figures (Daniel and the lions, etc.) on a broken ivory comb from the ancient *Hipporegius* in Algeria; and Monsignor Kaufmann refutes Wiedemann's contention that St. Menas was merely a Christian adaptation of Horus-Harpocrates. A short paper on the position of the first Roman post-station from Jerusalem completes the list of original essays.

In the first section of the Review Professor Ignazio Guidi publishes two ancient Ethiopic prayers for the dead from the *Mashafa Genzat*, the Abyssinian ritual for the dead, which corresponds with the Coptic $\mu\chi\omega\mu\iota \text{ } \dot{\iota}\tau\epsilon \mu\chi\rho\delta\iota$, and he compares them with very similar prayers in the Greek euchologion and the sacramentary of Serapion. Professor Guidi has apparently forgotten that these prayers, with some variations, have already been published by the Rev. G. Horner in his *Ethiopic Statutes of the Apostles*,¹ one of the most important contributions to Ethiopic and liturgical studies that have appeared in England of recent years. We give the first prayer quoted by Professor Guidi *in extenso*, with the corresponding passages from the *Statutes of the Apostles*, p. 229. The passages of the latter which

¹ *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici*, edited, with translation and collation from Ethiopic and Arabic MSS., also a translation of the Saidic and collation of the Bohairic versions, by Rev. G. Horner. London, 1904.

we have omitted will be found, with slight variations, in the second prayer quoted by Professor Guidi: "Itemque oramus omnipotentem Deum, Patrem Domini nostri et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, pro fratribus nostris qui obdormierunt, ut requiescere facias animam servi tui . . . in loco herbido prope aquas quietis, in sinu Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, in paradiso voluptatis, cum sanctis tuis omnibus. Corpus vero suscita die quam constituisti, secundum sanctam promissionem tuam, quæ mendax non reperitur; assigna ei regnum cæleste . . . dum largiris transitum animarum eorum liberum sine impedimento vel dolore." The corresponding passage in the *Statutes of the Apostles* runs thus: "And again we beseech thee, Almighty God, the Father, etc. . . . for those who have fallen asleep . . . and for the soul of thy servant N . . . Give rest to their soul in the place of pasturage, by the water of rest, in the bosom of Abrehām, Yeshak, and Ya'cob, in the garden of joy . . . having united them with thy holy ones. And raise up their body in the day which Thou hast appointed, according to Thy holy promise of Thy heavenly kingdom . . . Do Thou grant passings to their soul freely, without hindrance."

This section contains two other articles, the first on Greek and Hebrew quotations from the Pentateuch, by a Nestorian commentator of the ninth century; the other on the Armenian version of the Prologus to Job, by Julian of Halikarnassus, also known as Julianus Episcopus Alexandrinus. The original Greek was at first ascribed to Origen, or Pseudo-Origen, but the question of authorship appears to be clearly decided by this Armenian version. For the first of these articles Professor Baumstark is responsible, for the second P. P. Forhat.

Looking at the Review as a whole, we regret that the number of contributors to this, the first of the series, is so limited, and we hope that in future the Editor will be able to obtain more ample assistance from his collaborators.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October, November, December, 1911.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
October 10, 1911.—Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in
the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. A. M. Blackman.
Rev. Edward J. Clifton.
Mrs. Cora Linn Daniels.
Mr. Habibur Rahman Khan.
Mr. Mahomed Hasan Khan.
Mr. S. Labh Singh.

Nineteen nominations were approved for election at the
next General Meeting.

November 14, 1911.—Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in
the Chair.

A vote of sympathy to Miss Irvine, the daughter of the
late Mr. William Irvine, Vice-President of the Society, was
passed.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Raja Naushad Ali Khan.
Kaviraj K. L. Bishagratna.
Babu Gopal Chandra Chakravarti.
Professor Ganes Chandra Chandra.
Babu Aboni Chandra Chatterjea.
Mr. L. Fanous.
Professor Johannes Hertel.
The Rev. Hardy Jowett.
H.H. the Raj Rana Sir Bhowani Singh Sahib Bahadur,
K.C.S.I., of Jhalawar.
Dr. N. J. Krom.
Dr. Berthold Laufer.

Mr. F. R. Martin.

Mr. Manmatha Nath Mukerjea.

Babu Manmatha Nath Mukherjea.

Mr. J. E. Nathan.

H.H. the Maharaja Dhiraj Bupinder Singh Bahadur of Patiala.

Mr. A. W. Pim, L.C.S.

Mr. Donald Herbert Edmund Sunder.

Rev. W. M. Teape.

Two nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Sir Charles Lyall read a paper on "The Pictorial Aspects of Ancient Arabian Poetry".

A discussion followed, in which Professor Margoliouth, Dr. Gaster, Professor Hagopian, Miss Ridding, and Dr. Daiches took part.

December 12, 1911.—Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. N. P. Subramanya Aiyar.

Mr. Kerest Haig.

Nine nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Vincent Smith read a paper on "Indian Painting from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century".

A discussion followed, in which Colonel Hendley, Mr. Dames, and Colonel Plunkett took part.

II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.
Bd. LXV, Heft iii.

Wünsche (Aug.). Die Zahlensprüche in Talmud und Midrasch.

Bauer (H.). Zur Entstehung des arabischen Elativs.

- Hertel (J.). Die Erzählung vom Kaufmann Campaka.
 Schreve (Th.). Ein Besuch im Buddhistischen Purgatorium. (Aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt.)
 Torrey (C. C.). Al-Aṣmaī's Fuhūlat aṣ-Su'arā.
 Rescher (O.). Über die Zahl vierzig.
 — Einige Etymologien.
 Bacher (W.). Zur jüdisch-persischen Literatur.
 Hartmann (R.). Zum Ortsnamen at-Tajjiba.
 Horten (M.). Was bedeutet *al-kaun* als philosophischer Terminus?
 Reckendorf (H.). Der Bau der semitischen Zahlwörter.
 Schulthess (F.). Die Mardiner HS. von Kalila und Dimna.
 Haupt (P.). Ikkār und irriš. Landmann.

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Tome XVII, No. i.

- Weill (R.). Les Hyksos et la restauration nationale dans la tradition égyptienne et dans l'histoire.
 Foucher (A.). Les débuts de l'art bouddhique.
 Gauthiot (R.). De l'alphabet sogdien.
 Gauthier (E. F.). Le calendrier malgache.
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OBITUARY NOTICE

WILLIAM IRVINE

WILLIAM IRVINE, distinguished as a student of the history of Mahomedan India, died on November 3, 1911. He was for many years a member of the Council, and latterly a Vice-President, of the Royal Asiatic Society, and it is fitting that some memorial of him should find a place in the pages of this Journal, to which he has so frequently contributed.

Irvine was born in Aberdeen in 1840, and in 1863 he went to India in the Indian Civil Service, being the first man of his year in the Provincial list. His province was the Province of Agra, better known at that time as the North-West Provinces, and now officially called the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; and in this province he served till he retired. Having an inherited aptitude for legal studies (his father had been an advocate, which is the Scottish equivalent for the French *avocat*), Irvine at the outset betook himself to law, and his first work was a digest of the Rent Acts of the province, published in 1868, while he was still an assistant. He came to be regarded as an authority on all questions of rent and revenue law, and his opinion in such matters was sometimes sought by the Board of Revenue, the highest appellate authority. It was not until after 1875 that Irvine seriously took to the study of Indian history. At that time he was stationed at Farrakhabād, and happened to come into possession of the private papers and letters of the local Nawābs, a family of Afghan adventurers who in the eighteenth century had risen to power and made

themselves masters of the place, and the last of whom perished miserably in the Mutiny. An account of these Nawābs in the JASB. for 1878-9 was his earliest historical work—indeed, the only historical work which he published while in India. From Farrakhabād Irvine went in 1879 as Magistrate and Collector to Ghazipur, where in addition to his ordinary duties he had to superintend the revision of the Revenue records, an arduous and difficult task which he performed with conspicuous ability. He retired in 1889. Had he remained he must have risen to the highest administrative posts in the province, but he chose to retire early, and on his retirement he devoted himself to the study of the history of India under the Mahomedans. While in India he had acquired the power of reading the Persian and Hindi script with ease; he now betook himself to the study of the MSS. to be found in the British Museum and the India Office. He also employed men in India to collect MSS. for him. His purpose was to write the history of the decline and fall of the Moghul Empire from the death of Aurungzeb in 1707 to the capture of Delhi by Lord Lake in 1803. This had been done by Mr. Keene and others, but not on the scale which Irvine planned, nor after any exhaustive examination of the available materials. Copious extracts from the MSS. he studied formed the basis of Irvine's work; round these he built up his remarks and explanations. Besides the purely historical details Irvine devoted much attention to collateral subjects, such as the constitution of the Moghul nobility, the administrative system, the system of land revenue, and the organization of the army. Ballads, diaries, letters, charters, rules of official practice and imperial rescripts, coins and seals, he made himself conversant with them all. Native authorities were the mainstay of his history, but he was equally at home with the European travellers of the time, and the doings of the various East India Companies, more especially the

English and the French. Much of the information which he thus laboriously gathered was given to the world in contributions to the *Indian Antiquary* and the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The first chapters of his history appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1896, and in it he published the succeeding chapters from time to time, but the work is an unfinished torso. It never got beyond the accession of Mahomed Shāh (1719), although Irvine published dissertations on some of the later episodes, and had collected all the material down to the sack of Delhi by Nādir Shāh in 1737 A.D., and less completely down to 1761. His paper on the Moghul army in the JRAS. for 1896 was followed by his book on the same subject, published in 1903. He contributed the chapter on Mahomedan history to the new *Gazetteer of India*, in which he managed to compress much fresh matter into little space. The life of Aurungzeb, originally prepared for the *Encyclopédie d'Islam*, being too lengthy for that work, was published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1911. This was his latest important publication. He contributed a large number of translations and shorter papers to various periodicals, and frequently appeared as a reviewer in the pages of this Journal. Among the more important of these shorter pieces I may mention the following: "The Baillie Collection of Arabic and Persian MSS.," in the JRAS. for 1905. In the JASB., "Baiswari Folk Songs" (1884); "Note on the Official Reckonings of the Reigns of the later Moghul Emperors" (1893); "Guru Gobind Singh and Bandah" (1894); "Jangnāmāh of Farukhsiyar and Jahāndār Shāh" (1900); this was a historical ballad in Hindi, as was the "Jangnāmāh of Sayyad 'Alim 'Ali Khan", which appeared in the JA. in 1904. Among other articles of his in the JA., I may mention "Notes on some Anglo-Indian Words" (1900) and a paper on "Aurungzeb's Family" (1901); also "Ahmad Shāh,

Abdali, and the Indian Wazir 'Imad-ul-Mulk" (1907). To Miss Manning's little magazine he contributed a translation of a most interesting visit by a Mahomedan traveller to a Hindu *mela* on the Ganges in the early part of the eighteenth century. In 1908 the Asiatic Society of Bengal did him the honour to make him an Honorary Member.

Constable, the publisher, first drew Irvine's attention to Manucci. Manucci was only known to the world by Catron's abridgment, and Catron had used Manucci's text with so much freedom, and added so much of his own, that the work was useless for historical purposes. Now Manucci, although garrulous and a gossip, is after Bernier the best European authority we have for the condition of things in India under Aurungzeb. Irvine has told the world in his Preface the story of his hunt for the original MSS. of Manucci in the libraries of Venice and Berlin. Successful in this quest, he laid aside the history which had hitherto formed his chief occupation, and set himself to translating and editing Manucci. At the suggestion of the Royal Asiatic Society, the work was published by the Government of India in the Indian Texts Series—a series which owes its origin to the enlightened suggestion of Lord Curzon. Long before Manucci was finished, Irvine had been attacked by the disease to which he ultimately succumbed; and although he returned to his Indian history, it was only to bring it to a close.

Irvine's conception of history was much like that which is at present in vogue at the *École des Chartes*. History was to be mainly occupied with the search for, and investigation of, original authorities, and to be an exact chronicle of the doings of the time. Although Irvine did not neglect such picturesque touches as he might find in his authorities, he did not profess to be an artist, nor would he consider historical narrative a fine art. Still less was he

a philosophical historian : he was doubtful of generalities, and he seldom attempted generalizations. His strength lay in detail, and to be faultlessly accurate was his pride. Two things especially attracted him : he had a Scottish love of genealogies and an equal love of precise dates. The diarists of the Moghul Court were one of his chief quarries, and he drew up comparative tables for his own use, in which every month and every day of the week for several centuries was shown according to the Mahomedan calendar. For his task of historian he was otherwise thoroughly equipped. He had an excellent working knowledge of Persian and Hindi, and also some acquaintance with Arabic. Although not a classical scholar, he had a wide and thorough knowledge of several European languages, especially French, German, and Italian. With a view to translating Manucci, who often employed Portuguese amanuenses, he learnt Portuguese. Both nature and training made Irvine an excellent judge of evidence, and his style was clear, logical, and to the point, an instrument well fitted for his purpose. What he had to say was always worth the hearing. In knowledge of his particular period of history he was unrivalled. Had his history ever been completed it might have compared not unfavourably with the work of two other Scotchmen, Leyden and Erskine.

But Irvine is best known to the world as the editor of Manucci. His historical studies had made his name familiar to other scholars engaged in similar pursuits, but Manucci brought him into contact with a much wider public. As a commentator Irvine excelled ; he searched Europe, Asia, and America to explain an obscure allusion or to settle a date. The work showed such an amount and variety of learning that one critic remarked that it must have been edited by a syndicate of scholars. Irvine's Manucci now takes its place as a classic beside Yule's Marco Polo.

I have spoken only of the historian and the scholar. But Irvine was much more. What he was in himself, how he thought, how he acted, I may perhaps relate elsewhere. Suffice it to say that it will be long before the same period of history will engage the attention of any scholar equally laborious and painstaking, or equally full, judicious, and accurate.

J. KENNEDY.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1912

IX

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF FARS, IN
PERSIA, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWELFTH
CENTURY A.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE MS. OF IRN-AL-BALKHI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
BY G. LE STRANGE

(Continued from the January Journal, p. 30.)

THE DARABJIRD DISTRICT

THIS district¹ takes its name from Dārā [Darius] the Great, son of King Bahman ibn Isfandiyār.

*Dārābjird.*²—This city was founded by Dārā, son of Bahman. It was built circular as though the line of circumference had been drawn with compasses. A strong fortress stood in the centre of the town, surrounded by a ditch kept full of water, and the fortress had four gates. But now the town lies all in ruins, and nought remains except the wall and the ditch. The climate here is that of the hot region, and there are date-palms. The streams of running water are of bad quality. A kind of bitumen

¹ The Dārābjird District is named by Hamd-Allah Mustawfi the Province of *Shabānkārah*, being called thus after the Kurdish tribe whose history has been given in the Introduction (p. 9). At the present day the district no longer bears this name; and *Shabānkārah*, now, is the name of a small sub-district, on the sea-coast, near the mouth of the *Shāpār* River, one of thirteen included in the district of *Dashtistān*. (FNN. 209, 224.)

² Modern Dārāb (FNN. 199, 201.)

[*māmīyā*] is found [near Dārābjird] at a place up in the mountain, which bubbles up and falls drop by drop. Also there is a rock-salt found in these parts which is of seven colours where it comes to the surface of the ground.

Purg and Tārum.¹—Two small towns, of which Purg is the larger, where there is a strong castle. Both towns lie on the frontier of Kirmān, and they are of the hot region, whereby the dates and raisin-syrup [*dūshāb*] consumed in that region for the most part come from here. Indeed, the whole revenue from hence is derived from [the tax on] dates and corn. They also weave excellently here by hand-loom. In both towns there is a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the [celebrated basin called] Pharaoh's Cup² is to be seen near here.

Pasā.³—This is a great city that was founded by King Bahman, father of Dārā [Darius]. It was formerly as large in area as Isfahān, but now is gone to decay, so that the most part lies in ruin. It has many dependencies and districts. Their water is entirely obtained from underground channels, for there are neither springs nor brooks. The climate is temperate and bracing, the place being very pleasant and good to live in. The products of both the hot and the cold regions are to be found here, so that in all the gardens of Pasā you will find nuts and oranges, citrons and grapes, with figs and the like, namely, tropical fruits, together with those of the north, all in abundance. Indeed, there is no place equal to this elsewhere. There is also a strong fortress in Pasā, which the *Shabānkārah* had left in ruin, but which the Atabeg Chāulī has rebuilt. Kurm and Rūniz are of the dependencies of Pasā.

Kurm and Rūniz.⁴—These are two towns lying on the

¹ Now Furg and Tārum (FNN. 217, 218). Spelt with dotted T.

² Presumably a tank for water.

³ Modern Fasā (FNN. 229).

⁴ Probably the village Kurm, which lies 3 leagues to the north of Fasā; but there is also Qasr Kurm, half a league to the south-east of Fasā, which is known likewise as *Kūshk-i-Qādī*, "the Judge's Kioskue,"

road into Pasā [from the north]. The climate is temperate; there are running streams; also in each town a mosque for the Friday prayer, and in both the districts corn and fruits are grown. In the time of one of the Atabegs, when misfortune had overwhelmed Furg, the people of [Kurm and Rūniz] also behaved traitorously, on which [the Atabeg] took both towns by assault and laid them in ruin.

Shaqq Rūdbāl ["the River Gorge"] and *Shaqq Mishānān*.¹—These are two districts of the dependencies of Pasā. They are of the hot region, and corn is grown here, the water being from underground channels. There are many villages and farmsteads, but no town here. Now in these parts are many other districts like the above, but which will not here be more particularly described, lest we run to too great a length, and all are alike one to another.

Hasū, Darākān, Miṣṣ, and Rustāq-ar-Rustāq.²—All these places are of the Dārābjird District and have a hot at the present day. Rūniz, Upper and Lower, is the name of two villages lying 5 and 6 leagues to the north of Fasā (FNN. 237, 238). This Rūniz is not to be confounded with the town of Rūniz mentioned by the older Arab geographers, a name which may be read Rūbanj (by a shifting of the diacritical points), and which lay half-way between Dārābjird and Juwaym, being of the Khasū District (Ist. 107, I.H. 183).

¹ In *Istakhri* (109) *Shaqq-ar-Rūd* and *Shaqq-al-Māsnān*. The latter is now unknown, but the first of these districts is probably at the present day represented by the *Ṣahrā-i-Rūd*, "the plain along the river," through which the River Rūdbār flows (FNN. 238, 326).

² The name of the district of *Hasū* is now written *Khasū*, with *kh*, as is found in *Muqaddasī* (423). *Istakhri* (108) spells it *Hashūwā* (see FNN. 202, where, besides the district, the village of *Khasū* is also mentioned). There is probably some connexion between the name of this district of *Hasū* and *Hasūyah*, the *Shabānkārah* chief, often mentioned in the foregoing articles, and in the Introduction. *Darākān*, which was once the capital of the province, according to the Itinerary given in *Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfī*, lay 4 leagues south of *Ij*. All traces of its ruins apparently have disappeared, but at the place indicated there is now the village of *Darākūh*, lying 10 leagues east of *Fasā* (FNN. 238 and Persian map). *Maṣṣ* or *Miṣṣ* is not to be found on the map, but is mentioned by the Arab geographers (Ist. 107, Muq. 423), who, however, do not give us its position. *Rustāq-ar-Rustāq* exists some 4 leagues north of *Furg* (FNN. 219).

climate. The date-palm grows here, for there are running streams; also other fruit-trees abound. The [pass called] Tang-i-Ranbah¹ lies near here, and in the middle of the pass stands a strongly fortified castle, which was formerly held by Ibrahim ibn Mamā.² It is now garrisoned by the Kirmān troops.

Ij and Fustajān.³—The [first town, otherwise called] Ig, was in former times a mere village, but under the rule of Ḥasūyah it became a city. Its climate is temperate, but the water here is indigestible. Fruit is in plenty, more especially grapes. There is a mosque for the Friday prayers [in Ij]. Wayshkān⁴ is a small town, now in ruins, with a bracing climate, though it lacks for water.

Iṣṭahbān.⁵—A small town full of trees such as bear every kind of fruit. It has running streams, and there is a castle here, that is very strongly fortified, and was formerly in the hands of Ḥasūyah.

Jahram.⁶—A medium-sized town, neither large nor small. There are corn-lands here, and much cotton is grown, which is also exported. *Kirbās* [a kind of muslin] too comes from here, and the [celebrated] Jahramī blankets [*zilā*] are woven in this town. The climate is that of the hot region, and water is from both underground channels and from running brooks. There is a castle here called [*Khurshah*],⁷ very strongly built, and he from whom this castle took its name was a certain Arab, of the time of [the Omayyad viceroy] Ḥajjāj, and this [*Khurshah*] built the fortress. [Faḍlūyah of the] *Shabānkārah*⁸ rebelled in this castle, but Nizām-al-Mulk

¹ See below under Castles.

² See Introduction, p. 11.

³ Ij still exists (FNN. 178), but Fustajān is wanting on the map. According to the Itinerary it lay 7 leagues from Pasā and 10 leagues from Dārābjird.

⁴ Not mentioned by other geographers and wanting on Persian map, and in FNN.

⁵ Now called Iṣṭahbānāt (FNN. 175).

⁶ FNN. 186.

⁷ Name omitted, see below, under Castles.

⁸ See Introduction, p. 10. The name is omitted in the text.

laid siege to the place, taking it by assault. At the time when Persia [was conquered by the first Caliphs]¹ this town of Jahram was accounted especially to belong to the heir-apparent [of the Persian Chosroes], hence he who was declared heir to the throne, was held nominally to be the Governor of Jahram.

Mishkānāt.²—A district near Nayrīz, and the road going through it leads to Nayrīz. It is in every way like to Nayrīz and *Khayrah* [which are of the *Iṣṭakhr Kūrah*], though *Mishkānāt* belongs by all accounts to the *Dārābjird Kūrah*.

Juwaym of Abū Aḥmad.³—This is of the *Irāhistān* District, of which indeed it is the *Jawmah* [or chief town. Further, though this last district is counted as of *Ardashīr Khūrah*, *Juwaym* is of the *Dārābjird Kūrah*. It is of the hot region, and its water comes from underground channels and from wells. Dates and corn are grown here, and *kīrbās* [muslin] is manufactured. There is a castle here, known as *Qal'ah Samirān*,⁴ and the town has a mosque for Friday prayers. The people, like all the rest of the men of *Irāhistān*, are a warlike folk, being for the most part noted as footpads, thieves, and highwaymen.

THE ARDASHIR KHURAH DISTRICT

This district takes its name of *Ardashīr Khūrah*—"the Glory of King *Ardashīr*"—from *Ardashīr* the son of *Bābak* [founder of the Sassanian dynasty]; and he began his reign by building the city of *Firūzābād*, as has been

¹ Blank in MS. Filled in from *Hāfiḡ Abrū*.

² *Mishkān* or *Mishkūn* is a village lying 8 leagues north of *Nīrīz* (FNN. 308). See *Iṣṭakhrī*, 109, note e, for variants. *Muqaddasī* (422) has *Maskānāt*.

³ So called to distinguish it from the other *Juwaym* lying north-west of *Shīrāz*. The name is now pronounced *Jāyum* (FNN. 182, 186).

⁴ See below under Castles.

already mentioned [in the historical portion of our work]. The cities and sub-districts of this Kūrah are as follows.

Shīrāz and its Districts.—In the days of the [older] Persian kings, where *Shīrāz* now stands was but [a townless] district with some forts lying in the open countryside. After the [Arab invasion and] the establishment of Islām, the place remained in the same desolate state till the reign of [the Omayyad Caliph] ‘Abd-al-Malik [65–86 (685–705)], who appointed Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf his viceroy in these lands. Ḥajjāj thereupon sent his own brother, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, to act as his lieutenant in Fārs, of which he became later the permanent governor, and it was this Muḥammad who laid the foundations of *Shīrāz*. The original extent of *Shīrāz* was equal to that of Isfahān, and they even say that *Shīrāz* was a hundred paces the greater [in length]; but now the city all lies in ruins, and except for one or two quarters all the older part has disappeared. But during the times of the Buyid rule [fourth (tenth) century] it had come to be so densely populated that there was no room within the city for the garrison of [Daylamite] soldiers, for which reason ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah established a place for them outside *Shīrāz*, to which he gave the name of Gird Fanā Khusrū.¹ Here he laid out most excellent market streets, of which the rents² for the shops amounted to 16,000 dinārs [yearly, about £8,000], which sum was paid into his treasury. The place, however, has now

¹ Meaning “the Township of Fanā Khusrū”, ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah’s personal name. The site lies at a short distance to the south-east of *Shīrāz*, at a village still known as Shīb-i-Bāzār-i ‘Aḍud-al-Dawlah, “the slope or glen of ‘Aḍud’s Market”; also called Qurā-al-Asāfil, “the Lower Villages” (FNN. 194).

² The word used is *ṭayyārāt*, not found in this sense in the dictionaries. It means literally “flyings”, that is to say “extra revenues”, “surplus income”, and is used in the *Shams-i-Qays*, p. 11, line 10—a work written in 630 (1232)—with much the same signification. See also note by C. Huart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1910, p. 370, on this word.

so gone to ruin that the area of Gird Fanā Khusrū is at present merely a ploughed field, which yields a crop valued at 250 dinārs [yearly]. The actual rent that it pays, however, is never more than one hundred and odd dinārs, and the remainder of the site is of but small value, the rent being less. The climate of Shīrāz is cold but temperate, like that of Isfahān. The water comes in part from the river and in part is from underground channels. The fruit here is most excellent, and of all sorts and kinds. The people of Shīrāz are a turbulent folk and valiant. The [Buyid prince] 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah had built himself a palace [in the city], with many fine gardens; but Abū Ghānim, the son of 'Amīd-ad-Dawlah, when he took up his abode in the castle of Pahan-Diz,¹ laid the palace in ruins, carrying off the woodwork and the iron, which he made use of for the needs of the new castle [of Pahan-Diz]. In early days Shīrāz had no town wall, but at the time when the present [Saljūq] dynasty was coming to power Bākālījār [the Buyid prince] caused stones to be cut, and with them built a strong wall that went all round and about the city. Of this

¹ Pahan-Diz, "the Broad Fort," according to the *Fārs Nāmah Nāsiri*, crowns a pointed hill 300 ells in height, half a league to the east of Shīrāz. The remains of brickwork may still be seen, and there is a well-shaft, nearly 4 ells across, cut in the rock, and going down to water at the hill base. The Sassanian king Shīrūyah is said to have imprisoned seventeen of his brothers here, for this castle existed before the days of Islām; and Yazdajird, the last of the Sassanians, kept some of his regalia here, and this treasure was found later by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah (FNN. 333). It is further stated in FNN, that the castle, which afterwards fell to complete ruin, had been in 327 (939) restored by the Buyid prince 'Imād-ad-Dawlah, that is to say, the uncle of 'Aḍud, but this is probably a mistake, 'Imād being put for 'Amīd above-mentioned. Who this 'Amīd-ad-Dawlah (father of Abū Ghānim) was is not very clear. Abu Ghānim is not to be found in Ibn-al-Athīr, who, however, mentions two people of the name of 'Amīd-ad-Dawlah: one (x, 23), also called 'Amīd-al-Mulk, was the son of Fakhr-ad-Dawlah ibn Juhayr, the Wazīr of the Caliph Mustaghīr in 488 (1095); the other (xi, 260), called Abu Sa'd ibn Muḥammad, was Wazīr to Jalāl-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid, about the year 420 (1029).

wall the remains may still be seen. Then, again, during the latter days of the Buyid dynasty, when there was continual fighting between Qāvurd [brother of Alp Arslān] and Faḍlūyah [the *Shabānkārah* chief], *Shīrāz* was raided again and again, whereby all its lands were given to ruin, and so remained till the coming of the good times when [the Atabeg] Rukn-ad-Dawlah [*Khumārtagin*] was appointed governor, who knew how to restore matters to order, giving peace to the country, so that [houses were rebuilt] and the lands were again brought under cultivation. Later on, however, during a single year, the city was twice stormed during the troubles of successive *Shabānkārah* insurrections, and then again it was ravaged by the Turks and the Turkomans, who carried off all that they could lay hands on, exacting a poll-tax also on every man of the inhabitants, so that they were absolutely brought to beggary. But there is hope now that by the power of the present [*Saljūq*] government—which may Allah perpetuate!—security will be permanently re-established, for *Shīrāz*, indeed, is a city that is without equal when its population live in peace. The Friday mosque in *Shīrāz* is a noble building, and then there is the Hospital [*bimāristān*] of ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, though this is now fallen into disrepair. Again, there is the Library, which is very excellent. That portion of the city which is still inhabited stands under the protection and in the oversight of the family of the Chief Justice of Fārs,¹ for he is of untiring effort to relieve the wants of the poor and needy of the city.

Kavār.²—A small town, most pleasant to live in, having many dependent districts, where there are extensive orchards. Fruit here [is so abundant that it fetches] no price, though all the fruit grown here is of excellent condition. Especially so is the pomegranate, which is the

¹ See Introduction, p. 14.

² FNN. 261.

equal of that which comes from Tihhrān, and there are good quinces, also almonds in abundance. Hence most of the provisions consumed in Shīrāz and its district are brought thither from here. Further, they grow much corn, also both *kirbās* [muslin] and reed matting are made here. The climate is cold but temperate. They get their water from the River Thakān, and near by are excellent hunting-grounds. There is a mosque for the Friday prayers in this town; but the people are a rough folk and very thick-witted.

Khābr.¹—This is a small town, somewhat larger than Kavār. Its climate is temperate and bracing; indeed, in all those parts nowhere is the air pleasanter. The water is very digestive, and as in the case at Pasā every fruit of both the hot and the cold region grows here. Thus the orange and the perfumed melon [called *shamāmah*], the lemon, and diverse aromatics are all found abundantly, also corn-lands. There was here a very strongly fortified castle, but the Atabeg [Chāulī] has laid it in ruins. Within the town there is a mosque for the Friday prayer. The people here are cleverer than those of Kavār. There are hunting-grounds near by, both in the hills and in the plain.

Khunayfqān.²—A large village lying at the head of the road going down into Fīrūzābād. The Persians pronounce the name *Khunāfgān*, and the road from here to Fīrūzābād is an extremely bad one, across passes and by steep mountains where [the hand must ever] be on the bridle. The road was also a fearful one by reason of being beset by footpads. The climate of *Khunayfqān* is cold but temperate. The River Burāzah, which is the stream that flows past Fīrūzābād, rises near by. The people of *Khunayfqān* have the evil character of all mountaineers, but at the present time under the sovereign

¹ Now called Khafr (FNN. 196).

² Now spelt Hunīfqān, with the lesser h (FNN. 198).

[government of the Saljūqs] the roads, here as everywhere else, are now safe, and no one dare make any disorder.

Būshkānāt.¹—A district that lies entirely in the hot region, where there are plantations of date-palms. Its lands are the camping-grounds of the Mas'ūdi tribe of the *Shabānkārah*.² There is no city here, but *Būshkān* and *Shanānān* [or *Sanānā*] are both of the *Būshkānāt* District.

Māhū [or *Mūhād*], *Hamjān*, and *Kabrīn*.³—These are all districts of the hot region, lying adjacent to the sea, on the coast of Irāhistān. The climate here is hot and the water unwholesome; but there are many palm-groves, though nowhere here is there a town of sufficient size to possess a mosque for the Friday prayer.

Kārzīn, *Qīr*, and *Abzar*.⁴—*Kārzīn* is a fine town of no great size, but now in ruins by reason of the disorders [of the last Buyid days]. *Qīr* and *Abzar* are two small towns belonging to *Kārzīn*. They are all of the hot region, and they take their water from the *Thakān* River; also there are many groves of the date-palm. In *Kārzīn* there is a strong castle, and to supply it with water they have

¹ The text of *Iṣṭakhri* (p. 105) in error gives this name as *Tāshkānāt*. The town of *Būshgān* is the present capital of the *Bulūk* District, in old times doubtless called the *Būshkānāt*; and *Shanānā* of our text is the modern *Sanā* in the *Dashti* District, lying 4 leagues to the north-west of *Shambah* (FNN. 212-13). See also below in the Itinerary.

² See Introduction, p. 12.

³ It is a question whether, from the Persian text, three places or two are here mentioned. The names are not now to be found on the map, but the last name in the list may be identified with the modern *Gabri*, lying 17 leagues to the north-west of *Gillāh Dār* (FNN. 260). *Iṣṭakhri* (p. 105, where many variants are noted) gives them as three separate places, none of which were large enough to possess a mosque for the Friday prayers. *Māhū* he gives under the form of *Hamand* or *Hamīd*. *Hamjān* appears as *Hajmān* or *Hambān*. *Kabrīn* or *Kīrīn* may be *Kīzrīn* or *Kīrzīn*, the equivalent of *Khārzīn*, which lay one march distant from the well-known city of *Kārzīn* (and was not to be confounded therewith). Cf. I.H. 204, Muq. 456.

⁴ All three famous in the times of the Arab geographers. *Kārzīn* is now merely a village, *Qīr* is a township, and *Abzar* town was probably at *Nim Dīh*, the capital of the *Afzar* District, half a league east of *Āb Garm* (FNN. 179, 245, 246).

constructed a syphon tube [*āb-duzdī*] which goes down from the castle to the bed of the *Thakān* River. The [townships of] *Harm* and *Kāriyān*¹ are of the dependencies of *Kārzīn*.

Tawwaj.²—This of old was a township of considerable size, and it was settled by a population of Arabs, for it lay in the hottest and most desert part of the hot region. But at the present day it lies in ruins, and of these Arab folk who peopled it in former times hardly any remain. [After the disappearance of these early inhabitants], however, 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, had brought hither a tribe of Syrian Arabs, settling them here, and at the present time such Arabs as are still found here are the descendants of this tribe. There are no running streams [in *Tawwaj*], but there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Māndistān.³—This is a desert region measuring 30 leagues in length by the like across, where there are many villages and districts like those found throughout *Irāhistān*. This district lies along the sea-coast, and its crops are so fertile that one mann-weight of seed-corn produces a thousand-fold harvest. There is, however, no ground-water for irrigation, and they depend on the rains alone for their supply. The people have their drinking-water from the tanks which they have made. All along this coast-region the rains should come in the beginning of winter, in the months of *Azar-Māh* and *Dī-Māh* [corresponding with November and December], and then they get for that year

¹ The towns of *Harm* and *Kāriyān* lie 7 and 6½ leagues respectively to the north-west of *Bid Shahr* (FNN. 182). *Haram* or *Harm* is probably identical with the stage which *Muqaddasī* calls *Hurmuz*, lying one march from *Kārzīn*. *Istakhri*, who also mentions this *Hurmuz*, says it had no Friday mosque, being but a small place (Ist. 105, Muq. 456).

² *Tawwaj*, often mentioned by the Arab geographers, has left its name to the modern district of the coast-lands near the mouth of the *Shāpūr* River. The site of the town is probably to be identified with the present *Dih Kuhnāh* (Old Village), the chief town of the (modern) *Shābānkārah* sub-district of the *Dashtistān* District (FNN. 185, 209).

³ FNN. 213.

a magnificent crop, gaining much wealth. If, however, in those two aforesaid months no rain falls—even though it may come later, and in abundance during a subsequent month—then they get no good crops and the harvest is wanting.

*Sirāf*¹ and its Neighbourhood.—Sirāf in old times was a great city, very populous and full of merchandise, being the port of call for caravans² and ships. Thus in the days of the [Abbasid] Caliphs it was a great emporium, for here might be found stores of 'attar [of roses] and aromatics such as camphor, aloes, sandal-wood, and the like. [For its merchants] immense sums of money were to be gained here, and so matters continued till the last days of the Buyid supremacy. Then, however, the ancestors of the present Amir Kaysh attained to power, and they got into their possession the Island of Qays³ with the other neighbouring islands, whereby the revenue that had formerly been taken by Sirāf was cut off and fell into the hands of the Amir Kaysh. Further, the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumārtagin [when he had first been appointed governor of Fārs] lacked power and statesmanship to provide a remedy for this state of affairs. None the less he did truly on one or two occasions proceed to Sirāf with a view of building ships of war that should invade the Island of Qays and the other isles, but each time that he did so the Amir Kaysh sent presents to him and gave bribes to those persons who were about him, so that they dissuaded him from accomplishing his project. Next it came to pass that a certain one of the Khāns [of Qays Island] named Abū-l-Qasim succeeded finally in getting possession of Sirāf also, and

¹ The ruins of Sirāf exist at Bandar Tāhiri (FNN. 224).

² The phrase is *mashra' būrihā wa kashṭihā*, and for *būri*, a word not found in the dictionaries, Hāfiẓ Abrū has, in the corresponding passage, *kārcānhā*. The ordinary use of *būriyā* or *būriyah* is for "matting".

³ It is to be noted that here and elsewhere it would seem that Kaysh was the family name of the Amir of Qays Island.

then every year or two [*Khumārtagin*] would dispatch an army thither with great effort [to make him evacuate *Sirāf*], but he could accomplish nothing against him. Thus, therefore, as matters now stood, no merchant would bring his ship into the port of *Sirāf* to refit, nor for shelter would any anchor there on the voyage to *Kirmān* from *Mahrubān* or *Dawraq* or *Başrah*, wherefore no goods but leatherware and pots,¹ and things that the people of *Fārs* alone had need of, now passed by the road of *Sirāf*, and thus the town fell to complete ruin. There is still here, however, a mosque for the Friday prayer, and there are many dependencies and outlying lands. The climate is excessively hot, and there is no water, except for one or two springs, wherefore they have always to depend on collecting the rainwater [in tanks] for drinking purposes.

Ramm [or *Zamm*] *Zavān*, *Dādhīn*, and *Davvān*.²—These are three districts of *Ardashīr Khūrah*, all lying in the hot region, but with some parts within the hill country, where the climate is temperate, corn being

¹ The text has *jurm wa zarāfah*, and *Hāfiẓ Abrū*, in the corresponding passage, has *jurm-i-zarāfah*, "the crimes of giraffes." For this it is proposed to read *charm*, "leather," and *zarāfah* as plural of *zarf*, "a pot or vessel." But the reading must be faulty, and the translation is very uncertain.

² For *Ramm* or *Zamm* see Introduction (p. 13). *Dādhīn* and *Davvān* are mentioned by *Iṣṭakhri*, p. 112. *Davvān* is still the name of a village lying 2½ leagues to the north of *Kāzīrūn*, but neither *Dādhīn* nor *Ramm Zavān* occurs on the map; and as regards the latter place there is some confusion in the spelling of the name. Its position is given in the Itinerary as lying half-way between *Ghundijān* and *Tawwaj*, being 6 leagues distant from either place (and for the position of these two towns see below in the Itinerary). The name there is spelt *Rawā-adh-Dhiwān*, which is varied to *Ramm-adh-Dhiwān* in the list of the Kurdish *Ramms* (see Introduction, p. 13). Both these spellings, however, appear to be the Arabic form of the Persian *Ramm Zavān* (or *Ravān* possibly) given as a district and again below among the Castles. In the Arabic authorities there is much variety in the spelling by a shifting of the diacritical points. *Iṣṭakhri* (98, 114, 145) mentions it as the Kurdish *Ramm* of which *Al-Husayn ibn Ṣāliḥ* was chief, and spells the name variously *Rawā-adh-Dhiwān* and *Ramm-ad-Diwān*. Again, *Yāqūt* (ii, 821) gives it under the heading *Ramm-az-Zizān*.

grown here. These districts come between Kāzirūn and Nawbanjān.

Firūzābād.¹—This city was called Jūr in ancient days, and the celebrated Jūri roses came from here. In the times of the Kayāni kings of old this was a mighty city with strong fortifications. Then when [Alexander the Great] he of the Two Horns invaded Fārs, at first, however much he tried, he could not succeed in taking this city. But there is near here a stream called the Burāzah River, which flows at a high level, going by the mountain-slopes. This river Alexander turned from its course, throwing it against the city [walls], and he set his army round and about until at length they obtained possession. Now the city of Firūzābād stands in the midst of many gorges, and all around and about its circuit there are mountains, for the which cause all the roads that lead thither have to traverse the summits of divers passes. The [diverted] river therefore soon afterwards laid the city completely under water, for the gorges filled and became as a lake, seeing that the water could find no outlet. In this condition Firūzābād remained for many long years, the waters continually rising, until Ardashīr the [founder of the Sassanian dynasty] came to the throne and began the conquest of the [eastern] world. And when he reached Firūzābād, he assembled together many engineers and sage persons in order to contrive a means of clearing away those waters. Now there was a great master among his engineers, whose name was Burāzah.² With skill he contrived to bore [the beginning of] a tunnel to carry off the waters; but first he set in the mountain side iron posts, each one like a column for size, attaching thereto huge and strong chains, and these posts were very firmly planted. Then he continued his tunnel through the flank of the mountain,

¹ The ruins are now known as Kūshk, "the Kiosk"; the older name Jūr still lingering (FNN. 241).

² The name is clearly written in the MS. with all the vowels marked.

he himself labouring with the workmen, until but a little part remained before the boring would get through. King Ardashīr now was brought to be present, and Burāzah the master engineer spoke, saying: "When I shall have pierced this tunnel through, the water will rush out with force, which would carry me away and also [carry away to destruction] those who are working at the boring with me. Therefore [for our safety] I have caused this great leathern sack to be made." In this Burāzah and his many workmen now took their place, and it was firmly fastened to the great chains [above described], a great number of men being appointed to haul back with all their might on the chains as soon as the tunnel should come to be bored through. These therefore, in companies, sat down to the task. Then the portion that remained unbored of the tunnel was finally carried through. And the water now began to get power, drawing after it the sack in which the engineer Burāzah and his company of workmen were sitting, and however much from above the people strained all their strength, it was of no avail, for the stream at last became so strong that it burst the chains asunder, [whereby Burāzah and all his men perished]; and the remains of those chains are still to be seen on the mountain side. When therefore after this fashion the waters had been drawn off [King Ardashīr] laid the foundations of Fīrūzābād as the city now exists; and its ground-plan is circular, even as though drawn with compasses. In the middle of the city, even as it were the centre point of the circle, they laid out and built a platform to which the name of Irān Girdah [or Ayyān Girdah, "the circular hall"] was given, and this the Arabs call *Tīrbāl* ["the Tower"]. On the summit of the platform pavilions¹ were built, and in their midst a mighty dome, which was called Gunbad [Kirmān or Gīrmān]. The four

¹ The word used is *sayahā*, "shades, shadows," i.e. "shady places", in this sense not found in the dictionaries.

walls below this dome, up to the spring of the cupola, measured in height 75 ells, and these walls were built of blocks of stone. The cupola rising above this was built of kiln-burnt bricks. Water was brought hither from the top of a mountain, 1 league distant, and carried to the height [in tubes to make] a fountain. They dug also two tanks, one called *Bām Pīr*, "the Old Owl," the other *Bām Javān*, "the Young Owl," and over each of these tanks they built a fire-temple. The city [of *Firūzābād*] is most pleasant to live in and a place to see; also hunting-grounds abound near by; the climate is temperate, bracing, and very agreeable. Luscious fruit in plenty and of all kinds is found here; also digestible water is abundant, for there are many running streams. They have built here too a mosque for the Friday prayers, also a fine hospital; and *Šāhib 'Ādil*¹ [the *Wazīr* of the last *Buyid* prince] founded a very good Library here, the equal of which will be met with in no other place. The castle of *Sahārah* stands in the neighbourhood of *Firūzābād*. The people of this city are a clever folk, accustomed to business and given to good works.

Šimkān and Hīrak.²—*Šimkān* is a small town but most pleasant, and the wonder of the world, for this reason, that through its midst runs a river, spanned by a bridge, and in the one half of the city which stands on the hillside along this bank of the stream the climate is of the cold region. In this quarter there are only vineyards, producing such abundance of grapes that these fetch no price, so they [dry and] press them for the most part, making a condiment³ thereof, while some being kept are left

¹ See Introduction, p. 8.

² *Šimkān* is now the name of the district of which the chief city, doubtless older *Šimkān*, is called *Dizah*. *Hīrak*, or *Habrak* (for the reading is uncertain), is no longer to be found on the map. According to the Itinerary it stood half-way between *Šimkān* (*Dizah*) and *Kārzīn* (FNN. 225).

³ The terms used are *'asīr*, "squeezed" or "expressed", and *'allāqah*, "hung up," that is, "cured," "preserve."

till a syrup is formed, which after boiling down, coagulates into a block that becomes hard as stone. These blocks [of grape-raisins] are made very large, and before one can eat of them they have to be soaked in two or three times their weight of water. Further, they are sold at a very cheap rate. And as to the quarter of the city which lies on the other side of the river, this is entirely of the hot region, where the date-palm grows, also oranges, lemons, and the like. Hirak is a large village, where there is a much venerated shrine [*ribāʿ*]. In Šimkān there is a mosque for the Friday prayer; the people here are [warlike, always] carrying arms.

Maymand.¹—A small town of the hot region, where fruits of all kinds grow, especially most excellent grapes. There are running streams, and the climate is more temperate than in the other towns of the hot region. There is here a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Ḥatīzīr.²—A district that lies entirely in the hot region, where the date-palm grows. There is no city here, and this district lies adjacent to Irāhistān. Its people always go armed.

Sarvistān and Kūbanjān.³—These are two towns that lie between Šīrāz and Pasā. Their climate is like that of Šīrāz. There are running streams and some few gardens, producing grapes and other fruits of the cold region. The hunting-grounds here are famous, especially the mountain

¹ There is a Maymand to the east of Firūzābād (see FNN. 305). But possibly the chief town of the Nāband District is intended, lying on the coast to the east of Strāf, as mentioned by Ištakhri (p. 104). This is no longer to be found on the map.

² The MS. is clear, but there is doubt as to the reading. Ištakhri (pp. 105 and 136) apparently mentions the same place under the spelling Jibrin. It is wanting on the map.

³ Sarvistān exists and Kūbanjān is presumably equivalent to the modern Kūhinjān (FNN. 221, 223). Yāqūt (iv, 316) gives Kūbanjān as "a village of the Šīrāz (District)". Probably it is identical with al-ʿUṣbanjān, which Ištakhri (p. 136) mentions, coupling it with Sarvistān.

region of Kūbanjān. Near here is the Salt Lake [Namakistān],¹ where no fish or creature can exist for its saltness. Each town has a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the people here carry arms, being overbearing in their ways.

The Sif [or Coast] Districts.—These districts lie along the seashore. They are all of the hot region, and for the most part the inhabitants are Arabs. The climate here is extremely unhealthy. The best-known of these coast districts are the two called respectively the Sif of the People of Abū Zuhayr and the 'Umarāh Sif.² In neither district is there any town with a Friday mosque, and nothing is grown here but dates.

*Lāghir and Kaharjān.*³—These are districts lying near Kārzin. They are of the hot region, and the climate is unhealthy. Dates are grown here. The people are all highwaymen, and in neither district is there any town with a mosque for the Friday prayer.

*Kurān and Irāhistān.*⁴—Both the Irāhistān District and Kurān lie in the desert country, and Kurān is counted as of Sirāf. Its climate is so extremely torrid that only men who are native-born can stay here by reason of this excessive heat during the summer. There are no running streams nor underground channels. Their corn-lands lack irrigation entirely, and no fruit is grown here excepting only dates. Further, in their plantations the date-palms

¹ Not marked on the map.

² From the accounts of the Arab geographers the Abū Zuhayr Coast lay near Sirāf, while the 'Umarāh Coast was opposite the Island of Qays. Neither name now is found on the map.

³ The town of Lāghir exists near the bend of the Thakān River, 6 leagues north-west of Khunj (FNN. 198). Kaharjān is no longer to be found, but Iṣṭakhri mentions it as upon the Thakān River (which he calls the Shādkān), Kaharjān coming below Nāband and above Dasht Dastaqān on the sea-coast (Ist. 106, IH. 191).

⁴ Neither Kurān nor the Irāhistān District is to be found on the present map. Kurān, however, is given in the Itineraries as situated 8 leagues from Lāghir and four days march from Sirāf.

do not stand on the level ground, for by reason of the lack of water, and that these may not perish from the drought, they dig in the soil a great trench, as deep down as the date-palm is high, and the palm-trees are planted in the bottom of this trench, so that only their very tops appear above the ground-level. Then during the winter these trenches are filled by the rains with water, [which sinks in], and so all the year round the palms get moisture. The dates are of rare excellence. Hence it is a saying "Where is it that the date-palms grow in a pit?" and the answer is "In Irāhistān". In this country near every village there stands out in the desert a fort, for all the people here are footpads, and everyone carries arms seeing that each man seeks to rob his neighbour and to shed his blood. When a man here is about to go out as highwayman he will take threshed corn, with some dry bread crumbled, in a wallet, and in a night and a day will cover 20 leagues of the road, and so accomplish his villainy. Further, the people here are always in revolt against the Government, since no army can stay in these parts for more than the three months of the springtime, for they cannot hold out the winter here by reason of the rains, with the consequent lack of fodder [for their beasts], nor during the summer by reason of the heat. Nevertheless, in the days of the Buyid supremacy they were brought under subjection, and for a time forced to obey authority; and during the reign of 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah 10,000 of their men served in his army as soldiers. Their chief at this time was one of the name of Hābī.¹ Then after the days of 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah they again revolted, and none of them could be got to pay any tribute until recently, indeed, when the Atabeg Chāulī by force of arms has become master in their territories.

¹ The Paris MS. gives the name as Jābī; the corresponding passage in Hāfiẓ Abū ḥas Jānī; he is apparently not mentioned by Ibn-al-Athīr.

Najīram and Hūrashī.¹—Najīram is a small town and Hūrashī a village, both being of the dependencies of Sirāf, and lying in the very hot region.

Huzū and Sāviyah.²—These, with some other districts, are of the coast-lands that belong to the Island of Qays, being under the rule of the Amīr Kaysh. They all lie adjacent to the hot region of the Kirmān province.

The islands that belong to this district of Ardashīr Khūrah are these: the Island of Lār, the Island of Afzūnah, and the Island of Qays; and the Island of Qays is the chief among them all. The description of these and of the other islands [of the Persian Gulf] will be given in the chapter which the author has written describing the seas, and which will be found on a later page, wherefore there is no need to detail them here. [It is, however, wanting.]

THE SHAPUR KHURAH DISTRICT

This district took its name from Shāpūr, son of King Ardashīr founder [of the Sassanian dynasty]; and the central city of the district is Bishāvbūr; this with the other towns and sub-districts being as follows.

Bishāvbūr.³—The Arabs wrote the name Bishābūr, it having originally been Bī-Shābūr, and then to lighten the pronunciation the *Bī* was dropped, so that finally it

¹ Spelt Hūshī for the second time, and Khūrashī in the Paris MS. It is not mentioned by the Arab geographers. Najīram, according to Istakhri (p. 34), lay to the north of Sirāf. Neither names now occur on the map, but Najīram is probably identical with the present harbour of Bandar Dayyur in the Dashti District (FNN. 217).

² Huzū is probably the modern Chirū, in the Shib Kūh sub-district of Lāristān, lying 10 leagues west of Chāruk. In Istakhri (p. 163) the name occurs variously as Sīrū, Sūrū, or Shāhrū. Sāviyah may be a clerical error, for which we should read Tāvūnah, the name of a village lying 1 league to the westward of Chāruk (FNN. 289).

³ Modern Shāpūr (FNN. 247). Written variously in the MS. Bishāvbūr and in the Paris copy Bī-Shāpūr, and in error Nishāpūr with other variants. The name originally was Bih-Shāpūr, "the Good Thing of King Sapor."

has come now to be called Shāpūr. In the most ancient days a city was founded here by King Tahmūrath, at a time when there was no other city in all Fārs excepting only Istakhr, and the name [of Shāpūr town] was then called Dīn Dilā. When Alexander the Great appeared in Fārs, he laid this town in ruins, so that nought remained standing thereof. Then when the kingdom had come to the hands of Shāpūr he for the second time founded it, and brought all its buildings to completion, giving to the new city his own name. Indeed, to every city that King Shāpūr founded, he gave the same his own name, that his memory might thus be kept in mind; and this was the city of Bishāpūr. The climate here is that of the hot region; and by reason that on the north side it is shut in [by hills] the town is unhealthy and damp. The water supply is from a great stream that is called the Bishāpūr River. It is a very large river, but seeing that there are here many rice-fields, its water is noxious and unwholesome. There are, however, in this district so many orchards of fruit-bearing trees of all kinds, such as date-palms, orange, shaddock, and lemon-trees, that fruit here fetches no price; and those who pass by the road even fail to pluck it. There are also aromatic flowers in great abundance, such as water-lilies, the narcissus, violets, and jasmine; further, they produce much silk here, for mulberry-trees grow luxuriantly. Then honey and wax are cheap, both in this city and in Kāzīrūn. Of late years Bi-Shāpūr has fallen much to ruin through the tyranny of Abu Sa'd.¹ Now, however, since the establishment of the present Saljūq government its buildings are all being restored. It has a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the people are intelligent.

Jirrah.²—Called in Persian Girrah. It is a small town,

¹ Of the Shabānkārah; see Introduction, p. 12.

² The district of Jirrah exists, and the town of that name is probably to be identified with the modern Ishfāyiqān (FNN. 185). For the Māzaram District see below in the Itineraries.

having a warm climate. Its water is from a stream that is known as the Girrah River, and this takes its rise in the Māsaram District. This town produces nothing but rice—which pays the land-tax¹—dates, and corn. The people for the most part go armed. There is a mosque here for the Friday prayers. The district called Mūr-i-Jirrah² is of this neighbourhood.

*Ghundiān.*³—This is known as *Dasht Bārī* in Persian. It is a small town of the hot region, and its water is from a single brackish well, there being no other source in the place. No corn is grown here. There is a mosque in the town for the Friday prayer, and many pious men were natives of this place. There are now many shoemakers and weavers living here.

*Khisht and Kumārij.*⁴—Two small towns lying in the hill country of the very hot region. Innumerable date-palms grow here, but no other fruit-trees. There are some running streams, but the water of these is warm and not wholesome to drink. The corn crops here sometimes fail entirely, but at other times are abundant.⁵ The people of the place carry arms, and for the most part they are robbers.

*Anburān and Bāshṭ Qūṭā.*⁶—These places lie contiguous to Nawbanjān. Anburān is a small town, of which

¹ The MS. is without diacritical points, and in *ruzz-i-kharājī* the first word may, instead of *ruzz*, "rice," be read as *zar*, "gold" (i.e. money), or *raz*, "grapes." The translation is uncertain.

² Mūr of Jirrah no longer exists, but 4½ leagues to the north of Kāzirdn there is the village of Mūrdak, which may have a connexion with the name (FNN. 255).

³ No town of Ghundiān now exists, but from its position as given in the Itinerary modern Jamilah probably occupies its site (FNN. 195).

⁴ FNN. 195.

⁵ *Baḥs*, "lacking," and *bāryāb*, with the sense, not given in the dictionaries, of "abundant." These words occur again below.

⁶ Bāshṭ is now the chief town of the Bārī sub-district in Kūh Gilāyah (FNN. 271). This probably marks the site of Anburān, mentioned also by Istakhrī (p. 110), but the names Anburān and Qūṭā are now unknown, and the Arab geographers make no mention of Bāshṭ Qūṭā.

a number of pious folk are natives. The climate is temperate, and there are many running streams. *Bāsh*t *Qūṭā* is a district lying in the cold region of the mountain lands.

Junbad Mallaghān.¹—This is a small town which stands in its own district. The climate is hot, and there are many running streams. Fruit is grown, also aromatic plants. There is a castle here, among other neighbouring castles that are well fortified and celebrated. The air in this castle is so cool that [stores of] wheat can be kept here without damage, and they have made good cisterns for water. There is a mosque for the Friday prayer in the town.

Tīr Murdān and Jāyikān.²—These are two districts wherein are many large villages but no town. Of villages there are *Kharrārah*, *Dūdman*, and *Dih Gawz* [Nut Village]. All these districts lie among broken rocky ground, with stony ascents and descents like those in the *Kharrāqān* [District in Persian *ʿIrāq*], though here the country is rougher and the roads steeper. The climate is of the cold region and good. On all sides there are orchards, with fruit of every kind; more especially groves of nut-trees, and in such numbers as to be beyond count, nuts being carried into *Shīrāz* and the surrounding districts from here. Honey, too, is abundant. Now all the hills here, with their ascents and descents, are everywhere sown for corn crops. Some, where the hillside is steep, lack for water, but the valleys are well irrigated, for there are numerous running brooks. The village of *Kharrārah* [which means

¹ The modern *Dū Gunbadān* (Two Domes), lying 8 leagues west of modern *Bāsh*t.

² *Tīr Murdān* exists, and *Jāyikān*, which *Iṣṭakhri* writes *Jāyikhān* (p. 110), is modern *Chawgān*, lying 4 leagues east of *Fahliyān* (FNN. 303, 304). *Kharrārah* (position given in the *Itineraries*), *Dūdman*, and *Dih Gawz* (Nut Village) are not to be found on the modern maps, for this *Dūdman* cannot be the present village of that name lying 1 league south-east of *Shīrāz*.

"humming"] is so named because near by this village a stream falls into a deep gorge, where it makes a great noise [as of humming], which in the Arabic tongue is called *Kharīr-al-Mā* ["the Humming of the Water"]. Abū Naṣr, the father of Bā Jūl,¹ and who left so many descendants, came originally from Tir Murdān. All the people of this district go armed, and for the most part they are bandits and highwaymen by night. Further, there are excellent hunting-grounds here.

*Ṣarām and Bāzrang.*²—These are two districts lying between Zīr [or Ziz] and Sumayram. The climate is that of the cold region, for the districts stand high in the hill country, with torrents of water and many running streams. From year's end to year's end snow is never long absent from the mountains here, and there are many good hunting-grounds. The source of the *Shīrīn* River is in the Bāzrang District. The chief town of this region is Ṣarām. Most of the men here are muleteers.

*Sīmtakht.*³—This is a district of the very cold region lying near Ṣarām and Bāzrang. There are many running streams here.

*Khullār.*⁴—A large village where they quarry the millstones which are used throughout the greater part of the province of Fārs, for the stone here is of excellent quality. The curious part is that in all Fārs they grind

¹ The reading of the name is uncertain, and this Abū Naṣr is not mentioned in Ibn-al-Athīr.

² The modern district is called Churām, of which the chief town is called Tall-Gird, "Round Hill," lying 10 leagues north-east of Bīhbihān. The name of Bāzrang, frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, has disappeared from the map, as also is wanting the town of Zīr, which Muqaddasī (p. 389) writes *Ziz*. Sumayram, now called Samīram, lies 4 leagues to the south-west of Isfadrān (FNN. 220, 273).

³ Spelling most uncertain, and apparently no longer to be found on the map. Variants may be read *Sīmbakht*, *Salīmsat*, *Salīmnaḥast*, etc.; and it is probably the place given in *Iṣṭakhri* (p. 113) as *As-Saljān* (with many variants).

⁴ *Khullār* lies 9 leagues north-west of *Shīrāz* and 5 leagues beyond *Guyām* (*Juwaym*) (FNN. 191).

their corn with millstones from this village, but when the people thereof have to grind their own corn they go to some other village to do so, for in their own place there is no stream [to turn a mill], and the springs even are very scanty in their water supply, on which the people have to depend for drinking. Except for these millstones the place produces nothing; there is neither corn nor fruit grown here, and they look to the quarrying of these stones for their means of living, whereby too they are enabled to pay taxes to the Treasury to the amount of 700 dinārs yearly.

*Khumāyijān and Dih 'Alī.*¹—These are two districts, and [Dih 'Alī] the chief town has a mosque for the Friday prayers. The climate is cold, and there are many walnut and pomegranate trees here, also much honey and wax comes from these districts, which lie in the neighbourhood of Tir Murdān and near by Baydā. The people generally go armed; they are for the most part muleteers. In the neighbourhood are excellent hunting-grounds.

Kāzīrūn and its District.—The original seat of Kāzīrūn was at [the three villages called] Nawdar, Darist, and Rāhbān, and the city was first founded by Tahmūrath, King Shāpūr, in later times, built greatly here, making of Kāzīrūn an outlying part of Bishābūr. The climate is hot, like that indeed of Bishābūr, and all the water they drink has to be taken from wells, for there are no running streams, only the three underground water-channels of the villages above-mentioned. Their corn-lands entirely lack irrigation and depend on the rains. The city of Kāzīrūn lies in ruins, but the farms round about are populous, and their homesteads are not [mere cabins] like those of other hamlets in these parts, but are strongly

¹ Dih 'Alī, now more generally called Dāli, lies 4½ leagues south-east of Ardakān. The name of Khumāyijān, mentioned by Istakhri (p. 111) as a district, but with no town large enough to possess a mosque for the Friday prayers, has disappeared from the map.

built houses, well fortified, as a defence against the Shabānkārah [Kurds], who are numerous throughout this district. Each farmstead here stands separate one from another, and they are not built together [in groups of villages]. The cloths called *Tāzi* [originally coming from Tawwaj] which they make here are woven from the fibre of the flax-plant. Of this, first they tie up the fibrous stalks in bundles and throw these into a tank full of water, leaving the fibre loose until it has rotted. It is next gathered up, the fibre being separated out, and the flax is then spun into linen thread. Next, this linen thread is washed in the water of the Rāhbān water-channel; and though the water here is but scanty, it has the property of making white the linen thread that is washed in it, and if it be washed in any other water it never becomes white. Now, this Rāhbān water-channel is the property of the royal Treasury, and the custom is now established that the profit thereof belongs to the house of the Amīr, the Treasury having granted the usage thereof to the weavers who weave the cloths under the orders of the Treasury. There is an inspector who oversees on behalf of the Treasury, and there are the brokers who set a just price on the cloths, sealing the bales with a stamp before they are delivered over to the foreign merchants. In times past it was all after this wise. The brokers would make up the bales of the Kāzirūnī cloth, the foreign merchants would come and buy the bales as they stood thus made up, for they placed reliance on the brokers, and in any city to which they were carried the certificate of the Kāzirūnī broker was merely asked for and the bale would then be sold at a profit without being opened [for examination]. Thus it often happened that a load of Kāzirūnī bales would pass from hand to hand ten times over, unopened. But now, in these latter days, fraud has become rife, and the people becoming dishonest all confidence is gone, for the goods

with the Treasury stamp are often found deficient, whereby foreign traders have come to avoid the merchandise of Kāzīrūn. This fraud was especially common during the reign of the Amīr Abū Sa'd,¹ whose bad government and tyranny were manifest to all. If, however, this evil state of things could be changed, much wealth would still accrue from this manufacture. Further, in addition to the revenues to be derived from the Kāzīrūn cloths, which belong to the house of the Amīr, there are the land-tax and the customs, both of which would increase greatly under a just and stable government. In various of the townships of Kāzīrūn there are mosques for the Friday prayers. The people, however, are covetous and needy; further, they are a slanderous folk. In all these parts there are places where [a criminal] may take refuge, as it were in a *Harīm* [or Sanctuary], and of such is [the shrine] of *Shaykh* Abū Ishāq *Shīrāzī*, whom Allah sanctify! Among the populous districts of Kāzīrūn are Mūr and *Shitashgān*.²

Nawbanjān ³ and *Shā'b Bavvān*.—*Nawbanjān* in former times was a very great and beautiful city, but during the misrule of Abū Sa'd of Kāzīrūn it was more than once taken by storm, being sacked and burnt, so that even the great mosque was then destroyed by fire. In this state of ruin it remained for many years, being but a lair for lions and wolves, a place of ravenous beasts and their prey; its population was scattered abroad, and its people perished in foreign lands. When, however, the Atabeg Chāulī arrived in Fārs, and the province was rid of Abū Sa'd, he began to rebuild the city, and it may now be hoped that under the stable government [of the Saljūqs] its prosperity will be restored.

¹ Of the *Shabānkārah*; see Introduction, p. 12.

² Probably Mūr of Jirrah, see above under Jirrah. *Shitashgān* is unknown.

³ Now known as *Nawbandagān* (FNN. 303).

The climate here is that of the hot region but temperate. It has many running streams. Fruits of all kinds grow here, also aromatic plants in abundance.

The Vale of Sha'b Bavvān¹ lies in the neighbourhood of Nawbanjān; and it may be thus described. It is a great valley enclosed between two ranges of mountains, $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues in length by $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues across. Its climate is that of the cold region, none better anywhere. Villages one after another extend along the valley, and a great river flows down the middle part thereof, so that no place is cooler or more healthy to live in. Further, there are many excellent springs everywhere about, and from the head of the valley to its foot, all down its length and across it, there are fruit-trees growing everywhere, so that from their shade the sunlight never falls upon the ground. The fruit here is of all kinds, and very excellent in quality. Should a man walk from one end of the valley to the other, the sunshine will nowhere fall on him; and from one end of the year to the other the snow remains on the summits of the mountains that lie on either hand. It has been said by wise men that there are four Earthly Paradises, to wit, the Ghawṭah [Garden-lands] of Damascus, Sughd [Sogdiana] of Khurāsān, [this Valley of] Sh'ab Bavvān, and lastly the Meadow of Shidān²; by which they mean that these four places just mentioned are the loveliest and pleasantest places of the whole earth. There are here in the neighbourhood, besides this valley of Sha'b Bavvān, many other districts, both in the hill country and in the plains, which are well populated, fertile, and rich, with running streams. The White Castle—Qal'ah Sapid—stands at the distance of 1 league from Nawbanjān, and the description of the same will be given later in the section relating to the Castles. All the district

¹ See FNN. 303.

² Otherwise called the Meadow-land of Shidān and mentioned below, but its situation, unfortunately, is nowhere given.

round *Sha'b Bavvān* is of the hill country, and round *Nawbanjān* there are limitless hunting-grounds. The people of *Nawbanjān* are a discreet folk, with an aptitude for politeness.

Bilād Shābūr.¹—This countryside lies between the *Fārs* and *Khūzistān* provinces. In olden times it was very populous, but it now has fallen to ruin. Its climate is temperate though of the hot region, and there are many running streams.

Zīr and Kūh Jilūyah.²—The *Jilūyah* Mountain is a hill district with many lands, and its chief town is *Zīr*. The climate here is cold; there are abundant running streams and numerous fine villages. During the recent times of disorder, and especially when the Assassins—and may Allah cause them to perish!—held sway in the land, all this district fell greatly to ruin. Fruit orchards are numerous, and in *Zīr* there is a mosque for the Friday prayer. This district lies not far distant from *Sumayram*, and there are fine hunting-grounds within its borders.

¹ "The Country of Sapor" is still found on the map (FNN. 266). According to *Muqaddasī* its chief town was called *Jūmah* (the Township), and *Hinduwān* or *Hindijān* was within its limits (*Muq.* 422, *Ist.* 113).

² *Kūh Jilūyah* is still the name for the great province, with many sub-districts, occupying all the mountain region to the north-west of *Fārs* (FNN. 262). For *Zīr* or *Ziz* see above under *Šarām*.

(To be continued.)

X

A PROPOS DE LA DATATION EN SOGDIE

PAR R. GAUTHIOT

DEPUIS qu'en avril 1911, a paru dans ce même journal une note sur la langue et l'écriture des anciens documents sogdiens retrouvés par M. M. A. Stein, dans une tour du vieux *Limes* chinois, il nous a été possible d'étudier de plus près ces textes si curieux. M. M. A. Stein, d'accord avec M. Cowley, qui les avait le premier examinés, a bien voulu mettre à notre disposition les photographies des six "lettres" les mieux conservées. Celles-ci, malgré l'âge, et bien qu'elles soient toutes plus ou moins détériorées, constituent des documents précieux; ce ne sont pas le moins du monde des débris: toutes présentent, malgré leurs lacunes, des morceaux d'un seul tenant, dont la longueur est variable, il est vrai, mais qui fournissent des phrases suivies, des formes nominales et verbales variées, bref de véritables petits textes.

Cependant, elles restent difficiles à comprendre comme tous les documents anciens qui se réfèrent à la vie journalière. Même sur les domaines où nous sommes le mieux informés, notre connaissance de la vie pratique avec tous ses détails précis demeure fort imparfaite; la littérature, en effet, ne nous renseigne pas, ou peu s'en faut, sur ce sujet. On peut s'imaginer dès lors quelle est notre indigence quand il s'agit d'une langue ignorée pour ainsi dire il y a peu d'années, et qui était parlée par des hommes dont les mœurs, les conditions et le genre d'existence nous sont encore inconnus. Il est à craindre d'ailleurs, que la littérature religieuse bouddhique traduite du sanskrit ne nous donne guère de renseignements sur le vocabulaire technique et familier des Sogdiens; mais on peut espérer que les apocryphes, les textes contenant

dés recettes magiques ou autres, et les progrès de l'archéologie de l'Asie centrale dans son ensemble nous aideront davantage. Dans quelque temps, peut-être, il sera possible de donner une véritable *édition* des documents de M. M. A. Stein, surtout si la fortune qui a tant fait déjà pour les archéologues et les linguistes en Asie centrale se montre favorable. En attendant, leur étude linguistique attentive, à l'aide des renseignements fournis par le sogdien bouddhique, manichéen et chrétien, ainsi que par les autres dialectes iraniens, peut donner dès maintenant des résultats positifs.

Il est déjà possible, par exemple, de se rendre compte, que le sogdien apparaît dans les textes anciens rapportés par M. M. A. Stein et qu'il a trouvés, d'après les renseignements qu'il nous a obligeamment fournis, auprès de documents chinois datés des années 1 à 20 de notre ère, sous une forme déjà nettement définie et qui n'a varié sur aucun point essentiel jusqu'au septième siècle au moins, où elle servait de langue littéraire aux bouddhistes, et jusqu'au neuvième, où les rédacteurs manichéens de l'inscription de Kara Balgassoun l'écrivaient encore (cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Sitzungsberichte* de l'Académie de Berlin, 1909, n° xxvii). Sans doute n'était-elle plus parlée alors comme elle était notée: les manichéens et les chrétiens qui se sont adressés au peuple ont usé d'une langue sensiblement plus évoluée et débarrassée des cryptogrammes; car le sogdien a été traité sur ce point comme le moyen persan. Dans les documents bouddhiques eux-mêmes, ou du moins dans certains, se manifeste le désaccord entre la vieille orthographe traditionnelle et l'usage familier au copiste ou au rédacteur: pour n'en donner qu'un exemple, le mot "monde" est *'βē'npδ* dans les textes bouddhiques, et sur l'inscription de Kara Balgassoun (cf. Müller, loc. laud., p. 729) dont le caractère littéraire et savant est un trait essentiel, qu'il faut mettre avant tout en relief. Mais la spirante bilabiale *β* a tendu assez tôt à perdre sa

sonorité et à passer à *f* au contact d'une consonne sourde, et cette modification est indiquée parfois par les bouddhistes au moyen d'un point souscrit au 𐰌 (ainsi *Documents Pelliot*, Inventaire, n° 3519); quant aux chrétiens ils écrivent *fēmβδ* (cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Sitzungsberichte* de l'Académie de Berlin, 1907, n° xiii, p. 6); le même fait s'est produit pour le *β* de *δβr* "quatre" (cf. *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, t. xvii, pp. 137 et 151). Mais la force de la tradition littéraire a été grande en sogdien (cf. JA., juillet-août, 1911, p. 56 et suiv.), et elle a pesé sur les innovations des manichéens eux-mêmes, ainsi que l'on peut s'en rendre compte facilement en lisant le premier des *Zwei soghdische Exkurse* de M. F. C. Andreas (v. *Sitzungsberichte* de l'Académie de Berlin, 1910, n° xv), où est donné un aperçu du rôle des graphies historiques en sogdien manichéen. Dans l'ensemble d'ailleurs, l'unité mise en relief ici-même (JRAS., April, 1911, p. 501 et suiv.) se confirme à l'examen: on avait déjà signalé (*ibid.*, p. 505) que le participe passé du verbe "aller" était *γt¹* dans les documents Stein comme dans l'ensemble du sogdien; on peut ajouter qu'il en est de même pour presque tout le vocabulaire et, en particulier, les verbes dont voici quelques exemples:

pr'δ-, "vendre" (p. ex. T. XII, a. ii, 4, ligne 3).

δβr-, "donner" (p. ex. T. XII, a. ii, 4, l. 10).

δ'r-, "avoir" (p. ex. T. XII, a. ii, 3, l. 8).

pr'm'y-, "ordonner" (p. ex. T. XII, a. ii, 4, l. 5).

γryn- (prés.), *γryt-* (part. pass.), "acheter" (p. ex. T. XII, a. ii, 8g, ll. 5 et 6).

tys-, "entrer" (T. XII, a. ii, 1, ll. 7 et 8).

A côté de cela les quelques traits d'archaïsme, d'ailleurs

¹ Nous transcrivons ici le sogdien tant des lettres rapportées par M. Stein que des textes bouddhiques ou de l'inscription de Kara-Balgassoun, c'est-à-dire tout le sogdien noté en écriture "sogdienne" conformément aux indications données dans le *Journal Asiatique*, janvier-février, 1911, p. 81 et suivantes.

précieux, paraissent peu de chose. Notons, cependant, que l'équivalent de l'iranien commun **haša* (pers. *šā*), qui doit être régulièrement en sogdien *aš* (cf. *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, t. xvii, p. 155), est précisément attesté sous cette forme dans les documents Stein où on le trouve, entre autres, T. XII, a. ii, 5, ll. 11 et 32, T. XII, a. ii, 1, l. 9, tandis qu'en sogdien bouddhique, manichéen et chrétien on ne rencontre plus que *šan* noté respectivement *šnn* et *𐰽*; or ce *šan* est visiblement un dérivé de **haša*. Ajoutons que la lettre T. XII, a. ii, 3 présente la forme *δwyδryh* soit **duyδar-* "fille" à la ligne 27, au lieu du **duxst* des textes bouddhiques, écrit tantôt *δwyt*, tantôt *δrywt*, et dont le *-t* est dû à l'analogie de *m't* (**māt*), "mère," et autres semblables.

Un point particulier où se marque la continuité de la tradition littéraire du sogdien est la forme de la clause qui sert à dater les lettres rapportées par M. M. A. Stein. Quatre sur six sont munies de cette formule qui se présente d'abord sous l'aspect suivant dans le document publié en fac-similé dans le cahier de janvier, 1911, de ce *Journal*:

krt ZNH lykh kδ 10 myk m'rw kδ 14 syth.

Le sens de cette phrase, qui forme la ligne 9 du texte en question, est clair: elle signifie "fait cette lettre lors du dixième mois, lors du quatorze écoulé". Le participe passé *krt* (écrit aussi *'krt*) ne fait pas de difficulté (cf. avest. *kərta-*); le mot *kδ* non plus (cf. avest. *kaδa*); *m'rw* est le correspondant tout à fait régulier de l'iranien **māh-* et du persan *ش*, si l'on tient compte de la loi posée par M. Andreas du passage de *h* intervocalique à *x* en sogdien. Quant à *10 myk* c'est exactement notre "10^{ème}" et il se lisait **δasamīk* ou **δasmīk*. Plus intéressants sont le cryptogramme *ZNH* et les mots *lykh* et *syth*. Nous examinerons d'abord ce dernier.

Il est en effet une partie essentielle de la formule que nous étudions et se retrouve partout. Dans le document

T. XII, a. ii, 8g la clause est très endommagée, mais on y lit clairement :

krt ZNH lykh 20 (?) + 6 syth,

c'est à dire, en somme, la même chose que plus haut. Les autres documents datés présentent de légères variations ; mais l'un au moins emploie *syth* de la même façon et à la même place ; on a dans T. XII, a. ii, 3 :

np'γst ZNH lykh pr 'tδrtyk YRH' pr 10 syth.

L'autre (T. XII, a. ii, 5) porte :

np'γst ZNH lykh 'ē kē'n pr 'δrtyk m'γw p 12 (?) ,

suivi d'une abréviation ou plutôt d'un complexe de lettres écrasées et surchargées où il est difficile actuellement de rien distinguer. Le scribe sentant venir le bout de la ligne dès la fin de *m'γw* a laissé tomber le *r* du second *pr* qui n'est représenté que par *p*, a écrit verticalement au lieu de les aligner horizontalement les unités du nombre 12 et a réduit ce qui devait suivre à un tracé pour ainsi dire illisible et qui peut-être, ou même probablement, doit signifier *syth*. Quoiqu'il en soit ces deux dernières formules ne sont pas plus difficiles à comprendre dans l'ensemble que les deux premières : *np'γst* correspond évidemment à *krt*, la préposition *pr* est l'équivalent de *kδ* et elle signifie de façon sûre, car elle se rencontre fréquemment à travers tous les textes sogdiens, "à, sur." Quant à *'tδrtyk* et *'δrtyk* ce sont deux formes de l'ordinal "troisième" sur l'explication duquel il est inutile d'insister ici et pour lequel il suffit de renvoyer aux *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, t. xvii, pp. 147-8. Enfin *YRH'* est le cryptogramme sémitique qui répond au sogdien *m'γw*, "mois" (cf. hébr. ירח, syr. ܝܪܚ), et *'ē kē'n* est une indication de provenance, ainsi qu'il ressort de la lettre même.

En somme, si on réserve momentanément les autres points intéressants que soulèvent les formules qui viennent d'être citées et analysées, on constate d'abord que *syth*,

sans que le mot "jour" soit exprimé, et joint à un nom de nombre *cardinal* (l'opposition avec l'ordinal qui précède le mot "mois" est flagrante) indique la date de la journée dans les lettres anciennes que nous devons à M. M. A. Stein. Or, il en est de même exactement dans les documents bouddhiques de la collection de Paris qui proviennent de Touen-houang et dont la date, sinon d'origine première, du moins de copie est singulièrement plus basse. La plupart sont incomplets et, comme il est naturel, ce sont les deux extrémités qui manquent généralement. Mais parmi ceux dont la fin est à peu près conservée, il en est un dont le témoignage est parfaitement clair; c'est celui qui se termine (*Documents Pelliot*, Inventaire, n° 3520) par cette indication

pr myw srδ wpyšwmy m'ry pncδs sytyh

c'est à dire "en l'année du tigre (*myw srδ*), sixième (cf. *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, t. xvii, pp. 152 seq. et 158) mois, quinze (jours) écoulés". Il n'y a donc pas de doute sur la manière de dater en question, ni sur son caractère traditionnel en sogdien; les bouddhistes du septième siècle et après se servaient encore de *syt-* et opposaient encore l'ordinal du mois au nombre cardinal du jour.

Ce qui est tout à fait remarquable c'est qu'en faisant ainsi, ils continuaient un vieil usage iranien qui est attesté en vieux perse. Le verbe iranien *sak-* dont *syt-* (c'est à dire **saxt-*) est le participe passé passif régulier sert tout spécialement à indiquer l'écoulement du temps (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wb.*, colonne 1553). Dans la grande inscription de Bisutūn *θ^ak^at^a* avec le pluriel (souvent) et *θ^ak^at^am^a* avec le singulier (une fois) sert précisément à indiquer la date du jour (v. pour les renvois Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.*, col. 784). La tournure perse n'est d'ailleurs pas tout à fait claire: *θ^ak^at^a* et *θ^ak^at^am^a* sont suivis du verbe "être" et précédés du mot *rauča-* à l'instrumental dans le cas du pluriel, au nominatif dans

celui du singulier et d'une forme du mot "mois" qui peut être soit le locatif de *māh-*, soit le génitif de *māha-*; toutefois il reste que *θ^hk^ht^h-* est inséparable de l'avestique *sak-*, *saxt-*, et plus encore du sogdien *syt-*. Le mode d'emploi du radical *sak-*, *θaka-* diffère dans la langue ancienne du Fars, et dans celle, plus récente, du Nord scythique qui est étudiée ici, mais sa valeur est la même, et il remplit sur l'un et l'autre domaine linguistique le même rôle spécial et, pour ainsi dire, technique. En vieux perse comme en sogdien le quantième du mois est désigné par un nom de nombre cardinal.

A côté de ce point essentiel pour l'intelligence des formules qui servent à dater les documents en sogdien, il en est quelques autres qui s'y rattachent et qu'il convient d'examiner dès maintenant. On a vu plus haut que deux des quatre clauses qui terminent les lettres que nous devons à M. M. A. Stein commencent par *krt*, participe passé du verbe **kr-*, "faire," forme facile à comprendre, et que les autres débutent par un autre participe passé *np'γst*, dont nous nous sommes contenté d'indiquer provisoirement qu'il remplissait le rôle de *krt*. Mais la signification exacte de ce *np'γst* est particulièrement intéressante. Il figure dans l'inscription sogdienne de Kara Balgassoun; M. F. W. K. Müller l'a déchiffré très exactement à la ligne 2, où il a lu *np'γstw δ'vnt* (cf. *Sitzungsberichte* de l'Académie de Berlin, 1909, p. 727) qu'il a traduit par "ont écrit". Cette traduction manque un peu de précision; c'est "ont composé", "ont rédigé", qu'il faut dire (c'est à dire en allemand, "haben zusammengesetzt," "haben festgestellt, verfasst") car *np'γstw δ'vnt* rend exactement le chinois 撰 d'une part et de l'autre se distingue nettement de *pyšt* "écrit" en sogdien même. Ce *pyšt* figure au début des documents Stein et sur leur adresse, ainsi que l'on a vu dans ce *Journal* même (April, 1911, p. 505), et dans les deux lettres qui se terminent par la clause du type *np'γstw ZNH . . .*, à savoir

T. XX, a. ii, 3, et T. XX, a. ii, 5, il se trouve répété à la fin du texte. Ainsi dans T. XII, a. ii, 5 on lit :

. *pyšt MN ɣypδ βutk pryɣwsp*
np'ɣšt ZNH lykh 'ē kē'n pr tōrtyk . . . etc.

d'où il ressort clairement que la lettre a été "écrite (de la part de) son esclave *Pryɣwsp* (un nom d'aspect bien iranien, à lire peut-être *Frīx^{asp}* ?), 'mais que,' ceci a été arrangé (fixé, rédigé) au troisième mois . . ." etc. Ce sens de *np'ɣšt* explique d'ailleurs bien mieux son alternance avec *krt*, "fait," que ne pourrait le faire celui de "écrit"; *np'ɣšt* et *krt* portent sur le fond, *pyšt* ne concerne que l'exécution matérielle en quelque sorte. Dans ces conditions il est intéressant de noter que *np'ɣšt* se rencontre aussi à la fin des textes bouddhiques, ainsi *Documents Pelliot*, Inventaire, n° 3511^a, où on lit : *np'ɣšty ZNH pwt'k*, c'est à dire "ce sūtra (livre) a été arrangé (fixé, rédigé)". Et la comparaison s'impose avec le turc *yarat-*, qui figure par exemple dans le fameux colophon que M. F. W. K. Müller a découvert et si ingénieusement utilisé (v. *Sitzungsberichte* de l'Académie de Berlin, 1907, pp. 958-60) : le sens propre de *yaratmīš* est justement celui de *np'ɣšt*; l'un et l'autre indiquent une "rédaction" (cf. S. Lévi, JA., Mai-Juin, 1911, p. 437, au mot tokharien, *rittoš*). On sait que la dépendance où sont les scribes turcs par rapport à leurs collègues sogdiens, surtout en matière de locutions traditionnelles et de formules, est tout à fait étroite. Quant à l'étymologie de *np'ɣšt*, sa signification étant ainsi précisée, elle n'est pas douteuse : le mot se compose d'abord du préfixe *ni-*, le même que dans v. perse *nipīšta-*, et ensuite d'un participe passé **p'ɣšt*, qui est à un radical indo-iranien **pāg-* ce que *βɣšt* (le mot est bien attesté en sogdien; cf. pers. *بخشیدن*) est à indo-iranien **bhag-*; or **pāg-* est attesté par ailleurs en indo-européen avec précisément le sens de "arranger, fixer, rédiger" : on a par exemple en latin *pango*, *pēgi*, *e compāgēs*; en grec *πῆγνυμι*, "ajuster, fixer."

Restent le cryptogramme sémitique *ZNH* et le mot *lykh* importants l'un et l'autre. Le premier répond lettre pour lettre au pehlvi sassanide 𐭥𐭮𐭥 , *ZNH*, de façon moins exacte au pehlvi littéraire 𐭥𐭮𐭥 , qui ne peut guère être lu que *DNH* (avec la correspondance régulière de *z* et de *d* issus d'un ancien **ḍ*, arabe *ḍ*) soit l'araméen ܕܢܗ . Sa présence était attendue comme on le voit; c'est le démonstratif normal servant à désigner l'objet rapproché, "ce, cette, celui-ci, celle-ci." Mais son identification est néanmoins importante. D'abord elle a permis de compléter l'alphabet sogdien, auquel il manquait le *h*, 𐭥 . Il est vrai que son absence ne se faisait pas beaucoup sentir: ainsi qu'on l'a montré dans le *Journal Asiatique* (janvier-février, 1911, p. 85) le *h* iranien disparaît en sogdien à l'initiale des mots et devient à l'intérieur *x*. Il ne restait donc de possible que des finales nouvelles où il se présente, en effet. Sa forme est semblable à celle du *h* des inscriptions sassanides qui lui ne se rencontre effectivement que dans des cryptogrammes, et n'est pas sans rapport avec celle de la finale pehlvie 𐭥 que l'on lit trop souvent encore *MN* comme s'il s'agissait d'une ligature. On le trouve reproduit d'une part avec le fac-similé du document Stein, T. XII, a. ii, 5, publié dans ce *Journal* (January, 1911, p. 166) et dans l'alphabet dressé par M. Cowley (JRAS., January, 1911, p. 166, et April, 1910, p. 500, colonne de droite, dernier caractère à droite), d'autre part dans le *Journal Asiatique* (janvier-février, 1911), au deuxième spécimen sogdien, ligne 2, troisième mot. Ce mot a d'ailleurs été transcrit de façon erronée (ibid., p. 95) par *čurné*; c'est *čwrh* qu'il faut lire, -*č* et -*né* finaux ayant nettement une forme différente. Ainsi, l'alphabet sogdien est bien près sans doute d'être connu en entier: il n'est pas jusqu'au signe assez bizarre qui commence le mot que M. Cowley avait reconnu devoir signifier "to" (v. JRAS., January, 1911, p. 163), qui ne

puisse être identifié aujourd'hui. Ce mot avait été transcrit par M. Cowley par \mathfrak{W} , et cette interprétation avait été acceptée par nous (v. JRAS., April, 1911, p. 506). Pour cela nous avons été obligé d'admettre que notre système de lecture ne s'appliquait pas nécessairement aux cryptogrammes sémitiques et de maintenir dans le cas spécial en question la valeur δ à un signe que partout ailleurs nous proposons de lire correctement τ . C'est là un point qu'il faut corriger : c'est par \mathfrak{W} , 'R, qu'il faut transcrire le petit mot qui précède sur l'adresse et au début de la lettre la désignation du destinataire. Dans d'autres documents de M. M. A. Stein la lettre initiale n'est pas tracée aussi négligemment que dans T. XII, a. ii, 4, qui a été étudié spécialement par M. Cowley et reproduit à la suite de son article (JRAS., January, 1911); sa forme ne laisse alors plus de doute sur sa valeur et son origine : c'est un \mathfrak{Y} très pareil par exemple, à celui de l'alphabet des inscriptions sassanides \mathfrak{Z} , c'est à dire à un 2, mais renversé sur la droite et couché. D'autre part il a tendu à se rapprocher du \mathfrak{V} , W ; et en sogdien bouddhique l'on rencontre parfois un cryptogramme WR qui a la valeur d'une préposition et signifie "à". L'évolution du \mathfrak{Y} a donc été pareille en pehlvi et en sogdien; dans les deux langues iraniennes à cryptogrammes sémitiques que l'on connaît, le même signe étranger et qui n'était jamais prononcé a abouti au même terme final.

Ce n'est pas tout. La lecture \mathfrak{W} qui n'était qu'un expédient, puisqu'en pehlvi \mathfrak{J} est la graphie de moyen pers. *tāk*, pers. *٭*, qu'il signifie, en tant que préposition et que conjonction à la fois, "jusqu'à" et non "à", et qu'il ne sert pas du tout à exprimer le datif, est rendue impossible par suite de l'existence de WR en sogdien bouddhique. Dès lors, c'est \mathfrak{W} , pehlvi \mathfrak{J} , que la tradition lit *val* et *ol*, qui seul entre en ligne de compte : son sens est exactement celui que l'on attend, car il doit être lu

awi, *aw* et se traduit précisément par "à". Il reste, il est vrai, que l'on a un *r* final pour un *l* attendu et que la confusion de *r* et de *l* apparaît comme exclue en écriture sogdienne; autant vaudrait parler d'une confusion entre le *lāmed* et le *rēš* en syriaque. Mais il est une possibilité qu'il faut envisager et que l'on nous permettra d'indiquer ici: c'est que l'interversion en question remonte au pehlvi de Perse. Là, en effet, *r* et *l* ont fini par être confondues dans l'écriture, assez tôt à ce qu'il semble; et l'usage des cryptogrammes en sogdien est inséparable de celui que l'on en a fait en moyen persan. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que l'introduction de mots araméens, non point dans la langue, mais dans la graphie d'un idiome étranger est le fait de scribes formant une sorte de caste, d'une forte tradition bureaucratique, d'une chancellerie où un dialecte sémitique jouait un rôle prépondérant. Or, rien de tout cela n'a existé en Sogdiane, on ne pouvait même s'y établir, tandis que les Perses l'ont précisément créé; la circulaire portant traduction de la proclamation que Darius avait fait graver dans le roc à Bisutūn et que M. E. Sachau vient de publier (*Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*, Tafel 52 und 54-6) en est un témoignage éclatant parmi bien d'autres. Les successeurs des rois perses, les souverains grecs et arsacides, les princes locaux, ont pu endommager de façon plus ou moins grave, laisser périliter par endroits et par moments l'ancien et grandiose appareil administratif; mais loin de le détruire ou de le remplacer, ils en ont au contraire utilisé les débris. Les nombreuses dynasties diverses qui ont gouverné en Perse depuis les Achéménides jusqu'aux Sassanides se sont toutes appuyées sur cet élément national si stable et si résistant. C'est à lui que les Arsacides doivent leur style officiel, c'est lui qui a fourni aux Sogdiens le modèle de leur langue commune. Ainsi s'explique qu'à travers le pehlvi du Sud-Ouest, le pehlvi septentrional et le sogdien le même stock de cryptogrammes se retrouve à peu de chose près pour les démonstratifs, les

conjonctions, les prépositions et un certain nombre d'adjectifs et de substantifs. Dans les trois langues l'ancien * δ du démonstratif sémitique est représenté également par π , qui se rencontre aussi dans les papyrus d'Egypte de l'époque perse et les inscriptions d'Asie Mineure (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gr. d. sem. Spr.*, p. 134, et E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*, p. 262), comme en assyrien, tandis que les dialectes araméens voisins de l'Iran ont à sa place d . Ainsi s'explique aussi que le sogdien ne présente en quelque sorte qu'un minimum de cryptogrammes. Ce qu'il en possède ne forme qu'un groupe réduit et qui n'a pas été s'accroissant comme celui du pehlvi, puisqu'il n'était pas en contact direct avec le monde sémitique; il est tout à fait caractéristique que l'on n'ait rencontré jusqu'ici en sogdien aucun verbe, aucun pronom personnel et deux noms de nombre seulement notés sous leur forme sémitique. L'usage des cryptogrammes institué en Perse par l'administration centrale et pour elle, a bien pénétré jusque dans les pays du Nord de l'Iran, mais il est allé s'atténuant et ne s'est maintenu dans ces provinces lointaines et mal jointes à l'empire que sous une forme comparativement fort modérée.

Mais l'unité fondamentale est certaine. Les cryptogrammes du sogdien ne peuvent pas être considérés à part de ceux du pehlvi ni du style de la chancellerie perse. Dans ce *Journal* même (April, 1911, p. 506) on a essayé d'expliquer la forme singulièrement altérée du sémitique אלה, "mille," en sogdien, où il ressemble à נלה, comme le résultat d'une oblitération purement graphique. L'identification de נלה* était sûre, mais il est évident que le moyen qui s'offrait alors d'en rendre compte était désespéré. La solution est aujourd'hui fournie précisément par des documents sortis des bureaux administratifs des Achéménides: il faut lire non point נלה, *NLP*, mais לה 1, *1 LP*. Par exemple, la circulaire officielle portant traduction de la proclamation de Darius que l'on a retrouvée à Elephantine

écrit 𐰽𐰺 au lieu de 𐰽𐰺𐰍 quand le mot est précédé d'un signe pour "un", c'est à dire d'une barre 1 : l'on trouve ainsi 𐰽𐰺 1 , c'est à dire "1 mille" pour 𐰽𐰺𐰍 , "mille," à la ligne 11 du papyrus 61 (recto) et ailleurs (cf. E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus u. Ostraka*, pp. 19 et 189).

Pour finir, il convient de revenir en peu de mots sur le terme *lykh*, qui a été traduit par "lettre" au cours de cette note. Il ne paraît pas être attesté en iranien en dehors des documents examinés ici ; nous n'avons pas non plus retrouvé de cryptogramme sémitique dont le sens fût satisfaisant et qui s'écrivit δykh ou *lykh*. Mais sa valeur est sûre. On a vu que la clause où entre *lykh* est tout à fait parallèle à celle qui figure à la fin d'un sūtra bouddhique : or cette dernière portant après $np'γsty$ *ZNH* . . . "arrangé (rédigé) ce . . ." la désignation exacte du texte qu'elle termine, savoir *pwt'k*, "sūtra (livre)," il n'est guère douteux que dans $np'γst$ *ZNH lykh* . . . "arrangé (rédigé) ce *lykh* . . ." *lykh* ne soit le nom du document au bas duquel il figure et qui, dans l'espèce, est une "lettre". Le mot se retrouve dans le texte de deux des documents Stein, et, dans tous les passages le sens de "lettre" lui convient parfaitement ; ainsi, l'on a, dans T. XII, a. ii, 3 . . . 'yw *lykh* *E' Byr'm* . . . " . . . je n'ai reçu aucune lettre . . ." Aussi n'est-il guère douteux que *lykh* est commun au sogdien d'Asie centrale et au prākrit du Khotan : c'est exactement le *lekha*, "lettre," des documents en kharoṣṭhī, sur le rôle duquel on consultera avec profit le *Ancient Khotan* de M. M. A. Stein, p. 365 et suiv. La notation de *l* est la même que dans *pyδ*, soit **pīl*, "éléphant," et le *h* rend la voyelle finale du mot sanskrit. En effet, les aspirées des langues de l'Inde sont toujours rendues en sogdien par les occlusives simples correspondantes, et le *h* représente dans l'écriture sogdienne non pas une consonne, mais une voyelle : *lykh* doit être lu à peu près **lekā*.

XI

DOCUMENTS SANSKRITS DE LA SECONDE COLLECTION M. A. STEIN¹

By L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

CH. VII, 001A

FRAGMENTS DE L'UDĀNAVARGA DE DHARMATRĀTA

1. MS. sur papier; *slanting* brāhmī; 12 folios. Voir JRAS. 1911, p. 762.

On remarquera la fréquente confusion de la sonore et de la sourde *gena* = *kena*, *dv* = *tv* (xxx, 34), *spantati* = *spandati* (xxxi, 2), *aṅkuṣeṇa* = *aṅkuṣeṇa*; *yonīśas tvijam* = *yonīṣo dvijam* (xxxi, 5), *ja* = *ca* (ii, 5), *nipādinah* = *nipātinah* (xxxi, 1), *edaṃ* = *etān*, *tāvati* = *dhāvati* (xxxi, 33), etc.

La ponctuation est parfois marquée, tantôt par le visarga (que, dans cet emploi, nous représentons par :)² tantôt par un trait horizontal ~ (représenté par une virgule). Ce trait sert aussi de trait d'union entre deux parties d'un mot coupé en passant à la ligne.

Le visarga est souvent omis devant *k* ou *p*, souvent aussi ailleurs, notamment en finale; il est parfois confondu avec l'anuvāra (dans *kiṃcanah*—cf. *kiṃcanam* des MSS. du Turfan, xxx, 49, 50—le visarga est peut être une marque de ponctuation), parfois simplement fautif (xxxi, 23, 29).

L'anuvāra remplace la nasale ou fait double emploi (xxii, 2; xxx, 37, etc.). De nombreux *hy* préviennent l'élision de la voyelle, et sauvent le mètre, menacé par la transposition du prācrit en sanscrit.

La nasale linguale (*n*) est, quatre ou cinq fois, négligée (i, 7; xxi, 29; xxx, 32; xxxi, 9); les erreurs de copiste sont assez rares (cīrṇa, i, 27; dhṛdha, ii, 5; chana, xxxi, 11).

On remarquera le redoublement du groupe *t s*, xxx, 43, *utstsuka*, xxxi, 5, *tat tsamgrhāmi*.

¹ See JRAS. 1911, pp. 758 and 1063.

² Voir, par exemple, xxxi, 1 et 2.

2. L'Udānavarga est connu depuis longtemps par la traduction que W. W. Rockhill en a donnée d'après les versions tibétaines du Kandjour et du Tandjour.¹

Les diverses sources sont unanimes à nommer Dharmatrāta comme l'auteur de cette collection d'*udānas*. Mais, bien qu'il n'ait pas été compilé par Ānanda et les autres *saṃgītikaras*, bien qu'il porte le nom d'un moderne, l'Udānavarga est "parole du Bouddha" et, reconnu comme tel, il a pris légitimement place dans le Kandjour et dans le Tandjour. Les Vaibhāṣikas soutiennent que leurs sept Traités d'Abhidharma, pour avoir des auteurs, sont aussi authentiques que le Vinaya et les Sūtras, que l'Udānavarga: "car ils ont été dits par morceaux par Bhagavat et réunis en un tout par Kātyāyana, etc., comme l'Udānavarga a été réuni par le Bhadanta Dharmatrāta" . . . "comme l'Udānavarga a été mis en collection (*varga, nikāya*) par Dharmatrāta."²

3. La troisième mission allemande du Turfan (Grünwedel-von Le Coq) a rapporté trente-cinq feuillets en *slanting*, appartenant à divers MSS. et contenant les fragments d'un

¹ Udānavarga, a collection of verses from the Buddhist Canon, compiled by Dharmatrāta, being the Northern Buddhist version of Dhammapada, translated . . . , Londres, 1883.—Par le fait l'Udānavarga n'est ni une version ni une recension du Dhammapada, mais une collection d'*udānas*, prose ou vers.

L'excellente édition que M. H. Beckh vient de donner de la traduction tibétaine de l'Udānavarga (Berlin, G. Reimer) me parvient au moment où je corrige l'épreuve du présent article. Elle permettra d'identifier les sources de Dharmatrāta: j'ai du moins retrouvé dans l'Udānavarga tous les *udānas* de l'Udāna pāli.

² Voir Wassilieff, p. 270 (297), qui traduit le Siddhānta de Mañju-ghoṣaśāsa, première partie, fol. 143 de mon édition: *mūn pa sde bdun . . . bcom ldan ḥdas kyis sil bur-guñs pa ka tai bu sogs kyis gcig tu bdus pa yin te btsun pa chos skyoñ kyis ched du brjod pai tsem bzhin*.—Comme il est dit dans le Rañ hgral (Bhāṣya): . . . *btsun ka tai bu la sogs pas bdus nas bzag ste btsun chos skyoñ kyis ched du brjod pai sde sde tshan du byas pa bzhin no*.

Le Dharmatrāta dont il s'agit est désigné par Tāranātha (p. 68) comme le compilateur (*bdun ba po*, Sammler) de l'Udānavarga, dont Wassilieff (ibid., p. 300) dit très bien qu'il est fait de ślokas (?) réunis du Vinaya et des Sūtras.

ouvrage dont R. Pischel a reconnu les étroites relations avec l'Udānavarga tibétain. À en juger d'après le titre de sa notice ("Die Turfan-Recensionen des Dhammapada," *Sitzungsberichte* de Berlin, 1908, pp. 968-85), il paraît penser que cet Udānavarga doit être regardé comme une recension du Dhammapada, et que les MSS. Grünwedel-Le Coq contiennent des fragments de diverses recensions du même Dhammapada.

Par le fait, les divergences des MSS. du Turfan sont trop insignifiantes pour justifier le terme de recension; et ces MSS. contiennent la rédaction originale de Dharmatrāta, conservée dans le canon tibétain. Pischel le dit lui-même: "aucun doute n'est possible: notre recension sanscrite est la source de la traduction tibétaine" (Pischel, p. 968).¹

La parenté des MSS. du Turfan et du MS. Stein est prouvée par les lectures fautives ou anormales qui leur sont communes (ṛṣayor, xxix, 44, etc.); le MS. Stein, comme les MSS. B et C du Turfan, comme le tibétain, omet dix des douze stances *śubhānudarśinam*, *aśubhānudarśinam*, chap. xxix, qui figurent dans le MS. A; contient, comme B, la stance xxx, 50; présente les mêmes fautes que B *ad* xxix, 40, 45 (B 54), mais la même lecture que A, xxix, 46.

4. Aux douze folios de la collection Stein, il faut ajouter trois folios de la collection Pelliot, publiés par M. Lévi (JA. 1910, ii, p. 444). Quinze folios de l'Udānavarga de l'illustre grotte ont donc été sauvés; ils contiennent—

1. Anityavarga, st. 24-42. (fols. 3-4.)
2. Kāmavarga, st. 1-19. (fols. 4-5.)
12. Mārgavarga, st. 18-20.
13. Satkāravarga, st. 1-11a-b. (un folio.)
21. Tathāgatavarga, st. 8-18.

¹ Il est fâcheux que R. Pischel ne s'explique pas sur les divergences "nicht ganz gering" du chapitre xxvi. Il arrive que la version tibétaine soit plus proche des originaux pâlis que nos rédactions sanscrites.

- 22. Śrutavarga, st. 1-2, 19 [Pelliot].
- 23. Ātmavarga, st. 1-26 [Pelliot].
- 24. Sahasravarga, st. 1-2 [Pelliot]. (trois folios.)
- 29. Yugavarga, st. 39-53. (fols. 52.)
- 30. Sukhavarga, st. 26-52. (fols. 55-7.)
- 31. Cittavarga, st. 1-38. (fols. 57-9.)
- 32. Bhikṣuvarga, st. 3-14 [Pelliot], 15-29. (fols. 62-3.)

Le folio 63 est le seul qui porte une indication complète; encore le chiffre des dizaines est-il douteux; on lit nettement les 5 et 6 des folios 55 et 56. Mais la comparaison avec la version tibétaine est décisive; à calculer depuis notre premier feuillet du Yuga jusqu'au feuillet du Bhikṣu on a 162 stances pour douze feuillets, soit une moyenne de $13\frac{1}{2}$; ce qui donne presque exactement 54 feuillets pour les 732 stances qui précèdent, dans le tibétain, la stance xxx, 26.

D'après le même comput, les feuillets du groupe xxi-xxiv seraient les 33, 34 (manquant), 35, et 36.

Les titres de 1, 12, 21, 22, et 30 sont attestés par notre MS.; ceux de 2, 29, 31, par Pischel; 13, 23, et 24 paraissent au moins très vraisemblables (Rockhill: satkāra, ātma, et "Numbers").

5. L'importance de l'Udānavarga est attestée par les bilingues sanscrit-"tokharien", Feuillet Berezovski (Izvestia de Saint-Petersbourg, 1909, p. 547) et Feuillet Pelliot, FM. 8a, que MM. Lévi et Meillet ont étudiés (JA. 1911, i, p. 434). Ils contiennent Udānavarga, i, 40-2; ii, 1-2; et xxix, 45-51.

6. Nous n'entreprenons pas l'édition critique de nos fragments de l'Udānavarga, mais seulement la lecture de nos feuillets. Toutefois, il a paru convenable d'indiquer les références pâlies et sanscrites (dues pour une bonne part à M. R. O. Franke, voir JRAS. 1910, p. 759), et les données, surtout tibétaines, qui ont servi à la restitution de passages illisibles ou disparus.

Les syllabes entourées de "square brackets" sont celles qui ont, probablement, figuré dans le MS. lorsqu'il était intact. On a placé entre parenthèses les lettres omises par le scribe.

I

... [3A] ... 22]

[sarvasattvā marīṣ]yant[ī] maraṇāntaṃ hi jīvitam
 yathākarma gamiṣyanti puṇyapāpaphal[opagāḥ 23]
 [narakam pāpakar]māṇa[h] kṛtapuṇyās tu svargatim
 anye tu mārgaṃ bhāvyeha nirvāsyanti nirāsravāḥ 24
 nai[vānta]rikṣe na sam[u]dramadhye
 na parvatānāṃ vivaraṃ praviśya
 na vidyate sau pṛthivīpradeśo
 yatra sthitaṃ na prasa[heta] mṛtyu(h) 25
 [ye] ceha bhūtā bhaviṣyanti vā punaḥ
 sarve gamiṣyanti vihāya deham
 tāṃ sarvahāniṃ kuśa[lo viditvā]
 dharme sthito brahmacaryaṃ careta, 26
 cīrṇaṃ ca drṣṭveha tathaiva rogināṃ
 mṛtaṃ ca drṣtvā vyapayāta cetasaṃ
 ja[hāti] dhi[r]o [gr]habandhanāni,
 kāmā hi lokasya na supraheyā(h) 27
 ciryanti vai rājarathā(h) sucitrā
 hy ato śarīraṃ api ja[3B][rām upe]ti
 sat[ā]n tu dharmo na ja[rā]m upeti
 santo hi taṃ satsu nivedayanti 28
 dhik tvām astu jare grāmye [varṇā]pakār[i]ṇ[i] jaḍe
 ta]thā manoraṃgaṃ bimbam tvayā yad abhimarditaṃ 29
 yo pi varṣasataṃ jīvet so pi mṛtyuparāyaṇaḥ
 anu hy eṇaṃ ja[rā yāt]i— i mo— i vāntakaḥ 30
 sanā vrajanti hy anivartamānā
 divā ca rātrau ca viluḍyamānāḥ
 matsyā ivā[l pa]cyam[ā]nā
 duḥkhena jātimaraṇena yuktāḥ 31
 āyur divā ca rātrau ca caratas tiṣṭhataḥ tathā,

nadinām [hi] yathā sroto [ga]c[cha]ti na nivartate 32
 yeśām rātridivāpāye hy āyur alpataṛaṃ bhavet
 alpodake ca matsyānām kā nu [atra rat]i[r bhavet] 33
 [par]ij[i]rṇaṃ idaṃ [rū]paṃ rogaṇīdaṃ prabhāṃguraṃ
 bhetsyate pūtyasaṃnדהaṃ maraṇāntaṃ hi jīvitam[4A][34]
 [aciraṃ bata kāyo yaṃ pṛthi]v[im adhi]ś[e]śyati
 śūṇyo vyapeta vijñāno nirastaṃ vā kaḍaṃgaram 35
 kim anena śarīreṇa [visra]vāpūtinā [sa]d[ā]
 [ni]tyaṃ [r]og[ā]bh[i]bhūtena jarā maraṇabhīruṇā 36
 anena pūtikāyena hy ātureṇa prabhāṅguṇā,
 nī[]? parāṃ śāntiṃ yogakṣemam anuttaram 37
 iha varṣaṃ karisyāmi hemantaṃ grīṣmaṃ eva ca,
 bālo vicinta[yat]i[ti] hy antarāyaṃ na paśyati 38
 taṃ putrapaśusaṃnattam vyāsaktamanasaṃ naraṃ
 suptaṃ grāmaṃ mahāghaiva mṛtyu[rādāya] gacchati 39
 na santi putras trāṇāya na pitā nāpi bāndhavāḥ
 antakenābhībhūtasya na hi trāṇā bhavanti te 40
 idaṃ [me kārya]ṃ kartavyam idaṃ kṛtvā bhaviṣyati,
 ity evaṃ spantano martya jarā mṛtyuś ca mardati 41
 tasmāt sadā dhyānaratā(h) samāhitā
 hy ā [4B] tāpino [jā]tijaṇāntadarśinaḥ
 mārāṃ sasainyam abhibhūya bhikṣavo
 bhaveta j[ā]timaraṇasya pāragāḥ 42
 || anityavarga prathama [h 1] ||

*Les chiffres placés entre "square brackets" renvoient à l'édition de
 M. H. Beckh.*

23-4. a-b. [21-2] Saṃ. i, 97; Netti, p. 94; 23-4, Mhv. ii, pp. 66
 et 424.

[23]??

25 [24]. Dhp. 128; Petav., p. 21; Mil. 150; Div. 532, 561;
 Tantrākhyāyika, ii, 6.

26 [25]. Udāna, v. 2 (p. 48). a. bhaviṣyanti; d. brahmacāryaṃ.

27 [26]. Cf. Therag. 73, et Jāt. 9, Comm. (i, p. 139). La dernière
 ligne, SN. 772d. a. cirṇaṃ (jirṇaṃ?); b. roḡinaṃ; c-d. brtan pas . . .
 khyim spaṇs gyi.

28 [27]. Dhp. 151; Saṃ. i, 71; Jāt. 537, 42 et 76 (v, 483, 494);
 Dutreuil, C^o 21 (p. 98).

29 [28]. Saṃ. v, 217; cf. Div. 361, 24. b. rga ba khyod ni blun
 zhiū ŋan | khyod ni mī rigs byed pa ste | yid du oū bai . . . Rockhill,

"thou . . . doest not what is right"; mais rigs=*kula*, *varṣa*.
d. *jaḍe* = blun.

30 [29]. a-b. Sam. v, 217; Dutreuil, C^o 2 (p. 90). a. Suttanipāta, 589. c-d. hdi dag rga bar hgyur ba am l yañ na na ba añ hehi bas hjom, "ils deviendront vieux ou seront vaincus par la mort, devenus malades."

31 [30]. c. chu tshan nañ du gdus pai ña dañ hdra, "semblables à des poissons bouillis (*krath*) dans l'eau chaude" = *matsyā vīḍaptajale pacānāḥ*.

32 [31]. Cf. Sam. i, 109; Therag. 145, 452; Jāt. 538, 106 (vi, 26). d. Jāt. 510, 1 (iv, 494); Dutreuil, C^o 5 (p. 91) et Frag. xviii^o. a. *āyur tivā*.

33 [32]. Jāt. 538, 101 (vi, 26); Dutreuil, C^o 6 (p. 92). d. de la dga bar bya ci yod.

34 [33]. Dhp. 148; cf. Itiv., p. 37; Dutreuil, C^o 3 (p. 90). d. Lalita, p. 328, etc.

35 [34]. Dhp. 41; Dutreuil, C^o 14 (p. 95); Therig. 468; Rockhill, cf. Manu, iv, 247, et Suttanipāta, 200. a. *aciram*, *acireṇa* (Dhp. et Dutreuil) est représenté par *mī thogs par*, "sans obstacle" (sans délais?). b. *adhiessati*, hgyel bar hgyur, "sera oublié, négligé."

36 [35]. Cf. Dutreuil, C^o 19 (p. 97). b-c. rgyun du nad kyis mñon gduñ zhiñ | rtag tu mi gtsañ hdzag pa dañ, "laissant toujours s'écouler des impuretés," d de *sadā* probable.

37 [36]. c-d. Therag. 32; a-b. Therig. 140 = Sam. i, 131; Dutreuil, C^o 17 (p. 96). c. Le *nimedha* de Dutreuil est traduit par *don du gñer bar gyis* = *prārthayet*.

38 [37]. Dhp. 286; Dutreuil, C^o 36 (p. 86). c. rnam par sems byed pas. — I paraît visible ainsi que *hya*.

39 [38]. Dhp. 287; Dutreuil, C^o 37 (p. 86) et Frag. xxxiv^o.

40 [39]. Dhp. 288.

41 [40]. Cf. Dutreuil, C^o 35 (p. 86); JA. 1911, i, p. 440; cf. Therig. 955. a. *spandanam martyam*. Traduit en Tib. en pādas de 9 syllabes (cf. Dutreuil): hdi ni bya ba byas zin don hdi bya | de dag byas nas bdag gis hdi byao zhes | de ltar mi ni yoñs su ñom pa na | rga dañ nad bñas hehi bas mñon du beom, "Ayant fait cette action, cette chose est à faire; ayant fait ces deux, je dois faire ceci: tandis que l'homme achève ainsi, il est écrasé par la mort accompagnée de la vieillesse et de la maladie."

42 [41]. Itiv., p. 40; JA. 1911, i, p. 440.

II

kāma jānāmi te mūlaṃ saṃkalpāt kāma jāyase,
na tvā saṃkalpayisyāmi tato me na bhaviṣyasi 1
kāmebhyo jāyate śokaḥ kāmebhyo jāyate bhayam
kāmebhyo vipramuktānaṃ nāsti śokaḥ kuto bhayam 2
ratibhyo jāyate śoka(h) rati[bhyo] j[ā]yate bhayam
ratibhyo vipramuktānaṃ nāsti śokaḥ kuto bhayam 3
madhurāgra vipāke tu kaṭukā hy abhi [] ? itāḥ

kāmā [da]hanti [v]ai bāla[m] ulkevāmuñcatah karam 4
 na tad dhr̥dham bandhanam āhur āryā
 yad āyaśam dāravaṃ balbajam
 [saṃraktacittā maṇikuṇḍaleṣu]
 p[u]treṣ[u] dāreṣ[u] ja yā avekṣāḥ 5
 etad dṛḍham bandhanam āhur āryāḥ
 sama(m)tataḥ susthiram duṣpra[5A][muñcam
 etad api cchittvā parivrajanti
 anape]kṣ[i]ṇaḥ kāmasukham prahāya 6
 na te kāmā yāni citrāṇi loka
 saṃkal[parāgaḥ p]urusasya k[ā]m[ah]
 tiṣṭhanti cit[rā]ṇi tathaiva loka
 athādr̥ dhīrā vinayanti cchandam 7
 na santi nityā manuveṣu kāmāḥ
 [sa]nti tv anityā(h) kāmīno y[e] tra baddhāḥ
 tāṃs tu prahāya hy apunarbhavāya
 hy anāgataṃ mṛtyudheyam vadāmi 8
 chandaajā[t]vasrāvi manasānāvilo bhavet
 kāmēṣu tv apratibaddhacitta ūrdhvasroto nirucyate 9
 anupūrveṇa medhāvi sto[kam] stokam kṣaṇe kṣaṇe,
 karmāro rajatasyeva nirdhamen malam ātmanaḥ 10
 rathakāra iva carmaṇaḥ parikartunn upānaḥ
 yad ya[j ja]hāti kām[ā]n[ā]n ta]t tat sampadyatesukham 11
 sarvaṃ cet sukham iccheta sarvakāmāṃ [pa]ri[tyaj]et
 sarvakāmaparityāgi hy atyantam sukha[5B][m e]dhate 12
 y[ā]vat kāmān anusaraṃ na tṛpti[m] manaso dhyagāt
 tato nivṛtti[m] pravipaśya[mā]nās
 [t]e [v]itṛptāḥ prajñay[ā] ye sūt[rpt]ā[ḥ] 13
 [śre]yaśi prajñayā tṛptir na hi kāmair vitṛpyate,
 prajñayā puruṣaṃ tṛptaṃ tṛṣṇā na kurute vaśam 14
 gr̥ddhā hi kāmēṣu narāḥ prama[tto] hy adharṃ pana te
 ratāḥ
 antarāyam na te paśyamty alpake jīvite sati 15
 durmedhasaṃ hanti bhogā na tv ihātmaṃ gave[śi]ṇam
 durmedhā bhogātṛṣṇābhir hantya ātmānam atho parān 16
 na karsāpanavarṣeṇa tṛptiḥ kāmair hi vidyate,

[a]l[p]āsvādasukhāḥ kāmā iti vijñāya paṇḍitaḥ 17
 apī divyeṣu kā(me)ṣu sa rati(m) nādhigacchati,
 tṛṣṇāksayarato bhavati bu[1]8
 parvato pi suvarṇasya samo himavatā bhavet
 vittan taṃ nālam ekasya eta(j) jñātvā samam caret [6A]

1. Pelliot, FM. 8a (JA. 1911, i, p. 447); Jāt. 421, 4 (iii, p. 450); Mhv. iii, 190; Madhyamakavṛtti, 350 et 451; cf. Cūlaniddesa, ii, 17 (Siam Trip. ii, 19, p. 21); Mahāniddesa, i, 2; ii, 2, Sūtra en 42 articles, xxx bis (trad. Feer, pp. 33 et 65, Leroux, 1878).

2. Dhp. 215.

3. Dhp. 214; cf. Avadānaśat. i, p. 191.

4. Cf. Therīg. 507; Sarp. i, p. 74. d. Sūtra en 42 articles, xxiv (trad. Feer, p. 27). a. Lire *madhurā agre*; hdod dgai rnam smin sdug bsñal te | dañ po mñar la hbras bu tsa = *kāmaratipipāko dukkhaḥ prathamam svāduḥ phalam upam*; b. le groupe qui précède *itāḥ* peut être *ud*; on aurait *abhiṣyanditāḥ*, "dans leur écoulement"? Cf. *niyyandaphala*.

5. Dhp. 345; Sarp. i, 77; Suttan. 38; Jāt. 201, 1 (ii, 140); Netti, 35; Dutreuil, C^o 31 (p. 102). a. *dhyrdham*; b. on peut corriger *dāra-rababajam*; c. *yoñs su chags sems*; d. *ja = ca*.

6. Dhp. 346; Sarp. i, 77; Dutreuil, C^o 32.

7. Sarp. i, 22; Aṅg. iii, 411; Kathāvatthu, viii, 4, 3 (p. 370); Lüders, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1899, p. 476. c. *tiṣṭvanti*; d. lire *athātra*.

8. Sarp. i, 22. b. hdod can gañ la chags de mi rtag pas = *kāminī yasmin baddham so nitya iti* ou *kāmi yasmin baddhas tad anityam*.

9. Therīg. 12; Dhp. 218. b. cf. SN. 1039b. a. les lectures *sr* et *i* sont douteuses. Traduit en pādas de 9 syllabes: bdun pa skyes ciñ zag par mi byed dam | sems la skyon med pa dañ dran pa dañ = *chandaḥjātāḥ, an-ārava-krīd vā (= anāsrutāḥ), adōṣacittā ca, smṛtā ca*.

10. Dhp. 239; Kathāvatthu, p. 108, 219; pour la seconde ligne SN. 962.

11. Jāt. 467, 8-9 (iv, 172-3); Dutreuil, C^o 40-1 (p. 106), voir ZDMG. lx, 489; Mbh. xii, 174, 45 (6502); 177, 48 (6633). Cf. Jāt. 539, 115 (vi, 51). b. la lecture *nnu* paraît certaine (voir JRAS. 1911, p. 765, 59c); a-b. *go ha dag . . . yoñs su sbyaṇs nas lham byed ltar = carmāṇi parikṛtya upānaham karoti yathā*. Le Tib. traduit *rathakāra* = lham mkhan = *carmakāra* (comme le Comm. du Jātaka, v, p. 174).

12a-b. Jāt. 467, 8-9; Dutreuil, C^o 41. 12d. Jāt. 141 (i, 488), 397, 3 (iii, 323).

13. Jāt. 467, 6 (iv, 172). b. Je pense qu'on peut lire *pravipāśya-(mā)ñās*, bien que dernier aksara soit plutôt *vās* ou *bhas*. Le Tib. a quatre pādas de 7 syllabes: de las gañ dag ces rab kyis | ldog byed de dag tshim pa thob = *tato ye prajñayā nirvṛtās te tṛptiṃ labhanti*.

14. Jāt. 467, 7.

15a. Cf. Sarp. i, 74. a-b. hdod pa chags pa mi gañ yin | de dag kye ma chos min dga = *kāmaraktā ye nardās te bata adharma rataḥ*. Kye

ma (=bata) représenterait le pâli *pana*. La graphie *hy* porte à croire que la syllabe précédente élidait *a* de *adharmā*, donc *pramatto* (le Tib. lit *pramakta*) en accord avec *narah* au singulier.

16. Dhp. 355.

17. Dhp. 186; Jāt. 258, 2 (ii, 313); Div. 224.

18. Dhp. 187; Jāt. et Div., *ibid.*—*d.* rdzogs sañs rgyas dañ ñan thos rnamś=le[s] complet[s] Bouddha[s] et les Śrāvakas.

19. Snp. i, 117; Div. 224; cf. Jāt. 467, 4. *c-d* (iv, 172). Rockhill, renvoie à Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 19. *d.* *saṃaṃ caret* = legs par spyod = *saṃācaret*.

[20.] Div. 224 : *yaḥ prekṣati duḥkham . . .*

XII

] ? [t]ribhir ālayāṃś tri[m]

jahāti bandhā[m] nipakaḥ pratismṛtaḥ 18

prajñāyudho dhyānabalopapetaḥ

samāhito dhyā[narataḥ] smṛtātmā

lokasya bu(d)dhvā hy udayavyayaṃ ca

vinucyate vedakaḥ sarvato sau 19

sukhaṃ sukhārthī labhate samācaram

kirtim [sa]māpnoti yaśaś ca sar[va]taḥ

ya āryam aṣṭāṅgikam āṃjasaṃ śivaṃ

bhāvayati mārgaṃ hy amṛtasya prāptaye 20

|| mā[rgava]rgaḥ 12 ||

18. "Il attache l'esprit aux trois *saṃādhis*; il médite les *aprītmāṅgas* produits par l'isolement; il brise, au moyen de trois, les trois séjours . . ." (voir la glose dans Rockhill).

19. *a-b.* Cf. Therag. 12*a-b*; SN. 212*a-b*. *b.* Snp. i, 53. *c.* Snp. i, 46, 52; Therag. 10*d.* *b.* *dhyānarata*=tiñ hdzin la dga ba.—Le Tib. ajoute deux pādas, "Celui qui comprend la fin du monde, on l'appelle *lokāntaya*, *pāragata*." (Snp. i, 62, iv, 157.)

20. Therag. 35. *d.* Therag. 1115; Snp. v, 402.

XIII

|| phalaṃ vai kadaliṃ haṃnti phalaṃ veṇuṃ phalaṃ naḍam

satkāraḥ kāpuruṣaṃ hanti svagarbho śvatarīm yathā [1

yāvad e]va hy anarthāya jñāto bhavati bālīśaḥ

hanti bālasya śuklāṃśaṃ mūrdhānaṃ cāsyā pātayet 2

asanto lābham icchanti satkāraṃ ca[iva] . . .

ā]vāsesu ca mātsaryaṃ pūjāṃ parakuḷād api 3

mā me k[r]t[ā]ny ājāniyu[r] gr̥hi pravrajitas tathā,

mama prativas[ā]ś ca sy[uh] k[rtyākṛ[ṇ]tyeṣu] k[e]ṣu cit 4
 iti bālasya saṃkalpa icchāmānābhivardhakaḥ
 anyā hi lābhopeniśad anyā nirvāṇagāmini 5
 [evam jñātvā] yathābhūtaṃ buddhānāṃ śrāvakaḥ sadā
 satkāraṃ nābhinandeta vivekaṃ anubṛṃhayet 6
 na vyāyameva sarvatra nānyesāṃ spṛhako bha[ve]t
 nānyaṃ niḥśṛtya jīveta dharmeṇa na vanik caret 7
 svalābhaṃ nāvamanyeta nānyesāṃ spṛhako bhavet
 anyesāṃ spṛ[ha]k[o] bhikṣuḥ samādhiṃ nādhigacchati 8
 sukhaṃ jīvitum icchee cec chrāmaṇyārtheṣv avekṣavāṃn
 ahir mūṣ[i]kadurgam . . . se[v]eta [śa]ya[nā]sanam 9
 sukhaṃ jīvi[tu]m icchee cec chrāmaṇyārtheṣv avekṣavāṃn
 itaretareṇa saṃtuṣyed ekadharmaṃ ca bhāvayet 10
 sukhaṃ jīvi[tum icchee cec chrāmaṇyārtheṣv avekṣa]vāṃn
 sāṃghikaṃ nāvamanyeta cīvaram [pā]nabhojanam 11
 alpajñāno pi ced bhavati śīleṣ[u] s[u]

1. Culla, vii, 2, 5; Sarp. i, 154; ii, 241; Aṅg. ii, 73; Netti, 130; Dulva, v, 406b. a. yāvad = ji-srid.

2. Dh. 72; Dulva, v, 406b.

3. Dh. 73; cf. Jāt. 477, 9 (iv, 222). b. dge sloṇ hkhor ni, bhikṣu-satkāra; soit satkāraṃ caiva bhikṣuṇ; mais la syllabe qui précède āvāsena est gaḥ ou śaḥ.

4-6 [4-5]. Dh. 74-5.—4d. bya ba byas ruṇ ma byas ruṇ = "kṛtyā-kṛtyāsu kṛtyāsu"; sur kṛtyākṛtya, voir J. S. Speyer, ZDMG. lxx, p. 317.

7 [6]. Udāna, vi, 2. a. eva est tres net; Pāli vyāyameyya; rtsol = vyavasāya, vyāyāma.

8 [7]. Dh. 365; Dutrenil, B 20; Therag. 102d.

9 [8]. Therag. 228. a. māṣakadurginivā, i a demi-effacé et laissant comme un trait d'anuvāra—byi bai kuañ nas sbrul lta bar = māṣikabhiṭṭāh ahir iva.

10-11 [9-10]. Therag. 229-30.

12 [11]. Cf. Aṅg. ii, 7; Therag. 988.

XXI

[vi]rā[h] sa]ddh[armeṇa ta]thāgatā(h)
 dharmeṇa na[y]amānānāṃ ke [.] vasth[]n[]kāḥ 8
 ye dhyānaprasṛtā dhīrā naiṣkramyopaśame ratāḥ
 devāpi spṛhayaṃty eṣāṃ buddhānāṃ śrīmatāṃ sadā : 9
 teṣāṃ devamānuṣyās ca saṃbuddhānāṃ yaśasvinām

sprhayamty āsubuddhi[nām] śarirāntimadhāriṇām 10
 ye cābhyatitā sambuddhā ye ca buddhā hy anāgatāḥ
 yaś cāpy etarhi sambuddho bahūnām [ś]okanāśakāḥ 11
 sarve saddharmaguravo vyāhārṣu viharanti ca
 athāpi vihariṣyanti eṣā buddheṣu dharmatā 12
 [ta]smāt [t]a[r]h[y] ātmakāmena mātmyam abhikāṃ-
 kṣatā
 saddharmo gurukartavyaḥ smaratā buddhaśāsanam 13
 na śraddhāsyanti vai ye tu : [bālā bu]ddhasya śāsanam
 vyasanam te gamiṣyanti vaṇijo rākṣasiṣv iva 14
 śraddhāsyanti tu ye nityam narā buddhasya [śā]sanam[n]
 [sva]st[inā] te gamiṣya[n]ti vālāhenaiva vā[ṇi]jāḥ 15
 tathāgatam buddham iha svaya[m]bhuva[m]
 dvau v[ai] v[i]tarkau bahula[m] samud[ā]carete
 [kṣ]emas tathāiva pravivekayuktas
 tamonutam pārāgamam maharṣim 16
 prāptaḥ sa cāryo vaśimān aśeṣam
 viśvottara[h] sarvabhayaḥ vimukta[h]
 [i]cchāprahāṇo vimalo nirāśaś
 cālokayam lokahitāya satvān 17
 śaile yathā parvatamūrdhani sthito
 yathai[va paś]y[e] ja[natām samantāt,
 tathā hy asau dharmamayam sumedhāḥ
 prāsādam āruhya samantacakṣuḥ
 śokābhībhūtām janatām aśoko
 []kṣid imām [jāt]i[jarā]bhībhūtām 18
 || tathāgatavargaḥ 21 ||

8. Sarp. i, 127; Mahāvagga, i, 24, 6; Mhv. iii, 90, 16—*dpa po de bzhiṅ gcegs pa rnam* | *hli na chos kyis bdul bar mdzad* | *de dag chos kyis bdul ba la* | *m khas pa su yaṅ smod mi byed*. *d.* le Tibétain donne : *na ko pi paṇḍito nindati*; *sth* est possible; le Pāli : *kā usāyā vijānatām*.

9. Dhp. 181; cf. Itiv. 41, 3. Le Tib. omet *c-d*.

10 [9]. Itiv. 41, 3. Lire *myur* avec les *xyll*.

11 [10]. Sarp. i, 140; Aṅg. ii, 21; Mhv. iii, 327, 10.

12 [11]. Sarp. i, 140; Aṅg. ii, 21 et 47 (*a-b*).

13 [12]. Sarp. i, 140; Aṅg. ii, 21 et iv, 91; vv. i, 5, 12*a-b*.

14-15 [13-14]. Jāt. 196, 1-2 (ii, 130); Mhv. iii, 89, 17-20. 15*d.* lire *°heneva*.

16-18 [15-17]. Mahāvagga, i, 5, 7 ; Itiv. 38, 1-3. 16a. *buddhamihi, mi* d'une seconde main, dans l'interligne ; d. lire *tamonudam*. 18. Le Tib. ajoute deux pādas, deux pādas illustres : " ils ouvrent la large porte (*sgo mo*) de l'immortalité ; que ceux qui désirent entendre (*ñan hdod*) rejettent le doute (*the thoem*) " ; cf. Mahāvagga, i, 5, 12.

XXII

|| sādhu śrutam sucaritam, sādhu cāpy aniketatā,
pradakṣiṇam pra[śrāmaṇasyānu]lomikam 1
bālā ihāvijānantaḥ [c]aranti h[y] amarā iva,
vijānatām tu saddharmam ātore

1. Therag. 36a-b ; cf. 588 ; Mahānidessa, xvi, 47 (p. 473). c-d. spoñ bar byed pas rab bskor zhiā | dge sbyoā gi ni rjes mthun legs = *pravrajya pradakṣiṇam* . . .

2. Therag. 276. a. le MS. ne porte certainement pas *avijānantaḥ*, mais plutôt *avijākantaḥ*, la partie inférieure du k étant effacée ; corriger *avijānakāś* ? c-d. mkhas pa dam pai chos dag la (= *paññito saddharmeṣu*) | mthsan moi nad pa bzhin du byed = " The wise man applies himself day and night to the holy Law " (Rockhill) ? *mthsan mo* = nuit, *nad pa* = malade. Pāli ; ātoreṣu andhūrā.

XXIX

[yogān jayati medhāvi ye divyā ye ca mānuṣāḥ] [52A]
[sarvayog]ān praṇudyeha, s[arva]duḥkh[ā]t pramucyate 39
yogād bhava(h) prabhavati viyogād bhavasamkṣayaḥ
eta[d] dvaidhāpatham jñātvā bhavāya vibhavāya ca,
tatra śi[kṣeta] medhāvi yatra yogān atikramet 40
akṛtaṁ kukṛtāc chreyaḥ paścāt tapati duṣkṛtaṁ
śocate duṣkṛtaṁ kṛtvā śocate durgatiṁ gataḥ 41
kṛtan tu [sukṛ]taṁ śreya yat kṛtvā nānutapyate
nandate sukṛtaṁ kṛtvā nandate sugatiṁ gata(h) 42
nābhāsamānā jñāyante miśrā bālai[r hi] paṇḍitāḥ
jñāyante bhāsamānās tu deśayanto rajahpadam 43
bhāsaye(d) dyotayed dharmam ucchrayed ṛṣṇāṁ dhvajam
subhā[si]tadvajā nityam ṛṣayor dharmagauravāṁḥ 44
nindanti tūṣṇīm ā[si]na[m] nindanti bahubhāṣiṇam
alpabhāni ca nintanti nāsti lokesv aninditaḥ 45
ekāntanind[i]taḥ pur[uṣ]aḥ [e]kāntam vā praśamsitaḥ
nābhūd bhaviṣyati ca no na cāpy e[ta]rhi vidyate 46

yam tu vijñā[āh] praśam[santi] hy a[52B][nuyu]iya śubhā-
śubham

praśamsā sā samākhyātā na tv ajñair yaḥ praśamsitam 47

medhāvinam vṛttayuktam prājñam śiṣeṣu samvṛtam

niṣkam jāmbuna[da]syeva kaṣ tam ninditum arhati 48

śailo yathāpy ekaghamo vāyunā na prakampyate

evam nindāpraśamsābhīr na kampyante hi paṇḍitā(h) 49

[ya]sya mūlam kṣītau nāsti, parṇā nāsti tathā latā,

taṁ dhīram bandhanān muktaṁ ko nu ninditum arhati 50

yasyeha prapañcitam, [] no sat

santānam parakham ca yo nivṛttaḥ

trṣṇāvigataṁ munim carantaṁ

na vijānāti sadevako pi lokah 51

yasya jitaṁ no[paj]iyate

jitaṁ anveti na kañ cid eva loke,

taṁ buddham anandagocaram

hy apadaṁ gena padena neṣyasi 52

yasya jālini viśaktikā

trṣṇā nā[sti hi] lokanāyini

taṁ buddham anandagocaram

hy apadaṁ gena padena neṣyasi 53

yasya jālini viśaktikā

trṣṇā nāsti hi lokanāyi[53A][ni]

Voir Udānavarga du Turfan (Pischel, *Die Turfan-Recensionen des Dharmapada*, p. 982 et suiv.).

39 [43]. a-b. cf. Therīg. 76; d. Dhp. 362. a-b. mkhas pa lha dañ mi dag gi | sbyor ba gañ yin hjom byed pa | sbyor ba kun . . .

40 [44]. Cf. Dhp. 282. a-b. Atthasālinī, 229; c-d. SN. 856. a, bhava comme Turfan A; c. eta comme Turfan B; d. vibhavāya, seconde main, dans l'interligne.

41 [45]. a-b. Dhp. 314; cf. Sam. i, 49; Dutreuil, C^o 40 (p. 88).

42 [46]. Dutreuil, C^o 40 [manque dans Turfan B de Pischel, n'est pas transcrit dans le document A, mais y est compté: notre 40 = 50 A et 40 B, notre 41 = 52 A et 42 B].

43-4 [47-8]. 43d. Tib. śantaṁ padam. Sam. ii, 280; Añg. ii, 51; Jāt. 537, 122-3 (v. 509). 44d. vṣayor comme dans Turfan A et B.

45 [49]. Dhp. 227. Pour cette stance et les suivantes, feuillet Berezowski (Izvestia, 1909, p. 547, et JA. 1911, ii, p. 434). a. tuṣṇim ata nindanti (Turfan A tuṣṇim, B tuṣṇim); c. nindanti, Turfan B ninditum (p. 984, n. 21).

46 [50]. Dhp. 228; cf. Udāna, vi, 3; Therag. 180. *a. puruṣaḥ*, visarga comme Turfan; *c. A et Berezowski, nābhūl bhaviṣyati ca no*, B *na cābhū na bhaviṣyati*.

47 [52]. Cf. Dhp. 229a-b. *b-c* manque dans le tibétain.

48 [52]. Dhp. 229c-d-30a-b; cf. Aṅg. ii, 8, 29, iii, 47. *b. sāleṣu*.

49 [53]. Dhp. 81; Mil. 386; cf. M. Vagga, v, 1, 27, 4a-b.

50 [54]. Udāna, vii, 6a-d. *a. Pischel lit yasya mūle teacā*; mais voir p. 984, n. 21, où B 54 correspond exactement à notre 50. *b. Tib. kuto latā*.

51 [51]. Udāna, vii, 7 (*d. nāvajānātī*); Netti, 37 (*d. na vi*); [sur la place de ce *śloka* dans l'Udānavarga, voir Rockhill, p. 149, note]. *a. Pischel yasya ha, A parikhaṃ, B parigha. b. nirvṛta*, comme, xxx, 37b.

52 [55]. Dhp. 179; Nidānakathā, 280 (i, 79); Mhv. iii, 91. *b. kañ cid* comme Turfan (rgyal cuñ zad med); pāli = *kaś cid. c. ananta, kena*.

53 [57]. Dhp. 180; Sam. i, 107; Mhv. iii, 92.

54 [56 ?].

55 [58 ?].

XXX

[duḥkho [55A] bālair hi saṃvāso] hy amitre[neva sarvadā]
dhīrais tu sukhasaṃvāso jñātīnām iva saṃgama(h) 26
durlabhaḥ puruṣo jānyo nāsau sarvatra jāyate
[yatrāsau] jāyate vīras tat kuḷaṃ sukhaṃ edhate 27
sarvathā vai sukhaṃ śete brāhmaṇaḥ parinirvṛtaḥ
yo na lipyati kāmebhir vipramukto [ni]rāsrava(h) 28
sarvā hy āśāstaya cchitvā viniya hṛdayajvaram
upaśānta(h) sukhaṃ śe(te) śāntiṃ prāpyeha cetasa(h) 29
[mā]trā[su]khaparitragād yaḥ paśyed vipulaṃ sukhaṃ
tyajen mātṛasukhaṃ dhīraḥ sa[m]paśyaṃ vipulaṃ sukhaṃ 30
yac ca kāmasukhaṃ loke yac cāpi tivijaṃ sukhaṃ
trṣṇāksayasukhasyaitat kalāṃ nārgathi śoḍaśim 31
nikṣipya hi guruṃ bhāraṃ nādadyād bhāraṃ eva tu
bhārasya dukhaṃ ādānaṃ, bhāranikṣepanaṃ sukhaṃ 32
sarvatṛṣṇāṃ viprahāya, sarvasaṃyojanakṣayāt
sarvopa[55B][dhiṃ pa]rijñāya nāgacchanti punarbhavam 33
artheṣu jāteṣu sukhaṃ sahāyā(h)
puṇyaṃ sukhaṃ jīvitasaṃkṣaye ca,
tuṣṭi(h) sukhā yā dv itaretareṇa
sarvasya duḥkhasya sukho nirodha(h) 34
ayoghanahatasyeva jvalato jātavedasaḥ
anupūrvopaśāntasya ya[thā] na jñāyate gati(h) 35
evaṃ saṃyag vimuktānāṃ kāmapaṅkaghatāriṇām

- prajñāpayi gatiṃ nāsti prāptānām acal[am] s[u]kham 36
 yasyāntarato na santi kopā,
 itthambhāvagatam ca yo nivṛtta(h),
 sukhilam tam sukhitaṃ sadā viśokaṃ
 [de]v[ā nānu]bhavanti darśanena 37
 sukhaṃ hi yasyeha na kiñcanaṃ syāt
 svākhyātadharmaṣya bahuśrutasya
 sakiñcanaṃ paśya vihanya[mānam]
 [janam]jan[eśu] pratibaddhacittam 38
 sukhaṃ hi yasyeha na ki(ñca)naṃ syāt
 svākhyātadharmaṣya bahuśrutasya,
 sakiñcanaṃ [56A] [paśya vi]ha[n]yam[ānam]
 jana[m] janeṣ[u] pratibaddharūpam 39
 sukhino hi janā hy akiñca(nā)
 vedaguṇā hi janā hy akiñcanāḥ
 sa[kiñca]naṃ paśya vihanyamānam
 janam janeṣu prati(baddha)cittam 40
 sukhino hi janā hy akiñcanā
 vedaguṇā hi janā hy akiñcanāḥ
 sakiñ[canam] paśya vihanyamānam,
 janam janeṣu pratibaddharūpam 41
 sarvaṃ paraśaṣaṃ duḥkhaṃ sarvaṃ ātmavaśaṃ su[kha]m
 sādharmaṇe vihanyante yogā hi duratikramā(h) 42
 susukhaṃ bata jivāmo hy uttsukeṣu tv anutsukā(h)
 [u]tsukeṣu manuṣyeṣu vi[ha]rāmo hy anutsukā(h) 43
 susukhaṃ bata jivāmo yeśān no nāsti kiñcana :
 mithilāyāṃ dahya[mānā]yāṃ na no dahyati kiñcana 44
 susukhaṃ bata jivāmo hy ātureṣu tv anāturāḥ
 ātureṣu manuṣyeṣu viha[56B][rāmo] hy anātur[āḥ] 45
 susukhaṃ bata jivāmo himsakeṣu tv ahimsakāḥ
 himsakeṣu manu[ṣyeṣu viharāmo] hy ahim[sakāḥ] 46
 susukhaṃ bata jivāmo vairikeṣu tv avairikāḥ
 vairikeṣu manuṣyeṣu viharāmo hy avairikā[h] 47
 susukhaṃ bata jivāmo heṭhakeṣu tv aheṭhakāḥ
 heṭhakeṣu manuṣyeṣu viharāmo hy aheṭhakā(h) 48
 susukhaṃ bata jivāmo yeśān no nāsti kiñcana :

prītibhākṣā bhaviṣyāmo devā hy ābhasvarā yathā 49
 susukhaṃ bata jivāmo yeṣān no nāsti kiñcana :
 prītibhākṣā bhaviṣyāmo satkāyenopaniḥśritā(h) 50
 grāme []raṇye sukhaduḥkhaspr̥sto
 naivātmano no parato dadhāti :
 sparśāḥ spr̥santi hy upadhiṃ pratitya
 nirau[pa]dhiṃ kiṃ sparśāḥ [57A] [] 51
 sa[rva]tra v[ai satpu]ru[ṣā vra]jant[i]
 na kāmahetor lapayanti santaḥ
 spr̥stā hi dukhena tathā sukhena
 nnoccāvacā(h) sa[tpuruṣā] bhavaṃtī 52 || sukhavarga 30 ||

26 [27a-b, 28c-d]. Dhp. 207 ; Dutreuil, C^o 38-9.

27 [28a-b, e-f]. Dhp. 193 ; Dutreuil, C^o 35 ; Mhv. iii, 109.

28-9 [29-30]. Sam. i, 212 ; Aṅg. i, 138 (cf. WZKM. xxiv, 260), 28d ; Itiv. 57d ; Therag. 516d.

30 [31]. Dhp. 200 ; Dutreuil, C^o 26 + Fr. C xxxix.

31 [32]. Udāna, ii, 2 ; Mbh. xii, 174. 46, 177. 51, 276. 6. b. *divijam*.

32 [33]. Cf. Sam. iii, 26. d. *nikṣepanam*.

33 [34]. b. cf. Therag. 182. d. cf. SN. 733, 743 ; Itiv. 49, 2, 93. 7, 95. 4, 104. 3.

34 [35]. Dhp. 331. c. *yā te* . . .

35-6 [36-7]. Udāna, viii, 10 ; Apadāna in Par. Dhp. v, 157 ; *kāma-paṅka*, Therig. 354a, SN. 945d.

37 [38]. Udāna, ii, 10 ; Cullav. vii, 1, 6. gaṇ zhiḡ srid daṇ srid min las log pa | de dag hjiḡs bral bde zhiṇ mya ṇan med | lhas kyaṇ blta zhiṇ bsam du med par hgyur = . . . *ye bhavadbhavad nirvṛtās te bhayamuktāḥ sukhitā viśokā devair acintyā bhavanti darśanena*.

38-41 [39-42]. Udāna, ii, 5-6 ; cf. Therag. 149. 40-41a. *vedagunāḥ* = yon tan rtogs pa = *guṇavidāḥ*. 39-41d. *skye bo skye boi* . . . lus la . . .

42 [43]. Udāna, ii, 9 ; Mann, iv, 160a-b. a. *sādhāraṇe* = thun moṇ gyur pas.

43 [44]. Dhp. 199 ; Sam. i, 114 ; Dutreuil, C^o 27.

44 [49]. a-b. = Dhp. 200 a-b ; mais Jāt. 539, 125 (vi, 154), Uttarā-dhyāyana, ix, 14 (SBE. xlv, 37) ; Mbh. xii, 276, 4 (9917), xii, 17, 19, xii, 178, 1 ; Mhv. iii, 453, 1 (WZKM. xx, 352 ; Pischel, p. 972). b. *kiñ ca naḥ*, cf. Turfan A, Pischel, p. 972, n. 8.

45 [45]. Dhp. 198.

46 [46].

47 [47]. Dhp. 197 ; Dutreuil, C^o 28 (p. 100).

48 [48].

49 [50]. Dhp. 200 ; Sam. i, 114 ; Jāt. 539, 128 ; Pischel, p. 972.

50 [51]. Turfan-Dhp. A, st. 50 ; manque dans B, Pischel, p. 972.

51 [52]. Udāna, ii, 4. b. *lire ātmata*. na dadhāti = reg par mi hgyur = " Il ne sera pas touché par douleur-plaisir engendré par soi ou autrui ".

52 [53]. Dhp. 83. d. *skyes bu dam pa mtho dman mi hgyur zhiṇ*.

XXXI

durnigrahasya laghuno yatrakāmanipādinah
 cittasya damanam sādhu cittam dāntam su [kh]āvaham: 1
 vārijo vā sthale kṣipta okādoghāt samuddhṛta(h)
 parispondati vai cittam, mārādheyam prahātavai: 2
 [] dhavate citta(m) sūryasyeva hi raśmayah
 tat paṇḍito vārayati, hy ankuśeneva kuñjaram 3
 bhrūṇadheyam idaṃ cittam nihsūram anidarśanam
 sadainam anuśāsāmi mā me narthāya niścaret 4
 idaṃ purā cittam acāri [cā]rikām
 yeneccakam yena kāmam yatheṣṭam
 tat samnigrhṇāmi hi yonīśas
 tvijam nāgam prabhinnam hi yathānguśena 5 [57B]
 [ane]kam jātisamsāram sa[m]dhavitvā punaḥ punaḥ
 gṛhakārakam eśamā(ṇa)s tvam dukhā jāti(h) punaḥ punaḥ 6
 gṛhakāraka dṛṣṭo si, na pu(na)r g[r]ha[m] kariṣyasi
 sarve te pāṣukā bhagnā gṛhakūta(m) visamskṛtam
 visamskāragate citte ihaiva kṣaya[m] adhya[gā]h 7
 spandanam capalam cittam, dūrakṣam durnivāraṇam
 rjuṃ karoti medhāvi, iṣukāra iva te[janam] 8
 na dveṣi dveṣina(h) kuryād vairi vā vairiṇo hitam
 mithyā praṇihitam cittam yat kuryād ātmanātmana(h) 9
 na tā [mā]tā pitā vāpi kuryā[j] jñātis tathāparaḥ
 samyak praṇihitam cittam yat kuryād dhītam ātmanah 10
 yathā hy agāram ducchanam vṛṣṭi[h] samati]bhindati,
 eva[m] hy abhāvitam cittam rāgaḥ samatibhindati 11
 yathā hy agāram ducchanam vṛṣṭiḥ samatibhindati
 evam [58A]
] bhindati 13
 yathā hy agāram ducchanam vṛṣṭi[h] sa]matibhindati,
 e[va]m hy abhā[vi]tam cittam mānaḥ samatibhindati [14
 yathā hy agāram du]cchanam vṛṣṭiḥ samatibhindati,
 evam hy a[bbhāvitam] citta[m] lobhaḥ samatibhindati 15
 yathā[ā] hy agāram ducchanam] vṛṣṭiḥ samatibhindati,
 evam hy abhāvitam cittam [t]rṣṇā samatibhindati 16
 yathā hy agāram su]cchanam vṛṣṭi[r] [na] vyatibhindati,

evam subhāvitam cittam rāgo na vyatibhindati [1]7
 yathā hy agāram succhanam vṛṣṭir na vyatibhin[dati,
 evam subhā]vitam cittam dveṣo na vyatibhindati 18
 yathā hy agāram [succha]na[m] vṛṣṭir na vyatibhindati,
 [evam subhāvitam [58B] cittam māno na vyati]bhindati 20
 yathā hy agāram succhanam vṛṣṭir na vyatibhindati,
 evam subhāvitam cittam lo[bho na vyatibhindati 21
 yathā] hy agāram succhanam vṛṣṭir na vyatibhindati,
 evam subhāvitam cittam, tṛṣṇā na vyatibhindati 22
 manasypūrvāṅga[mā dharmā, manasśreṣṭhā manobha]vā(h)
 manasā hi praduṣṭena, bhāṣate vā karoti vā
 tatas te dukham anveti cak[r]am vā vaha[ta] padam 23
 ma]na(h)pūrvāṅgamā dharmā, manasśreṣṭhā ma[n]o-
 [bhavā]h]

m[anas]ā hi prasamnnena, bhāṣate vā karo[t]i [vā]
 [tatas te sukham anvet]i, echāyevā hy anugāminī 24
 nāprasamnnena cittaena, [dvi]ṣṭena kṣubhītena vā,
 dharmo hi śakyam ājñātum [samyaksambuddhadeṣita]h] 25

26

[59A] na vi]jñ[eyat] subh[āṣi]tam

upakl[i]ṣṭ[e]na c[i]tt[e]na sampra[m]bh[a]samh[. . ena]
 v[ā] 27

a[navā]sth[i] tacitta]sya [saddharmam avijā]natal
 pāriplavaprasādasya, prajñā na paripūryate 28
 srotā(m)si yasya ṣa(t)tri(m)śat manasprasarāvanāni hi,
 [] durdṛṣṭeḥ samkalpair gredhaniśritai(h) 29
 ratimanasṛtam indriyānugam,
 puruṣam cittavaśānuvarta []ha hi,
 jāyāti sarvadā drumam iva śirṇaphalam yathāṇḍajah 30
 ātāpī vihara tvam apramatto,
 [mā kāmaguṇe prama]theta cittam
 mā lohaguḍāṃ gile pramatta,
 krandan vai narakeṣu pacyamāna(h) 31
 utthānakāleṣu nihīnavīryo
 [yuvā balī — —]ko nirāśa(h),

sadaiva samkalpahata kusīdo,
 jñānasya mārṅam satataṃ na vetti: 32
 sthūlāṃ vitar[k]āṃ [aṇa[59B]vo vitarkā
 antaḥst[h[i]tāṃ mānaśaḥ samplavārtham
 vitarkayan vai satataṃ vitarkān
 edāṃ sadā tāvati bhrāntacittaḥ 33
 etā[
 ā]tāpavāṃ samvaraṭāṃ smṛtātmā,
 jahāty aśeṣān apunarbhavāya,
 samāhito dhyānarataḥ sumedhā(h) 34
 kumbhopa[maṃ kāyam imaṃ vi]ditvā,
 nagaropamaṃ cittam adhiṣṭhitaṃ ca,
 yuddhyeta māraṃ prajñāyudhena,
 jitaṃ ca rakṣed aniveśana[h] syat 35]
 ph[e]nopamaṃ kāyam imaṃ viditvā
 nagaropamaṃ cittam adhiṣṭhitaṃ ca,
 yuddhyeta māraṃ prajñāyudhena,
 ji[taṃ ca rakṣed ani]veśanaḥ syāt 36
 kumbhopamaṃ lokam imaṃ viditvā,
 nagaropamaṃ cittam adhiṣṭhitaṃ ca,
 yuddhyeta māraṃ prajñāyu[dhena
 jitaṃ ca rakṣed ani]veśanaḥ syāt 37
 phenopamaṃ lokam imaṃ viditvā,
 nagaropamaṃ cittam adhiṣṭhitaṃ ca
 yu[ddhye]ta māraṃ [praj]ñāyu [60A]

1. Dhp. 35; Jāt. 70 et 97, Comm. (i, 312, 400); Bodhicaryāv. ad v, 6.
b. lire nipātinaḥ.
2. Dhp. 34.
3. *a. bṛag gi . . . so sor rgyug = pratidhāvati me cittam.*
- 4.
5. Dhp. 326; Therag. 77, 1130. *a. MS. tat atsaṃnighṛhāmī; c. lire deijam; d. lire aṅkuṣena.*
6. Dhp. 153; Pischel, pp. 974-5; Nidāna, 278; Sam. i, 16; Asl. 46;
cf. Therag. 283. c. Pischel, eṣāmāna.
7. Dhp. 154; Nidāna, 279; *cf. Therag. 284.*
8. Dhp. 33; Dutreuil, Fr. A viii (p. 35); *cf. Therag. 29.*
- [9.] Dhp. 37.
- 9 [10]. Dhp. 42; Udāna, iv, 3. *a. lire deṣṇinaḥ.*
- 10 [11]. Dhp. 43; Par. Dhp. iv, 203.

11 [12]. Dhp. 13; Therag. 133.

12 [13]. Dhp. 14.—Le Tibétain a 12 stances du "toit", 6 pour le mauvais, 6 pour le bon : mais elles sont mêlées.

23 [24]. Dhp. 1. a. chos kyi sñon du yid gro ste = *dharmapūreṣaṃ-gamaṃ manāḥ*; b. °*bhavāḥ*, vi est certain, et on peut distinguer la partie supérieure de *bha*; cf. 24b; c. MS. *hiḥ*.

24 [25]. Dhp. 2; Asl. 211 = Netti, 129, 133.

25 [27]. ? c. sic MS.

26 [28?]. ?

27 [26]. ? d. MS. *saṃhu*??

28 [29]. Dhp. 38; Jāt. 96, Comm. (i, 400); Dutreuil, A, Frag. i, 3 (p. 33).

29 [30]. Dhp. 339. b. lire *prāsrācāṇāni*; c. MS. *durvṛṣṭeḥ*; d. MS. *greṭhaṇi*°. kun rtog la hchums rten pa yis | lta ṇan sum cu rtsa drug gi | chu boi rgyun ni gañ yin pa | yid kyi rgyun las rab tu hbab. Rockhill paraît peu satisfaisant.

30 [31]. ? Lacune de 5 ou 6 akṣaras. a. On entend bien qu'il faut lire *ratim anuṣṭam*; mais le Tib. semble avoir lu *ratimanas*; c. *jāyati* = *jāyati*. dga sems dbaṅ po phal pa dañ | sems kyi rjes hbrañ zhan pa yi | mi dei grags bgrib hbras lhags pai | ljon ciā la ni bya bzhin no = "... de cet homme la gloire disparaît comme l'oiseau sur l'arbre où il n'y a plus de fruits (?)".—Pour la comparaison, voir Jāt. 429, 1 (iii, 491).

31 [32]. Cf. Dhp. 371; Dutreuil, B 34 (p. 54). Tib. : Ō pensée, ne vous réjouissez pas dans le plaisir . . .

32 [33]. Cf. Dhp. 280; Dutreuil, A², 9 (p. 23). D'après le Tib. : "L'homme qui reste immobile au temps de se lever, jeune, fort, sans effort, qui reste à la maison, paresseux au temps de penser (*bsam pa rdzogs thes? dhyānasampratīkāle?*) . . ."

33 [34]. Udāna, iv, 1.—Tib. : phran thegs rnam rtogs zhib mor rnam rtog pas | nañ na gnas pañ yid ni gyeñ yañ spyo | yid kyi rnam rtog de dag na çes na | lkhrol sems yañ dañ yañ du rgyug par byed | = *sthūla-vitarkāḥ sūkṣmavitarkā antaḥsthitaṃ mana upahanti*; tñ manovitarkāṇ ajñātvā bhrāntacittāḥ punaḥ punar dhāvati.

On peut donc lire—

*sthūlavitarkā anavo vitarkā
antaḥsthita mānasasamplavārtham ;
vitarkayan vai satataṃ vitarkān
etān sadā dhāvati bhrāntacittāḥ.*

34 [35]. Udāna, iv, 1.—d. Sarp. i, 53; Therag. 126; ci-dessus Mārga-varga, 196. b. lire *saṃvaravāḥ* :—

gañ zhig dran ldan rnam lhyed brtson pa dañ
rnam par rtog pa mkhas pas de çes na
nañ na gnas pañ yid ni gyeñ spyo ba
thams cad ma lus blo' yis rab tu spoñ.

La correction de M. Beekh (*gyeñ spyod pa*) est infirmée par *Madhyamakāvatāra*, 367 et 345, 18.

35 [36]. Dhp. 40.

36 [38].

37 [37].

38 [39].

XXXII

ya[63A]thāpi parvataḥ śail[o vāyunā] na prakampyate :
 evaṃ lobhakṣayād bhik[ṣu]ḥ śailavan na pra[kam]pyate 15
 yathā[p]i [parva]taḥ śai[lo vāyunā] na prakampyate :
 evaṃ trṣṇākṣayād bhikṣuḥ śailavaṃ na prakampyate : 16
 yasya saṃn[i]cayo nāsti yasya nās[t]i mamā[y]i[tam]
 [abhā]ve śocate naiva sa vai bhikṣur nirucyate 18 (= 17)
 bhikṣur na tāvatā bhavati yāvatā bhikṣate parān
 veś[y]āṃ [dharmān samādā]ya bhikṣur bhavati na
 tāvatā : 18

yas tu puṇyaṃ ca pāpaṃ ca prahūya brahmacaryavāṃ :
 vi[ś]re[ṇibhūtaś cara]ti [sa] vai [bhi]kṣur nirucyate 19
 maitrāvihāri yo bhikṣuḥ prasanno buddhaśāsane :
 adhigacchet padaṃ śāntaṃ saṃskā[ropaśamaṃ śivam 20]
 [mai]trāvi[hāri y]o bhikṣuḥ prasanno buddhaśāsane
 [a]dhigacchetpadaṃ śā[ntam]asecanakadarśanam : 20 (= 21)
 maitrā[v]i[hāri yo bhikṣuḥ prasanno [63B] buddhaśāsa]ne :
 22

[pramodyabahu]lo bhikṣur duḥkhakṣayam avāpnuyāt 23
 śāntakāyaḥ śāntavāk (ca cittena) susamāhitah
 vāntalokā[miṣo bhikṣur upaśānto ni]rucyate 24
 nāsty aprajñasya vai dhyānaṃ prajñā nādhyāyato sti ca :
 yasya dhyānaṃ tathā prajña sa [] ? e : 25
 tasmād dhyānaṃ tathā prajñāṃ anuyujye[ta] paṇḍitaḥ
 tasyāyam ādir bhavati tathā prajñasya bhik[ṣuṇaḥ] 2[6]
 saṃtuṣṭir indriyair guptiḥ prātimokṣe ca saṃvara(h)
 māt rajātā ca bhakteṣu prāntaṃ ca śāyanāsanam
 adhicitte e[a] āyo[ga etad buddhānuśāsanam] 27
 yas[ya] kāyena vācā [ca] manasā ca na duṣkṛtam
 kalyāṇaśīlam āhus taṃ hri[] 28]

Le feuillet 62 a passé dans la collection Pelliot, voir JA. 1910, ii, p. 450.

15-16 [16-17]. Cf. Udāna, iii, 4 ; Therag. 651, 1,000 (et 191). a. = Aṅg. i, 152 ; B ii, 154a.

17 [18]. a. Dhp. 92 ; Turfan, xxix, 35a. b-d. Dhp. 367 ; cf. SN. 950, Dutreuil, B 38 (p. 56). c. [abhā]ve = med na añ.

18 [19]. Dhp. 266 ; Dutreuil, B 26 (p. 50) ; Snp. i, 182 ; cf. Mhv. iii, 422, 12-13. *c. vesiya* est traduit par *groñ pai* (?), "les dharma du village," voir le Comm. du Dhp.

19 [20]. Cf. Mhv. iii, 422, 14-15 ; Dhp. 267 ; Dutreuil, B 27 ; Snp. i, 182. Le Tibétain a six stances du *maitravihāri*, 21-6.

20 [22]. Dhp. 368 ; Dutreuil, B 29 (p. 52).

21 [21]. Cf. Mhv. iii, 421, 17-18. *b-c*. Dutreuil, B 31 (p. 53).

22.

23 [27*c-d*]. *c-d*. cf. Dutreuil, B 31 (p. 53) ; Dhp. 376 ; Therag. 11 ; Snp. i, 203 ; Mhv. iii, 422, 7.

[23.]

[24.]

[25.] Dutreuil, B 28 ; Therag. 2*b-c*.

[26.]

[27.] *a-c*. Mhv. iii, 422, 6 ; *b-c*. Dutreuil, B 31*a-b* ; *c-d*. st. 23 ci-dessus.

24 [28]. Dhp. 378. Tib. = *sāntakāyaḥ sāntavāḥ anasamāhitacittaḥ*.

[29.] *a-c*. Dhp. 372 ; *d*. = *sa vai bhikkhūti vuccati*.

25 [30]. Dhp. 372 ; Dutreuil, B 16 (p. 45). *d*. Version du Kandjour, "he shall be called a Bhikṣu" ; version du Tandjour, "he is near to nirvāṇa" (Rockhill).

26 [31]. *a-b*. cf. Therag. 204 ; Visuddhimagga, viii, *tasmā have appamatto anuyūjetha paññito*.

26*c-d*, 27*a-b*. Dhp. 375 ; Dutreuil, B 17 (p. 45).

27 [32]. *b-f*. Dhp. 185 ; Dīgha, ii, 49-50 ; Udāna, iv, 6. *a*. MS. *gugghāḥ*.

28 [33]. Itiv. 97, 1. *a-b*. Dhp. 391 = Jāt. 348, 3 (iii, 148), 435, 4 (iii, 525).

XII

GOTHS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By STEN KONOW

THE oldest instances of the use of the word *yavana*, *yona*, in India were discussed by the late Professor Weber in his paper on the Greeks in India.¹ He maintained that the Indians adopted this denomination of the Greeks from the Persians. He also remarked that the name was then later on transferred to the Indo-Scythian successors of the Greeks in North-Western India, and, further, to the Parthians, Persians, and Arabs. There can be no doubt that the word was in later times commonly used to denote the Musalmāns, and sometimes also, in a more general way, as synonymous with *mleccha*.² On the other hand its original meaning was certainly 'a Greek'. That is the case in the Aśoka inscriptions, in the Besnagar column inscription, and in some of the Nasik and Karle epigraphs. In the Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of Siri-Pulumāyī Vāsīthīputa (EI, 8. 60) we find the *yavanas* mentioned together with *sakas* and *palhavas*, and it is just possible that the word here denotes some Indo-Scythian tribe and not exactly the Greeks. In the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman of the year 72, i.e. probably of A.D. 150,³ we hear of a *yavana* 'king' (*rājan*) Tuśāspha, who was governor of Kāthiānvāḍ under the emperor Aśoka. The name Tuśāspha cannot be Greek, but must be Iranian. Still he is called a *yavana*. This shows that in the second century A.D., the name *yavana* was not restricted to the Greeks.

¹ "Die Griechen in Indien": Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1890, pp. 901 ff.

² Compare Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. iv, p. 246.

³ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. viii, pp. 36 ff.

The word *yavana* also occurs in three Junnar inscriptions which must be assigned to the second century.¹ One of them, Burgess-Indraji No. 7, does not give any further indication of what can be meant by the name. The two remaining ones both mention some *yavanas* who are further characterized as *gatas*. The first of them, Burgess-Indraji No. 5, runs:—

yavanasa Irilasa gatāna deyadhama be poḍhiyo.

“Gift of two cisterns by the yavana Irila of the *gatas*.”

The second, Burgess-Indraji No. 33, reads:—

yavaṇasa Cīṭasa gatāna bhojaṇamaṭapo deyadhama saghe.

“Gift of a refectory to the community by the yavaṇa Cīṭa of the *gatas*.”

The names Irila and Cīṭa and the word *gata* do not occur in other inscriptions, and they have not been satisfactorily explained. Professor Lüders thinks that *gata* represents a Sanskrit *garta*.² The only thing which is certain is that the two *yavanas* are characterized as belonging to the *gatas*.

Junnar played a rôle of considerable importance under the Western Kṣatrapas. According to Dr. Bhandarkar,³ it was the capital of Nahapāna. There cannot then be any objection to explaining the word *yavana*, *yavaṇa* in the Junnar inscriptions as a name of other foreign tribes than the Greek, just as in the case in the Rudradāman inscription. It may denote any of those tribes which formed the following of the Kṣatrapas.

The name of the yavana of No. 5 is *Irila*, and this word leads me to think that the *gata-yavanas* were in reality Goths. *Irila* is the regular Gothic form of a well-known Germanic name. It is found in Runic inscriptions from

¹ See Burgess & Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of Western India*, Bombay, 1881, pp. 41 ff.

² List of Brahmi Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. x, appendix, Nos. 1154, 1182.

³ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 160.

By and Veblungnes in Norway, Kragehul in Denmark, and Lindholm and Varnum in Sweden as *Erila*, *Eirila*.¹ The word is essentially identical with Anglo-Saxon *eorl*, English *earl*, Old Norse *jarl*, Old Saxon *erl*, and it is further connected with the ethnic name *eruli*, *heruli*. There are also several names in Germanic languages which contain the base *erla*.

The name *Ciṭa* of the gata of the Junnar inscription No. 33 can also be explained as a Gothic name. In an old Runic inscription from Tjurkö in Sweden occurs a name *Helda*. The Gothic form of this word would be *Hild-*. The initial *h* must have had a sound similar to the modern German *ch* in the Gothic language of the second century, and it is quite conceivable that an Indian would have tried to mark this sound by the palatal *c*. An *ld* would probably become *lt*, *lṭ*, as is commonly the case in modern vernaculars. Dr. Grierson has been good enough to inform me that, at the present day, the English *ld* becomes, in some mouths *lṭ*, and in other mouths *l-d*. In the latter case the two letters are separated as if in different syllables. If a Gothic name *Hilda* were adopted in the form *Cilta* or *Cilṭa*, the result in a Prakrit dialect would be *Ciṭa* or *Ciṭṭa*, both of which would be written *Ciṭa*. It is therefore quite possible that *Ciṭa* is an attempt at reproducing the sounds of a Gothic name *Hild-*.

Both *Irila* and *Ciṭa* are characterized as *gatas*, and this latter word is the regular Indian form corresponding to Latin *goti*, the Goths.

The oldest indigenous forms of the name of the Goths, which occur in the inscription on the gold ring from Pietroassa,² *gutaniowihailag*, and in the words *gut-ḥindai*, in the Gothic people, in the fragment of a Gothic

¹ See Sophus Bugge, *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer*, [vol. i], pp. 100 ff., 195 ff.; Kristiania, 1893-95.

² See Rudolf Henning, *Die deutschen Runendenkmäler*; Strassburg, 1889, pp. 27 ff.

calendar preserved in the Codex Ambrosianus A of Wulfila, contain an *u* and not an *o* in the first syllable. The Gothic language differs from other Germanic tongues in retaining an old *u* in such cases where the following syllable contains an *a* or an *o*. The Goths must accordingly have called themselves *gutans* or *gutōs* and not *gotans* or *gotōs*.¹ It is, however, remarkable that their ethnic name has been adopted in so many foreign languages in forms which seem to presuppose an original *gotans* or *gotōs*. The *o* of Anglo-Saxon *gotan*, Old Norse *gotar*, does not, it is true, prove anything, because it can be explained as due to the laws prevailing in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse respectively. The state of affairs is different, however, when we turn to the forms which the name of the Goths assumed in Latin and Greek.

The oldest classical authority who mentions the Goths is Pliny. He mentions the *guttones* among the five Germanic nations who, according to him, lived on the shores of the Baltic (iv, 99). In another passage, xxxvii, 35, he reproduces a statement made by Pytheas from Marseilles, about a tribe which lived near the Frische Haff and traded in amber. The name of the tribe has been handed down in the manuscripts in the forms *guiones*, *gutones*, *guttones*, and *gotones*, and should probably be read *guttones*, though the famous German scholar Müllenhoff was of opinion that we should correct into *teutones*. *Guttones* or *gutones* represent the old Gothic *gutans*. The same is the case with the Greek form Γούθωνες of Ptolemy (III, v, 20). Most classical authors, however, use forms containing an *o* in the first syllable. Thus Tacitus calls the Goths *gotones* (*Annals*, ii, 62) or *gothones* (*Germania*, 43), both of which forms apparently reproduce a Gothic *gotans*. The commonest forms are Latin *goti*, Greek Γότθοι. The latter is probably the base of Slavonic *gotthi*, which already occurs in the Legend of

¹ It seems as if the oldest form was an *u*-base and not an *a*-base.

St. Konstantinos (lived ninth century). *Goti* and *Γότθοι* seem to reproduce a Gothic *gotōs*.

Forms such as *gotans*, *gotōs* would not be possible in the Gothic of Wulfila. The usual classical forms must, therefore, either belong to other Gothic dialects in which the *u* in the name of the nation had become *o*, or they must have come to the classical peoples indirectly through some other Germanic tribe, or they might be an inaccurate rendering of the Gothic word. If I am right in identifying the *gatas* of the Junnar inscriptions with the Goths, the only theory which will suit the facts is, I think, that the various forms *goti*, *Γότθοι*, *gata* have all been taken from some Gothic dialect which agreed with most Germanic tongues in changing an old *u* to *o* when an *a* or *o* occurred in the following syllable. For the Indians have always been keen observers of sounds, and would not easily confound an *o* and an *u*, and those who wrote the word *gata* in the Junnar inscriptions can only have heard the original denomination from the mouth of these *gatas* themselves.

Now we know next to nothing about Gothic dialects. The Goths, the Gepides, the Vandals, the Burgunds, the Herules, and the Rugians form a distinct group of Teutonic tribes, and the Goths who began to push southwards about the middle of the second century were certainly not an unmixed tribe. According to Richard Löwe,¹ the Goths of the Crimea were properly Herules, and their dialect in later times presents some peculiar features. One of these is of interest in the present connexion, viz. the substitution of *o* for *u* before an *a* or *o*; compare *boga*, bow. There is no reason for doubting that this change is old in the dialect, and we would then have a Gothic language of the kind needed in order to explain the forms Latin *goti*, Greek *Γότθοι*, Indian *gata*.

To sum up, it will be seen that the word *gata*, which

¹ *Die Reste der Germanen am schwarzen Meere*, Halle, 1896, pp. 111 ff.

has hitherto remained unexplained, exactly corresponds to Latin *goti*, and that we know of a Gothic dialect in which the name of the Goths must have contained an *o* in the base. The two names *Irila* and *Ciṭa*, moreover, seem to be the Gothic forms of two well-known Teutonic names. Both *Irila* and *Ciṭa* are called *yavanas*, and this denomination was not, in the second century, restricted to the Greeks. Finally, it seems impossible to explain the words *gata*, *Irila*, and *Ciṭa* in any other way. Taken together, all these points make it highly probable that *Irila* and *Ciṭa* were two Goths, who had found their way to India and entered the service of the Western Kṣatrapas.

It is more difficult to see whence these Goths can have come to India. We know from Ptolemy that about the middle of the second century the Goths were still dwelling on the banks of the Vistula. Their southward movement is generally believed to have had some connexion with the war against the Markomanni (166–80 A.D.), and it is often stated that they did not reach the Black Sea before the beginning of the third century. *Irila* and *Ciṭa* could not, in that case, well have come from that neighbourhood. Their home must have been the north, either the country on the Vistula, or Scandinavia, or the Danish isles. Jordanes (ch. 4) tells us that the Goths had come *ex Scandza insula*, and the Herules who are mentioned as the old inhabitants of Southern Scandinavia, Denmark, and the Danish isles have certainly been their near kindred. The names *Irila* and *Ciṭa*, however, can hardly hail from any of these countries, because the old northern forms of these names contain an *e* and not an *i* in the first syllable. It therefore seems necessary to infer that *Irila* and *Ciṭa* had come from the country where Ptolemy locates the Goths, viz. the banks of the Vistula. In this connexion the statement of Pliny, that the Goths traded in amber, if we adopt the reading *guttonibus* in xxxvii, 35, is of some interest. It might be conceived that *Irila* and

Ciṭa had left their home as traders in amber, that they had proceeded to Rome, and thence to Asia, where they were attracted by the fame of the riches of India. The desire to see foreign countries and to accumulate fame and wealth probably urged them to leave their home, just as we find it to have been the case with the Vikings in later times. Archæologists, however, state that there are some indications that the Goths have been settled on the Black Sea at a much earlier date than is usually assumed. In that case the appearance of Goths in Ancient India is more easily explained. It has already been remarked that the word *gata* seems to represent a form which is in accordance with the rules prevailing in the dialect of the Goths of the Crimea, and the most likely assumption is perhaps that Irila and Ciṭa originally came from that neighbourhood.

XIII

IRANIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE

By DR. M. N. DHALLA

I (=L 1).¹ VENDIDAD SADA (Avesta)

29·8 × 23·7 cm.

Fols. 246, marked in Gujarati.

19 lines to a page.

Rubrics in Guj. in an upturned script.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

No colophon, but on fol. 246 the year 804 A.Y. (=1435 A.D.) is inserted by a later hand. A short postscript in Guj. on the last page states that this Vendidad with Yasna and Visperad is 300 or 350 years old.

II (L 2). VENDIDAD SADA (Av.)

35·7 × 27·3 cm.

Fols. 350, marked in Guj.; fols. 349-50 blank.

17 lines to a page.

Rubrics in Guj. in an upturned script, and written with red ink.

The first folio has short Pers. and Guj. scripts, which state that this Vendidad with Yasna and Visperad is written in a very clear script.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

Colophon at the end in Phl., Pers., and Guj.; written by Mobed Rustam Bahram Darab Sorab Manek Peshotan Sanjana at Surat in the year 1129 A.Y. (=1759 A.D.).

¹ The references L 1, L 2, etc., are to Geldner's *Avesta* (Stuttgart, 1896), *Prolegomena*, pp. viii-x.

III (L 3). VENDIDAD SADA (Av.)

35.1 × 26.7 cm.

Fols. 294, marked in Guj.; fols. 63, 67a blank.

15 lines to a page.

Rubrics in Pazand written in Av. characters, and in an upturned Guj. script. These rubrics appear in red. Some additional rubrics in Phl. appear on the margin or above the lines. These rubrics are by another hand, and are in black.

Prefatory notes in Pers. and Guj. on the first page state that the writer of the MS. is the learned Dastur Darab, the teacher of Anquetil, and that it is the best of all existing MSS. Geldner, however, brands it as less carefully written; see his *Avesta*, prol., p. ix.

IV (L 4). VENDIDAD (Av., Phl.)

26.5 × 21.5 cm.

Fols. 304, marked in Guj.; fols. 153–304 incorrectly marked, but changed to correct ones by a later hand.

15 lines to a page.

The MS. has some damaged pages which are restored by a later hand on separate papers pasted on the old folios.

Fols. 153–85 contain occasional interlinear glosses in Persian.

The colophon is missing, but Geldner (*Avesta*, prol., p. ix) notes that it is found in the MS. Pt₂, which is a transcript from this codex. According to this, the writer of the MS. is the well-known Mitro Āpān Kaikhūsrōb (692 A.Y. = 1323 A.D.). A short script in Guj. appearing on the first page mentions that the MS. is very old and rare and may bear the date 652 A.Y. (= 1283 A.D.).

V (L 5). VENDIDAD SADA AND VISHTASP YASHT (Av.)

28.4 × 25.1 cm.

Fols. 387, marked in Guj.; fols. 327–34 and 360–87 not marked; fol. 358 incorrectly marked 353; 7 blank folios at the end.

15 lines to a page.

The MS. begins with a list of contents in Pers. and Guj. After 3 blank folios the Av. text of Vishtāsp Yt. is copied in very small letters on 8 pages, with 46 to 54 lines to a page. These 8 pages are not numbered. The numbering of the folios begins with the first chapter of the Vendidad.

Rubrics in Guj., but written in Av. characters and in red.

Two diagrams appear on fols. 38, 357.

The MS. ends with a colophon in Paz. written in Av. characters and one in Guj. Finished on the 5th day of the 10th month of the year 1161 A.Y. (= 1792 A.D.) by Ervad Rustam Darab Framroz Minochihr Kershaspi Pavri at Bombay.

VI (L 6). YASNA (Av.)

25·8 × 14·7 cm.

Fols. 198, marked in Guj.

15 lines to a page.

Interlinear glosses in Pers., generally on the margin.

Rubrics in Guj. in an upturned script.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

A Pers. colophon on fol. 197 states that the MS. was finished on the 17th day of the 10th month of the year 1110 A.Y. (= 1741 A.D.) by Ervad Rustam Bahram Ardashir Noshirvan.

VII. BUNDAHISHN (Paz. in Av. characters)

29·8 × 19·1 cm.

Fols. 99, not marked; first and last five folios blank.

15 lines to a page.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

The text begins with the chapter on the Gokard tree. According to West (SBE., v, Intr., p. xxxi) a copy derived

from L₂₂. On fols. 70-6 appears the text of *Mātigān-i Haft Amshāspand*.

The MS. ends with a colophon in Pers. which states that the codex was finished on the 11th day of the 9th month of the year 1174 A.Y. (= 1805 A.D.) by Ervad Darab Dastur Rustam Jamshed Bahram Framroz at Surat.

VIII. RIVAYAT (of Kamdin Shapur of Cambay. Paz. in Av. characters)

21.3 × 17 cm.

Fols. 150. First 3 folios, which contain lists of contents in Pers. and Guj., are not marked; fols. 1-34 marked in Av. figures; one folio between 34 and 35 is not marked; fols. 36-150 marked in Guj.

15 lines to a page.

Fols. 138-49 give the Pers. texts (20 lines to a page); fols. 27, 31, 35, 80 contain diagrams; fol. 25 has a Phl. Nirang; fols. 134-6 give an index in Paz., written in Av. characters.

A Paz. colophon on fol. 133 states that the MS. was finished on the 10th day of the 10th month of the year 1020 A.Y. (= 1652 A.D.) at Navsari by Peshotan Faridun. A further colophon possibly copied from an older MS. appears on fols. 149-50 in Pers. and Paz. (Av. characters). The latter bears the date 13th day and 12th month of the year 896 A.Y. (= 1527 A.D.). A short Guj. script on the first folio says that the MS. was obtained from Navsari with great difficulty, and is not found elsewhere.

IX (L 9). KHORDAH AVESTA (Av., Guj.)

20.1 × 11.1 cm.

Fols. 214, marked in Guj.

13 lines to a page.

The MS. contains the introductory prayers, 5 Nyāishes, Hōrmazd Yt., Patits, Nirangs, 3 Āfrīgāns, viz.: Dahmān,

Ardafravash, and Gahanbār, Paz. and Skt. Āshīrvāds. The Guj. version appears in Skt. characters and in an upturned script.

No colophon, but the Paz. and Skt. Āshīrvāds give the year 1012 A.Y. and Samvat 1701 (= 1644 A.D.). A short Guj. script on the first page mentions that the MS. is good and very rare.

X. KHORDAH AVESTA (in Guj. characters)

24.5 × 14.2 cm.

Fols. 126, marked in Guj.

15 lines to a page.

A Guj. index on fols. 125-6.

Contents: The introductory prayers, 5 Nyāishes, Hōrmazd, Ardabahisht, 2 Srōsh, Hōm, Vanand, Yashts, 5 Gāhs, Patit, Nīrangs, and Namaskārs.

A Guj. colophon on fol. 124 states that the MS. was copied by Behdin Aga Bahram Dhanji Jivaji Dalal. Samvat 1842 (= 1786 A.D.).

XI. PAZAND GLOSSARY

20.4 × 14.1 cm.

Fols. 93, marked in Guj.

Words written in Av. characters.

Fols. 1-23 contain Pers. meanings of some Paz. words.

No colophon.

XII (L 12). KHORDAH AVESTA (Av., Phl.)

18.7 × 13.6 cm.

Fols. 119, marked in Guj.; fols. 113-16 blank.

11 to 14 lines to a page.

Contents: Introductory prayers, Khurshēd, Māh, and Ātash Nyāishes, Hōrmazd and 2 Srōsh Yashts, 2 Sīrōzahs, occasional explanatory glosses in Pers. Fol. 102 has a Pers. colophon which gives the date, 15th day of the 4th month of the year 1124 A.Y. (= 1755 A.D.); but the name of the scribe is blotted out.

XIII (L 13). YASNA (Av.)

21 × 11 cm.

Fols. 259, marked in Guj. Many folios have two different numbers in Guj. First 24 and the last 2 folios supplied by a later hand.

12 lines to a page, with the exception of the new folios, which give 13 lines to a page.

No colophon.

XIV. ZOROASTRIAN LITURGY (Av.)

24 × 14·4 cm.

Fols. 150, marked in Guj.

19 lines to a page.

Extensive rubrics in Guj. in an upturned script, written in black as well as red.

The MS. contains various Bāj liturgies, and is called (p. 1) in Guj. Bāj Dharnā and in Pers. Darūn Yashtān.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

The last page gives Samvat 1847 (= 1790 A.D.).

A postscript in Pers. states, "I have finished this book with my own hands in the month Adar." The whole line is afterwards scratched out. Neither the year nor the name of the scribe is given.

XV. SHIKAND GUMANIK VIJAR (and other texts.
Phl., Paz.)

20·3 × 14·9 cm.

Fols. 119, not marked.

10 to 13 lines to a page.

The first folio gives the following list of contents in Guj. and Pers.: Shikand Gūmānik Vijār, Yōsht-i Frayān, Patit, and Pursish Pāshōkh. The MS. begins with a description of the Darūn ceremony. In addition to the above, the MS. gives the text of Mātigān-i Haft Amshāspand.

The Patit is written by another hand and on different papers, and is in the Paz. script, written in Av. characters. The last thirty-six folios contain the text of Shikand Gūmānik Vijār, which is incomplete.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

A Pers. colophon appears at the end of the Patit. It has "the 5th day and 10th month", but the year is not given, and the name of the scribe is carefully blotted out. The handwriting of this MS. resembles that of L₂₆, which was written in 1737 A.D. (see Haug & West, *Arda Viraf*, Intr., pp. ix-x, Bombay, 1872).

XVI (L 16). NYAISHES AND YASHTS (Av.)

20 × 11.5 cm.

Fols. 116, marked in Guj. After one blank folio the second one begins with the number 6. Fols. 6-16 are marked twice. One folio after fol. 96 is not numbered, and the numbering of fols. 111-16 is cut off in the margin.

Contents: 5 Nyāishes and Srōsh Yasht Hādhōkht.

No colophon.

XVII (L 17). YASNA (Av.)

22.3 × 16.2 cm.

Fols. 198, marked in Guj.

15 lines to a page.

Extensive rubrics in Guj. written in an upturned script.

A short Guj. script on the first page says that the MS. is about 300 to 350 years old. The first folio contains a deed of sale of the MS. made in Samvat 1847 (= 1790 A.D.). The MS. ends with a colophon in Pers. Finished by Mobed Ardashir on the 20th day of the 8th month of the year 920 A.Y. (= 1551 A.D.).

XVIII (L 20). YASNA (Av.)

24.6 × 13.7 cm.

Fols. 169, marked in Guj.

15 to 18 lines to a page.

Rubrics in Guj. in an upturned script, written in red.

No colophon. The MS. is modern.

XIX. MINOKHIRAD (Paz., Skt.)

19.8 × 13.4 cm.

Fols. 148, marked in Guj., but mostly cut off in the margin.

15 lines to a page.

The Skt. version appears in alternate sentences and in an upturned script.

Fols. 133-48 contain Av., Paz., Skt. fragments of Āfrin and Aogemadaecā.

A Phl. colophon appears on fol. 132, which, according to West (SBE., 24, Intr., p. xxi), is copied from some older MS., and which says that the MS. was completed by Ervad Shatroyar, contemporary (?) of Neryosangh. This is followed by a Skt. colophon reading: Finished on the 18th day of the 2nd month of the year 890 A.Y. (= 1520 A.D.) by Mihrvan Mahyar, grandson of Padam at Navsari.

XX (L 18). KHORDAH AVESTA AND YASHTS (Av.)

24.4 × 17.4 cm.

Fols. 508, marked in Guj.; fols. 481-90 marked also 449-58, but this erroneous numbering is scratched out; fols. 491-508 not marked.

13 lines to a page.

The MS. begins with a detailed index in Guj.

Contents: Introductory prayers, 5 Nyāishes, 2 Patits, Paz. and Skt. Āshīrvāds, Āfrins Gahanbār, Ardafravash,

and Hamkār, 5 Gāhs, the Yashts, viz.: Hōrmazd, Haftān, Ardabahisht, Avardād, 2 Srōsh, Bahrām, Ābān, Khurshēd, Māh, Tīr, Gōsh, Mihr, Rashna, Fravardin, Hōm, Vanand, Din, Āštād, Zamyād, and Nirangs.

The old MS. ends at fol. 490*a*, after which new folios are added by a later hand.

Fol. 231 blank. Concerning the disorder in the arrangement of the text see Geldner's *Avesta*, prol. ix.

No colophon, but the Paz. and Skt. Āshīrvāds have the years 1042 A.Y. (fol. 111) and Samvat 1729 (fol. 118) = 1672 A.D. The Guj. index is made in Samvat 1832 (= 1775 A.D.).

XXI (L 11). KHORDAH AVESTA (Av.)

21·7 × 12·2 cm.

Fols. 277, marked in Guj.

13 lines to a page.

Fols. 1–79 have rubrics in upturned Guj. script in red; fols. 82–229 rubrics in Pers. but written in Av. characters; fols. 230–77 rubrics in an upturned Guj. script in black, and in Pers. written in Av. characters in red. Fols. 1–88 written by another hand.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

Contents: Introductory prayers, 5 Nyāishes, Gāthā, Gahanbār, and Dahmān Āfringāns, 5 Gāhs, Hōrmazd, Haft Amshāspand, Ardabahisht, 2 Srōsh, Hōm, Vanand, Bahrām Yashts, Bājes, Nirangs, Av. fragments, and Sirōzahs.

Colophon in Pers. at the end. Finished on the 10th day of the 2nd month of the year 1093 A.Y. (= 1723 A.D.) by Ervad Mihrnosh Dastur Bahram Khūrshed Sanjana at Navsari.

A short Guj. script on the cover says that the MS. is very correct; another one on the first folio says that it is copied by Darab, the disciple of Jamasp, who brought the MS. from Kirman to Surat.

XXII. BUNDAHISHN (Paz. in Av. characters)

21·3 × 14·1 cm.

Fols. 153, of which the first 136 folios marked in Av. figures, fols. 137–51 in Guj., as also in Av. figures, fols. 152–3 blank.

14 lines to a page.

The MS. begins with the chapter on the Gokard tree. For the details of the arrangement of the chapters see West in SBE., vol. v, Intr., p. xxxi. The Paz. text of the *Mātigān-i Haft Amshāspand* appears on fols. 113–22.

Colophon in Phl. on fol. 111, which West thinks as having been copied from some older MS. The colophon runs thus: Copied by Ashdin Kaka Dhanpal Lakhmidhar Bahram Lakhmidhar Manpat Kamdin Zartusht Mobed Hormazdyar Ramyar in 936 A.Y. (= 1567 A.D.).

XXIII. SHIKAND GUMANIK VIJAR (Paz.)

20·4 × 13·5 cm.

Fols. 79, marked in Guj.; fols. 51–79 are incorrectly marked 56–85.

10 to 12 lines to a page.

The first page gives the title of the MS. in Pers. and Guj. as *Purshis Pashokh* in Pahlavi. Concerning the arrangement of the chapters see Hoshang & West, *Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār*, Intr., p. xxv, Bombay, 1887.

No colophon, but the MS. is in the same handwriting as L₂₅, which is dated 1106 A.Y. (= 1737 A.D.).

XXIV. ZOROASTRIAN LITURGY (Av.)

23·1 × 13 cm.

Fols. 164, marked in Guj.

17 lines to a page.

Extensive rubrics in an upturned Guj. script.

Short Guj. and Pers. scripts on the first page state that this MS. Vazargorad contains an account of the Bāj, Barsam, and Darūn ceremonies.

Fols. 155-63 give the text of Patit in Paz. written in Av. characters. This work, however, is not to be confused with the well-known Phl. Vijirkard-i Dēnik.

Colophon in Paz. written in Av. characters, and another in Guj.

Finished on the 6th day of the 1st month of the year 1131 A.Y. (= 1761 A.D.) by Ervad Khūrshed Minochihriji Cavaṣji Jamaspji Bhajji Sanjana.

XXV (L 25). KHORDAH AVESTA (Av., Pers.)

24.7 × 14.2 cm.

Fols. 85, marked in Pers.

15 lines to a page.

Contents: Introductory prayers, 5 Nyāishes, Hōrmazd Yt., Gahanbār, Gāthā, and Dahmān Āfrīngāns.

Written by Dastur Caoos of Surat in 1223 A.H. (= 1808 A.D.).

XXVI. SIROZAH (Phl.) AFRINS (Paz.)

20.1 × 13.8 cm.

Fols. 86, not marked; last two folios blank.

The first page contains a list of contents in Pers. and Guj.

Contents: Sirōzahs (Phl.), Pershad (Av. with occasional rubrics in Guj.), Gahanbār, Buzurg, Vadardagān Āfrīns (Paz. in Av. characters).

A Pers. script occurs at the end of the Pershad, which states, "finished on the 17th day and 10th month of the year 1106 A.Y." (= 1737 A.D.). The writer's name is not given.

XXVII (L 27). VISPERAD (Av.)

16.31 × 13.8 cm.

Fols. 121, marked in Guj.

Rubrics in Paz. in Av. characters and in an upturned Guj. script written in red.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

The Visperad text ends on fol. 86, and is followed by the latter part of Yasna. The MS. breaks up on fol. 121 with an incomplete sentence.

No colophon. A short Guj. script on the first page says that the MS. is accurately written.

There are 6 loose pages (19.9×10.8 cm.) which contain Kusti formulas in Paz. written in Av. characters and in an upturned Guj. script.

For other MSS. (mostly Persian) on Zoroastrian literature see Ross & Brown, *Catalogue of two collections of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts preserved in the India Office Library*, pp. 127-40, 171-2, London, 1902; and Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, vol. i, cols. 1518-24, Nos. 2818-27; cols. 1622-4, Nos. 2986-8; Oxford, 1903.

XIV

JATAKAS AT BHARAUT

By E. HULTZSCH

SINCE my publication of the Bharaut inscriptions in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 21, p. 225 ff., Professor von Oldenburg has subjected the Bharaut sculptures to a careful examination in a Russian article which Professor Lanman has made generally accessible by an English translation in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 18, p. 183 ff. Professor von Oldenburg succeeded in tracing in the Pāli Jātaka book three of the Bharaut bas-reliefs which had not previously been identified.¹ The references to four other jātakas² could not be given in my first list, because at the time when it was drawn up vol. 6 of the Jātaka book had not yet been published. The same volume enabled me to restore conjecturally one of the Bharaut inscriptions,³ while a repeated perusal of vol. 5 yielded explanations of two bas-reliefs which had remained unidentified.⁴

I. Mahābodhi-jātaka, No. 528

Cunningham's plate xxvii, No. 14

This sculpture, which is somewhat damaged, shows on one side an ascetic who is carrying an umbrella and sandals in his right hand and a staff on his left shoulder. The other side is occupied by a man and woman wearing

¹ Nos. 17, 20, and 23 of the list on p. 406 below.

² Nos. 1, 4, 5, and 21 of the new list.

³ See III below.

⁴ See I and II below.

rich ornaments. A big dog forms the centre of the group. In Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut* this relief is connected with the Dasaratha-jātaka (No. 461 of Fausböll's edition), which, the author says, is "recognizable at the first glance" (p. 71). "We see Bharata standing in front of Rāma and Sītā" (p. 74). But if these three persons were really meant, Bharata ought to be dressed as prince and Rāma and Sītā as hermits, while the sculpture shows just the reverse of this arrangement. Besides, Rāma's brother Lakshmaṇa would be missing, and the dog in the centre of the group, "which apparently belongs to Rāma" (Cunningham, p. 74), would be unconnected with the story in hand. Professor von Oldenburg was therefore fully justified in stating: "I am not convinced of the correctness of this identification, and I regard the bas-relief as unexplained" (JAOS., vol. 18, p. 191).

It is the dog figured in the centre which led me on the right track. In the Mahābodhi-jātaka (No. 528) the hermit Bodhi, who visits the king of Benares, ingratiates himself with the king's favourite dog by sharing his food with the animal (Mr. Francis' translation, *Jātaka*, vol. 5, p. 116). As the ascetic gradually gains influence at court, he is slandered by five wicked ministers, who prevail on the king to assent to their plot of murdering him. On the night before the chief queen "asked him [the king], saying: 'How is it, Sire, that you do not say a word to me? Have I in any way offended you?' 'No, lady,' he said; 'but they tell me the mendicant Bodhi has become an enemy of ours. I have ordered five of my councillors to slay him to-morrow.' . . . At that moment the well-bred tawny hound, hearing the talk, thought: 'To-morrow by my own power I must save this man's life.' So early next morning the dog went down from the terrace, and coming to the big door he lay with his head on the threshold, watching the road by which the Great Being came. . . . Then the

Jatakas at Bharaut.

Mahabodhi-jataka,
No. 528.



Mahakapi-jataka,
No. 516.



Mahajanaka-jataka,
No. 539.



*Reproduced from Sir A. Cunningham's "Stupa of Bharhut"
by permission of the Secretary of State for India.*

hound seeing him opened his mouth and showed his four big teeth . . . and he gave a loud bark. From his knowledge of the meaning of all sounds Bodhi understood the matter, and returned to the park and took everything that was necessary for his journey. But the king standing at his window, when he found he was not coming, thought: . . . 'I will find out what he is about.' And going to the park he found the Great Being coming out of his hut of leaves and with all his requisites at the end of his cloister walk, ready to start, and saluting him he stood on one side and uttered the first stanza:—

'What mean these things, umbrella, shoes,
Skin-robe and staff in hand?
What of this cloak and bowl and hook?
I fain would understand
Why in hot haste thou wouldst depart
And to what far-off land.'

"On hearing this the Great Being . . . repeated two stanzas:—

'These twelve long years I've dwelt, O king,
Within thy royal park;
And never once before to-day
This hound was known to bark.
To-day he shows his teeth so white,
Defiant now and proud,
And hearing what thou toldst the queen,
To warn me bays aloud.'"

(Francis, p. 119.)

The Bharaut sculpture no doubt represents Bodhi taking leave of the king. He is provided with the necessities for his projected journey, viz. an umbrella and sandals in his right hand and a skin over his left arm, in which he holds a staff with a bundle attached to its end. It is true that in the prose version of the Jātaka text neither

the queen nor the dog are stated to have been present at the king's last interview with the hermit. But the artist was quite justified in including both of them in the sculpture, which otherwise would have lacked individuality and defied identification. He may have inserted the queen in order to remind the spectator of the first scene of the Jātaka story, the nocturnal conversation of the king and queen, and the dog in order to recall its second scene, the barking of the king's favourite dog. This arrangement was quite unobjectionable, as both the queen and the dog might have accompanied the king on his visit to the ascetic, which forms the third and last scene of the story.

It is, however, just possible that the Bharaut sculptor followed a different version of the Mahābodhi-jātaka, which resembled No. 23 of Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā. Although here the queen is not mentioned at all, the dog is present at the king's visit to the hermit and is barking angrily at the latter (p. 144 of Professor Kern's edition). In this respect the last of the archaic verses quoted from the Pāli Jātaka on p. 401 above seems to agree rather with the Jātakamālā version than with the modern prose version of the Jātaka book.¹ Consequently I consider it not unlikely that in the original version of the story, which was known to the Bharaut artist, the dog was stated to have barked at the hermit on the occasion of his last interview with the king, as represented on the bas-relief.

II. Mahākapi-jātaka, No. 516

Cunningham's plate xxxiii, No. 5

According to Cunningham (p. 105) this sculpture, which is partly damaged, "represents a fight between a man and

¹ The words "to warn me" are not found in the Pāli original, but have been inserted by the translator owing to the exigencies of the metre.

monkeys." In reality it consists of three successive scenes from the Mahākapi-jātaka, No. 516. Another jāataka of the same name (No. 407) is known to be figured in another Bharaut sculpture (pl. xxxiii, No. 4). These jātakas are both included in Āryaśūra's Jātaka-mālā (Nos. 24 and 27 = Jātaka, Nos. 516 and 407 respectively).

In No. 516 we are informed that a Brahmin had lost his way in looking for his stray oxen. "He roamed about for seven days fasting, but seeing a *tinduka* tree he climbed up it to eat the fruit. Slipping off the tree he fell sixty cubits into a hell-like abyss, where he passed ten days. At that time the Bodhisatta was living in the shape of a monkey, and while eating wild fruits he caught sight of the man, and after practising with a stone he hauled the fellow out. While the monkey was asleep, the man split his head open with a stone." (Mr. Francis' translation, vol. 5, p. 38.)

In the subsequent poetical version more details are given :—

"The monkey stepping on the height above
Carried a heavy stone, his strength to prove,
And when by practice he was perfect grown,
The mighty one his purpose thus made known.
'Climb thou, good Sir, upon my back and cast
Thy arms about my neck and hold me fast;
Then will I with all speed deliver thee
From the stone walls of thy captivity.'

* * * * *

The monkey then—so brave and strong was he—
Exhausted by the effort though he be,
From rocky fastness soon uplifteth me.¹

* * * * *

¹ The speaker is the ungrateful Brahmin, who is relating his own story to the king of Benares.

While, as I watched, he took a moment's rest,
 An ugly thought was harboured in my breast.
 'Monkeys and such like deer are good to eat;
 What if I kill him and my hunger cheat?'

* * * * *

Taking a stone his skull I wellnigh broke."

(Op. cit., p. 40.)

The Bharaut sculpture shows first on the left side the monkey either looking down into the abyss or practising with a stone. In the middle scene he is carrying up the Brahmin on his back. In the last scene the ungrateful fellow is trying to kill the sleeping monkey by throwing a stone on his head.

III. Mahājanaka-jātaka, No. 539

Cunningham's plate xliv, No. 2

This bas-relief shows three figures: (1) a sitting layman holding an arrow, (2) an ascetic addressing him, and (3) a queen standing behind the ascetic. An inscription at the top labels No. 2 as "King Janaka" and No. 3 as "Queen Sivala". This enabled Cunningham (p. 95) to connect the bas-relief with the Mahājanaka-jātaka (No. 539); but, as the text of this jāataka was not available to him, he could not furnish the correct explanation of the scene represented in the sculpture.

Towards the end of the Mahājanaka-jātaka we are told that king Mahājanaka left his kingdom to become an ascetic, and was followed by his queen Sivali against his own will. In their wanderings the king and queen reached the city of Thūṇa. "After they had entered, the Bodhisatta [Mahājanaka] went on his begging-round and reached the door of the house of a maker of arrows, while Sivali stood on one side. Now at that time the arrow-maker had heated an arrow in a pan of coals and had wetted it with some sour rice-gruel, and, closing one eye, was looking

with the other while he made the arrow straight. The Bodhisatta reflected: 'If this man is wise, he will be able to explain the incident,—I will ask him.' . . . Then the Great Being said to him:—

' One eye thou closest and dost gaze
With the other sideways,—is this right?
I pray, explain thy attitude;
Thinkest thou, it improves thy sight?'

He replied:—

' The wide horizon of both eyes
Serves only to distract the view;
But if you get a single line,
Your aim is fixed, your vision true.
It is the second that makes jars,
That which is single cannot jar;
Would'st thou be happy? be alone;
Only the lonely happy are.' "

(Cowell's translation, vol. 6, p. 36.)

This is the incident figured at Bharaut, and its identification enables me to restore the damaged label at the top of the sitting figure of the arrow-maker. The first letter of the inscription is an *u*, after which there are traces of the syllable *su*; see the plate in ZDMG., vol. 40, p. 60, No. 20. No doubt we have to read *usukāro*, "the arrow-maker." See Jātaka text, vol. 6, p. 66.¹

IV

I subjoin a revised list of those Bharaut inscriptions and sculptures which can be traced in the Pāli Jātaka book, adding a few supplementary remarks to Nos. 1, 4, 12, 18, and 19 of the list.

¹ The same restoration has been made independently by Professor Liders; it is presupposed by his remark on the Bharaut inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 10, Appendix, p. 68, No. 709.

SERIAL No.	CUNNINGHAM'S PLATES.	BHARAUT INSCRIPTIONS (<i>Ind. Ant.</i> , vol. 21).	NO. AND TITLE IN FAUSBÖLL'S JĀTAKA.
1	xviii	86. Vitura-Punakiya jatakañ	545. Vidhurapañña-jātaka.
2	xxv, 1	37. Miga-jātakam	482. Ruru-jātaka.
3	.. 2	32. Nāga-jātaka	267. Kakkata-jātaka.
4	.. 3	72. Yavamajhakiyañ jātakañ	546. Mahāummagga-jātaka.
5	.. 4	155. M[u]lga[pa]k[i]y[a] [ā]jā[ka]	538. Mūgapakkha-jātaka.
6	xxvi, 5	109. Laṭavā-jātaka	357. Laṭukika-jātaka.
7	.. 6	85. Chhadanṭiya jātakañ	514. Chhaddanta-jātaka.
8	.. 7	156. Isi[im]giya jā[ta][ka]	523. Alambusa-jātaka.
9	.. 8	157. Yam bram[h]ano avayesi jatakañ	62. Aṇḍabhūta-jātaka.
10	xxvii, 9	. . . . .	206. Kuru'gamiga-jātaka.
11	.. 11	158. Haṁsa-jātaka	32. Nachcha-jātaka.
12	.. 12	12. Kinara-jātakañ	Episode of No. 481, Takkāriya-jātaka (vol. 4, pp. 252-4).
13	.. 13	. . . . .	181. Asadisa-jātaka.
14	.. 14	. . . . .	528. Mahābodhi-jātaka.
15	xxxiii, 4	. . . . .	407. Mahākapi-jātaka.
16	.. 5	. . . . .	516. Mahākapi-jātaka.
17	xli, 1, 3	. . . . .	324. Chammāsāṭaka-jātaka.
18	xlvi, 1	. . . . .	518. Paṇḍara-jātaka.
19	xlvi, 2	10. Isi-migo jataka	12. Nigrodhamiga-jātaka.
20	.. 8	. . . . .	372. Migapotaka-jātaka.
21	xliv, 2	20. U[su]lka[ro*], Janako rāja, Sivala devi	539. Mahājanaka-jātaka.
22	xlvi, 5	. . . . .	46, 268. Ārāmadāsaka-jātaka.
23	.. 7	. . . . .	42. Kapota-jātaka.
24	xlvi, 2	14. Uda-jataka	400. Dabbhapuppha-jātaka.
25	.. 8	15. Sechha-jataka	174. Dābhiyamakkata-jātaka.
26	xlvi, 3	6. Sujato gahuto jataka	352. Sujāta-jātaka.
27	.. 5	7. Bidala-jata[k]a, Kukuṭa-jataka	383. Kukkuṭa-jātaka.
28	xlvi, 2	3. Maghādeviya jataka	9. Makhādeva-jātaka.
29	.. 7	17. Bhisaharaniya jataka[m]	488. Bhisajātaka.

Remarks on the above list

No. 1. In accordance with the label at Bharaut, this jātaka is elsewhere quoted as Puṇṇaka-jātaka; see Dr. Andersen's *Index*, p. 87. The footnote in the translation, vol. 6, p. 128, has to be modified accordingly.

No. 4. The name given to this jāataka at Bharaut is derived from the village-name Yavamajjhaka; see Fausbøll's Jātaka, vol. 7, Preface, p. xv, and Professor Oldenberg, ZDMG., vol. 52, p. 643.

No. 12. I still uphold my identification of this bas-relief, on which the king is represented sitting on his throne, with an episode of the Takkāriya-jātaka. The Chanda-kinnara-jātaka (No. 485) and the Bhallāṭiya-jātaka (No. 504) do not fit because in both of them the scene is laid in the Himālaya.

No. 18. I am not sure whether my present identification of this bas-relief with the Paṇḍara-jātaka is correct. Dr. Rouse (translation, vol. 2, p. 197, n. 1) suggests the Maṇikanṭha-jātaka (No. 253).

No. 19. Professor von Oldenburg (p. 191) sees in this bas-relief a scene from the Migapotaka-jātaka (No. 372). But the man with the axe cannot be a hermit because he wears a turban, and the deer is placing its fore-feet on a block which recalls the *dharmagandikā* of the Pāli text of the Nigrodhamiga-jātaka; cf. Jātaka, translation, vol. 5, p. 159, n. 1, and Vinaya Texts, pt. 3, p. 213, n. 4. The man with the axe is evidently the king's cook (*bhattachāraka*).

V

It is a well-known fact that in the earliest period of Buddhist art, viz., at Bharaut, Bōdh-Gayā, and Sāñchi, the founder of the religion was never represented in human form, but the spectator was made aware of his presence by various symbols. The Buddha type with which we are familiar was created later on by the Greek artists of the Gandhāra school, who took the bold step of shaping the likeness of Śākyamuni in imitation of the Hellenic Apollon. In the third period of Indian Buddhist iconography, as at Amarāvati and Ajanṭā, this type was adopted by Hindū artists, and it continues to exist with certain modifications in Tibet, China, Japan,

and Further India. To take an example, Buddha's descent from heaven at Sankisā is represented at Bharaut (Cunningham's plate xvii, middle) by a flight of steps with a footprint at the top and another at the bottom, and with the *bōdhi*-tree on one side, while on the sculptures of the Gandhāra period Buddha himself is figured descending the flight of steps; see M. Foucher's *Bas-reliefs du Gandhāra*, figs. 264, 265. The Bharaut inscriptions Nos. 60 and 77 read: "The Nāga king Airāvata is worshipping the Blessed one," and "Ajātaśatru is worshipping the Blessed one". On the corresponding bas-reliefs (Cunningham's pl. xiv, No. 3, and pl. xvi, No. 3), we do not find Buddha figured at all, but the Nāga Airāvata and king Ajātaśatru are paying worship to his empty throne.

These preliminary statements were necessary for supporting my present view that the well-known Bharaut inscription No. 46, *bhagavato Sakamunino bodho*, on Cunningham's pl. xxx, No. 3, cannot be translated, as was done by me before, by "the *bōdha* (tree) of the blessed Śākyamuni". It is true that the substantive *bōdhi* is employed in Buddhist literature not only in the sense of "supreme knowledge", but as a designation of the *pīpal*-tree under which supreme knowledge was attained by Gautama; see the *Nidānakathā* in *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 71, l. 22, and p. 78, ll. 2 and 10; *Buddhacharita*, xiii, 32; *Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart, vol. iii, Index. The Bharaut inscriptions themselves supply an unmistakable instance of this use of the word *bōdhi* in No. 24, where the *sāla*, i.e. the tree *Vatica robusta*, is called the *bōdhi* of the mythical Buddha Viśvabhū. On the other hand, the cognate word *bōdha* means only "wisdom, supreme knowledge"; see *Nidānakathā*, p. 67, l. 5 from bottom; *Buddhacharita*, xii, 98, 112, and xiii, 1, 67; *Mahāvastu*, vol. iii, Index. Consequently the Bharaut inscription No. 46 must be translated by "the

attainment of supreme knowledge by the blessed Śākya-muni". On the corresponding bas-relief the chief actor, Buddha himself, is of course missing, and we see nothing but his empty throne under the *bōdhi*-tree, surrounded by divine and human worshippers.¹ In the Gandhāra sculptures the throne is occupied by Buddha, seated and touching the earth with his right hand (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*). He is generally surrounded by Māra's army; see M. Foucher's *Bas-reliefs du Gandhāra*, figs. 201-4. The later Buddhist art of India adds the daughters of Māra; see the Ajanṭā bas-relief, a sketch of which is given on plate li of *Cave Temples of India*, and on plate xxxix (p. 176) of Mr. V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

It will not be considered out of place if I draw attention to a bas-relief of the earliest period which represents the same scene. Plate xxviii of Mr. Rea's *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities* figures a marble slab from Ghaṇṭa-sālā, now at Rāmanagaram, which, in the editor's opinion, "represents the worship of the sacred *bōdhi* tree" (p. 37). A comparison with the Ajanṭā bas-relief referred to in the preceding paragraph will show that we have here in reality a representation of Buddha's temptation by Māra, his army, and his daughters. At Ajanṭā Māra is figured four times. At the left bottom he is standing with bow and arrow and directing the dance of his daughters. At the right bottom both he and his three daughters are represented squatting, evidently disappointed at their failure. At the top on the left Māra is figured seated, with an attendant behind him, on his elephant Girimēkhala.²

¹ Two male figures standing in the background express their astonishment by waving their shawls (this action is called *chelukkhepa* in Pāli; see Professor Grünwedel's *Buddh. Kunst in Indien*, p. 37) and grasping the tip of their tongues. This gesture seems to correspond to the present Indian habit of covering the mouth with the palm of the hand. I have seen this practised by all classes.

² See the *Nidānakathā* in *Jātaka*, vol. i, pp. 72, 73, 74.

wielding the thunderbolt in one of his four arms, and supported in his attack by his demon followers, while on the right he and his army are turning to flight. On the Ghaṇṭasālā bas-relief Māra's three daughters appear on the right of Buddha's throne; the second of them has lost the head, and of the third only the right foot with its anklet is preserved. On the other side Māra is seen squatting and raising his right hand, perhaps for instructing his daughters. At the top on the left he appears seated, with an attendant behind him, on his elephant Girimēkhala and surrounded by his attacking army; his head and his four arms are apparently damaged in the original sculpture. On the right we see his army in retreat; the figure on the shoulder of the elephant must be intended for Māra, as at Ajaṇṭā, but has been changed by the draughtsman into a comical dog-like figure which faces the back instead of the front of the elephant. So far the Ajaṇṭā and Ghaṇṭasālā sculptures are in tolerably close agreement. The chief difference between both consists in this, that the former shows under the *bōdhi*-tree a sitting figure of Buddha with the *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*, while in the second he is represented only by symbols, viz. the throne with two pillows in the shape of lotus-flowers. The Ghaṇṭasālā slab is of some interest, because, as far as I know, no other early bas-relief of this type has been discovered. A good photograph of it would perhaps show some more details which are indistinct or distorted in the drawing.

XV

THE ORIGIN OF TRAGEDY AND THE AKHYANA

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L.

I

IN my paper on the Vedic Ākhyāna¹ I referred briefly to Professor Ridgeway's theory² of the origin of tragedy in Greece; the importance of the question and the light it throws on the value of comparative mythology and religion render it worth while to consider that theory in further detail.

Professor Ridgeway has, of course, to face the accepted view that tragedy had its origin in the satyric drama, as stated by Aristotle in the *Poetics*,³ where he ascribes it to those who began or composed the Dithyramb and refers to its slow development from the satyric form. It is true that various doubts had been thrown upon this theory, both by the theoretic difficulty of the transmutation of an original satyric drama into tragedy, and still more by the discovery that the satyrs of Attica were not goat-shaped but horse-shaped.⁴ But all these difficulties were met by Dr. Farnell's new statement of the theory of tragedy.

In this version tragedy arose from the solemn ritual in which was portrayed the combat of summer and winter. Such a ritual which is in essence only a special form of the death and revival of the vegetation spirit is

¹ JRAS. 1911, p. 1007, n. 3.

² *The Origin of Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1910. It is almost needless to say that Professor Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*², p. 290, accepts the theory, but adds to it a reference to Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, which already has inspired von Schroeder in his conception of the origin of drama; see Keith, JRAS. 1909, pp. 204, 205.

³ c. 4. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαρχότων τὴν διθύραμβον καὶ ἐκ μικρῶν μῶθων καὶ λέξεων γελοίας διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν ὅψι ἀπεισιμνήθη.

⁴ See references in Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v, 233; cf. also Dieterich, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1908, pp. 168, 169.

undoubtedly very widely spread,¹ and a clear proof of its connexion with the Dionysiac myth was seen by Dr. Farnell in the legend² of the fight between the Boiotian Xanthos and the Neleid Melanthos. At the moment of combat Melanthos perceived a form beside his foe, whom he taunted with bringing a comrade to help him. Xanthos turned round, and Melanthos slew him. The figure was Dionysos Melanaigis, and hence the Athenians admitted Dionysos to the Apatouria, giving the festival a name commemorating the "deceit" of the god. Thus the "black" Melanthos, with the aid of Dionysos of the black goat-skin, slays the "fair". Beside this ancient legend, which probably is derived from Hellanikos, is to be set the fact that in Northern Thrace a popular festival still exists in part of which a man dressed in a goat-skin is addressed as king and scatters seed over the crowd, and is eventually cast into the river, while in a similar mummary performed near the ancient Thracian capital there is a band of men disguised in goat-skins, one of whom is killed and is lamented by his wife.³ It is deduced⁴ from these facts and some minor evidence that tragedy had its origin in a traditional passion play performed by men who wore the dark goat-skin of the god, in which some one, probably the embodiment of the winter or spring divinity, was killed and lamented, this fact accounting for the dirge-like character of Greek tragedy. Tragedy was thus the song of the goat-men, worshippers of Dionysos of the goat-skin. And Dionysos, as wearer of the goat-skin, is a vegetation spirit who from time to time may be incarnate in the goat.⁵

To this view Professor Ridgeway⁶ opposes the theory

¹ See Usener, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1904, pp. 303 seq.

² Schol. Plat. *Symp.* 208 D; Schol. Arist. *Acharn.* 146.

³ See Dawkins, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1906, pp. 191-206, and see also Wace in Ridgeway, pp. 16-24.

⁴ Farnell, *op. cit.* v, 230-6.

⁵ Farnell, *v*, 161 seqq.

⁶ *Op. cit.* pp. 1-108. The criticism of Dr. Farnell is at pp. 73-93.

that the key to the origin of tragedy is to be found in the tragic choruses which, once performed in honour of Adrastus in Sikyon, the tyrant Kleisthenes restored to the god.¹ The wearing of goat-skins by the performers was due to the fact that the goat-skin was the ancient garb of primitive peoples and of the aborigines of Peloponnesos, Crete, Thrace, etc. The use of tragic choruses was the honouring and appeasing of the dead, a practice illustrated by many parallels. This kind of performance was common in Greece, while the Dionysiac ritual was a foreign importation from Thrace; it brought with it a change by which the local cults of heroes became the cultus of Dionysos, and the distinctive element in the ritual was the dithyramb, celebrating the deeds and sorrows of Dionysos and his attendant satyrs; hence developed the satyric drama, and its signal distinction from tragedy is thus explained.

For this theory on its merits there seems little or nothing to be said, except that it is of an engaging lucidity and simplicity. What the tragic choruses were which were celebrated in honour of Adrastus we cannot say: Professor Ridgeway treats them as representing the sorrows of Adrastus, but Herodotos certainly does not say so, but merely asserts that they honoured Adrastus with tragic dances (*τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι*) in view of his sorrows (*πρὸς τὰ πάθη*), not "tragic dances alluding to his sorrows". He may mean no more than that as his fate had been sorrowful the dances were solemn and mournful instead of lively and joyous.² Nor is there other evidence of such dances being of a mimetic character; the

¹ Herodotos, v, 67. That *ἀπείδωκε* has been rendered "restored" is perfectly natural and very possibly what Herodotos meant. It is absurd to say, as does Professor Ridgeway (p. 28, n. 1), that *ἀποδίδωμι* means "assign"; Liddell & Scott are perfectly correct in taking the normal sense as "to render what is due", which gives the sense of "restore", and the zeugma is one of the least difficult possible.

² That there was anything but a dance is not certain; *χορός* has no necessary allusion to more, and *τραγικός* may refer to the dancer's dress.

ceremonies of Tegea, which were intended to commemorate the slaying by Limon of Skephros and the death of the murderer, show nothing more than a ritual pursuit, a fairly common ceremony.¹ Professor Ridgeway can and does adduce no evidence to show that these dances ever generated tragedy in Greece, and his explanation of the name—though it avoids the absurdity² of the rendering "beer-song"—is assuredly so feeble as by itself to discredit the theory.

But the weakness of the case is still further emphasized by the parallels adduced from the East to lend it support. "The oldest Hindu drama, the *Ramayana*," we are told,³ "celebrates the life, exploits, and sufferings of Rama, son of Dasaratha, who reigned in Ayodhya (Oude), and it includes the loves of Rama and his wife Sita, the rape of the latter by Ravana, the demon-king of Ceylon, the overthrow of Ravana by Rama, the subsequent sorrows of the hero and his wife, the death of Sita, and her husband's translation into heaven. Since Rama was regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu, and since a verse in the introduction of the work declares that 'he who reads and repeats this holy life-giving *Ramayana* is liberated from all his sins and exalted with all his posterity to the highest heaven', it is the keeping in remembrance of the hero god, his exploits and his sufferings, that is the essential element in this great drama." But what connexion an elaborate *epic* has with mimetic dances or the origin of drama I fear I cannot see. Nor is anything to be gained by adducing the Thibetan "sacred plays", which are held to be relics of Shamanistic ancestor worship⁴ (the Shamanism is clear, the ancestor worship is less certain); the Malay drama, conjectured on quite inadequate grounds⁵ to be closely

¹ Paus. viii, 23; see Farnell, v, 231.

² See Dieterich, *op. cit.* pp. 168, 169. The idea is that of Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 421; cf. Farnell, v, 232, n.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 94, 95. ⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 95-100. ⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 100-2.

connected with the spirits of the dead; or the drama of the Veddahs of Ceylon.¹ This so-called drama is nothing more or less than a magic device by which the Shaman obtains for the time the possession of the spirit of the Yaku which will inspire him for a successful hunt. Now admitting that the Veddahs are one of the most primitive races which survive (and it must not be forgotten that in the very rite as performed for Dr. Seligmann the latter sees satisfactory evidence² of Singhalese influence), and that the Yaku are spirits of the dead (which is by no means certain), all that we find is that a mimetic ceremony takes place. Of a parallel to the development of Greek tragedy from dances round a hero's tomb there is not the faintest trace, and the allegation of these parallels seems merely destined to darken counsel.

After an examination of the objections to Professor Ridgeway's own theory, the objections which he makes to the theory of Dr. Farnell seem very insignificant. The story of Melanthos and Xanthos he lightly dismisses as historical³; it embodies an actual border war between the fair-haired Boiotian from the Upper Balkan and the dark aboriginal Neleid. The citing of the pedigree of Melanthos makes him historical,⁴ and the presence of the figure of Dionysos Melanaigis is no more discordant with history than the presence of the mullet of five points which in the pursuit of Antioch in 1098 A.D. shone excessively on the standard of Aubrey de Vere. But this light-hearted argument would hardly have been written had the author examined the authority for the interpretation of the tale as resting on the old combat of winter and summer in one of its variant forms; but curiously enough neither Dr. Farnell's book⁵ (published in November, 1909) nor

¹ *The Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 102-6.

² *Ibid.* p. 106.

³ *Ibid.* p. 84.

⁴ Clearly this can hardly be taken seriously.

⁵ He knows only a lecture of May, 1909, before the Hellenic Society; see *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909, p. xlvii.

Usener's article¹ seems to have attracted Professor Ridgeway's attention, though he wrote in 1910.² Here, too, the history of the Sanskrit drama lends a piece of evidence of which neither of these writers has taken notice. The clear evidence of the *Mahābhāṣya*, as I have already shown,³ proves the connexion of the earliest Indian literary form which was clearly dramatic with the contest of the two figures Kāṁsa and Kṛṣṇa, and the actors coloured their faces, the followers of Kṛṣṇa being *raktamukha*, those of Kāṁsa *kālamukha*. It is true that Indian tradition tells us that Kāṁsa was Kṛṣṇa's uncle, and that we can, if we like, insist that this is a piece of history, but such euhemerism is, if at present again fashionable, hardly likely to remain long in vogue. That Kṛṣṇa⁴ was divine is, of course, asserted by the earliest texts which refer to him, and the *Mahābhāṣya* parallel is of singular importance in that it shows the drama dealing with a subject which reveals itself clearly as one side of the widespread belief⁵ in the slaying of the vegetation spirit, which is certainly found also in India. In the case of Greece we have merely conclusions drawn from scattered data, the contest of Melanthos and Xanthos, the modern Thracian folk ritual, and of course the *Bakchai*. It is really impossible to doubt that Bather⁶ is right in seeing in the Pentheus legend a relic of ancient ritual, even if Dr. Farnell⁷ is also right in thinking

¹ *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1904, pp. 303 seqq. The importance of this paper for the origin of drama in Greece and in India was first (so far as I am aware) pointed out by me in JRAS. 1908, p. 172, and in 1909 by Dr. Farnell, v, 235; Dieterich, op. cit., ignores it.

² The preface is dated August 6, 1910.

³ ZDMG. lxiv, 534 seqq.; JRAS. 1908, p. 172; 1911, p. 1008; *Classical Quarterly*, iv, 283, 284.

⁴ Cf. my notes in JRAS. 1908, pp. 169 seqq. The human character of Kṛṣṇa is not older than the divine; it is an essential characteristic of vegetation spirits that they take temporary embodiments in man or animal; compare the extremely human character of the Greek Dionysos.

⁵ Established beyond all doubt by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*.

⁶ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894.

⁷ Op. cit. v, 168.

that the reference is not to the annual slaying of the worn-out representative of the vegetation spirit but to the dismemberment and sacramental slaying of the young god, and Professor Ridgeway is wise in ignoring the value of the evidence of the *Bakchai* in this regard. The *Mahābhāṣya* furnishes us with evidence parallel to that of the *Bakchai*, but of a clearer and simpler kind.

The other argument of consequence brought against the position of Dr. Farnell rests on the view that there is very little connexion between Dionysos and the goat.¹ This, however, is only proved by explaining away all the evidence. Apart from clear references to the sacrifice of goats to Dionysos,² involving in some cases a sacramental meal,³ there is the most significant legend of the sacrifice of a goat to Dionysos Aigobolos at Potniai.⁴ The legend recounts that in drunken orgy a priest of the god was slain and as atonement a youth was offered until the god permitted the sacrifice of a goat instead. There can be no doubt that this is a legend of the ceremonial slaying of the representative of the god, and that the god was conceived as in goat form. Professor Ridgeway⁵ disposes of this case by pointing out that the goat was not the original victim, thus completely ignoring the epithet Aigobolos (which he gives incorrectly as Tragobolos) taken in conjunction with the slaying of the priest and the reason of the substitution. It is true that, apart from the satyrs of the satyric drama, the satyrs of Arion's dithyramb, and perhaps the tragic choruses of Sikyon, we do

¹ *Culta of the Greek States*, v, 78 seq.

² e.g. Servius *ad Æn.* viii, 343: "caper quæ est hostia Libero propria," which is of special value as showing the intimate connexion; see also Farnell, v, 303.

³ The assertions of Arnobius (*adv. Nat.* v, 19) and Lactantius Placidus (*ad Stat. Theb.* v, 159) are supported by the inscription at Mykonos in Dittenb. *Syll.* 373, 27, which seems to refer to a sacramental meal.

⁴ Paus. ix, 8, 1, 2. Dionysos was Melanaigis at Eleutherai and Hermione and in the Apatouria.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 81.

not find in classical Greece any direct record of dances by men in goat-skins (τράγοι) in honour of Dionysos, but there were ἄρκτοι, maidens who danced in bear-skins in honour of Artemis of Brauron,¹ and ταῦροι who honoured the bull-god Poseidon,² and the train of argument is completed by the τραγηφόροι,³ maidens in goat-skins, who performed a formal function in honour of the god, and the Argive-Eubœan legend of men dressing in goat-skins also in honour of the god.⁴ Add to these the goat-skin clad maidens of Northern Thrace and any real doubt of the existence of τράγοι must disappear, nor can we doubt that the goat-skin was worn, not as the oldest garb of Greece, but as the means of attaining community with the vegetation spirit in its goat form.

The evidence of the *Mahābhāṣya*, however, carries us further. It is a clear defect in the version of the origin of tragedy given by Dr. Farnell⁵ that it throws over the Aristotelian account of its development from the dithyramb and its gradual acquisition of dignity. Dr. Farnell holds that the original drama was tragic, and so far he agrees with Professor Ridgeway, who also lays stress on the mournful character of its origin and its rigid distinction from the satyric drama.⁶ But in the *Mahābhāṣya* the two parties of *granthikas*, "reciters," who represent the feelings of either side,⁷ do so by words alone (*śabdagranthana-mātram*), that is to say, they do not act as do the *śaubbikas*. Surely we have here in perfect form the dithyramb on its way to complete drama, as it has

¹ Farnell, *Culte of the Greek States*, ii, 434 seqq.; Arist. *Lys.* 645.

² Farnell, op. cit. iv, 26; v, 233; Athen. 425 E.

³ Hesychius, s.v.

⁴ Farnell, op. cit. v, 233, 328; Paus. ii, 23. 1.

⁵ Op. cit. v, 233.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 108.

⁷ *te 'pi hi teṣāṃ* (i.e. Kṛṣṇa, Kāṃsa, and their followers) *utpattiprabhṛty a rināśād buddhīr vyācakṣāṇāḥ sato buddhivijayān prakāśayanti; ataś ca sataḥ vṛgmīśrā drśyante kecid Kāṃsabhaktā bhavanti kecid Vāsudeva-bhaktāḥ; varṇānyatraṃ khalv api puṣyanti, kecid kālāmukhā bhavanti, kecid raktamukhāḥ*; see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii, 354 seqq., 488 seqq.

regularly been conceived in reconstructing the probable history of drama as sketched by Aristotle. No doubt the drama already existed at the time of the *Mahābhāṣya*, but the dithyrambic form has not disappeared as a species of art.

Dr. Farnell objects to the ordinary theory on the ground that the dithyramb appears to have had no mimetic element and to have been connected rather with the bull-god than the goat-god. Neither objection appears to have any justification, and the disadvantages of the view are seen in the only effective part of Professor Ridgeway's criticism.¹ That the dithyramb was especially and probably at first exclusively connected with Dionysos is proved by its mention in Archilochos (670 B.C.), who calls it Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος καλὸν μέλος, apparently identifying it with Dionysos.² He adds that he knows how to start it (ἐξάρξαι) when his mind is smitten with wine, which hardly fits in with Professor Ridgeway's³ theory that the "earliest dithyrambs of which we hear were grave and solemn hymns rather than rude licentious vintage songs". The next notice of importance of the dithyramb is the record⁴ that Arion at Corinth, about 600 B.C., introduced satyrs speaking in metre. Now Aischylos⁵ and Euripides⁶ show beyond doubt that the satyrs in the satyric drama wore goat-skins, so that we have for the

¹ *The Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 86 seqq.

² *Fragm.* 72. According to Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, pp. 134, 135, the sense is "compose and teach to the chorus" as in Herodotus, i, 23, where δίδασκεν is used. This interpretation makes no difference to the argument. It should be noted that Archilochos' dithyramb may have been a literary form, not sung by satyrs. But this we do not know.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 38.

⁴ Suidas, s.v. *Arion*; Solon in his elegies is said to have referred to him as introducing τῆς τραγωδίας δῶμα; see Rabe, *Rhein. Mus.* lxi, 150; Dielerich, *op. cit.* p. 170.

⁵ *Fragm.* 207.

⁶ *Cyclops*, 74-81. On the other hand, satyrs as opposed to actors in the satyric drama were horse-shaped; see Ridgeway, p. 72.

dithyramb evidence more than adequate to show that it was sung by satyrs clad in goat-skins in honour of Dionysos, for Pindar¹ tells us that Arion's dithyramb at Corinth was in honour of Dionysos, and there is not a scrap of early evidence for a non-Dionysiac dithyramb; that it was gradually extended to other topics is, of course, natural and intelligible, and has always been recognized, but the extension affords no ground for denial of its original connexion.²

In face of this evidence it cannot really be said that the dithyramb is connected solely with the bull-god, i.e. Dionysos in another form, the bull being a suitable incarnation for a vegetation spirit. Nor is it reasonable to deny the mimetic character of the dithyramb. It must have expressed the deeds of Dionysos; clearly it was danced and sung, and must have served as effectively as the recitation of the *granthikas* to reproduce the emotions of the followers of Dionysos in his adventures. When we add to this the ease of the development of the drama from the separation of persons through the introduction of a spoken part by the man who commenced or composed (ἐξάρχων)³ the dithyramb, the traditional

¹ *Ol.* xiii, 18, 19; the reference is clearly to Arion.

² Simonides (556-467 B.C.) is said to have composed dithyrambs called *Europa* and *Memnon*; see *Fragm.* 27, 28; Strabo, p. 619, 43. But even Lasos is not said to have composed non-Dionysiac dithyrambs, though Ridgeway, pp. 8, 9, assumes that he did. Both are too late to be evidence of the early dithyramb. The nineteenth (eighteenth) of Bacchylides' Odes was held by Kenyon (p. 185) to be a dithyramb because of the introduction of an allusion to Dionysos' birth; cf. Plato, *Legg.* 700 B, where the dithyramb is associated with the birth of Dionysos. Jebb, pp. 38 seqq., classifies xiv-xix as dithyrambs, xiv and xviii being really connected with Dionysos, xv and xvii perhaps performed by a chorus (xvii is in dialogue), and the other two being merely formally so called.

³ Arist. *Poet.* c. 4; cf. Archilochos, loc. cit.; Pollux, iv, 123, who tells us that even before Thespis some one got upon an ἄλσος, or ancient table, and held a dialogue with the members of the chorus. Aristotle, as reported by Themistios (*Or.* xxvi, p. 382), ascribed the introduction of ῥῆσις to Thespis.

account of the growth of tragedy, written within a couple of centuries of its origin, appears to be established beyond all reasonable possibility of doubt. Nor, again, is it possible to accept Dr. Farnell's insistence on the serious character of the early ritual. The modern parallels from Thrace are certainly not overburdened with sadness, and the essence of the ritual is its double side, the tragedy of the death and the joy of the revival of the vegetation spirit.¹ It is much more in keeping with primitive thought to find these sides closely allied than to believe in a solemn ritual of death alone, and the earlier mummeries, now lost, no doubt showed in combination those elements which in separation gave us tragedy and satyric drama, and thus most naturally is to be explained the strong comic element seen, for example, in Aischylos' *Agamemnon*, but never wholly unknown to his plays. With this probable development corresponds the tradition not only of Aristotle but also of Arion's achievement, for Suidas calls him "inventor of the tragic turn",² and it is no great effort of imagination to assume

¹ This is seen in the *Bakchai*, with its triumph of Dionysos and the agony of Pentheus. The two sides are adumbrated in the tale of Lykourgos, II. vi, 132 seqq.

² τραγικῶν τρόπων εὑρετής; cf. Mahaffy, *Greek Classical Literature*, I, i, 221, 222. The question of the tragic character of tragedy is explained by Dieterich, op. cit. pp. 163-96, as due to the fact that in addition to the Dionysiac side of tragedy there was the element of threnoi as seen at the Anthesteria, a public mourning for the dead; the masked dancers are the spirits of the dead. Dionysos is surrounded by the souls of the dead; in spring the earth becomes fruitful anew and the souls of the forefathers arise; Dionysos, the god of the fruitfulness, of the new life, is god of the dead; the phallic demons of fruitfulness and the soul demons are one, a view which Murray accepts as well as Ridgeway's theory. This theory is, indeed, really more probable than Ridgeway's but is not so simple, and it is fair to add that Dieterich (pp. 181-6) adds as a probable influence the dromena at Eleusis, the tale of Persephone and Demeter. But he definitely refuses to admit that there was any trace of the death of a god, whether in goat or bull form (p. 175); the epiphania of Dionysos shows him entering the city on his ship (borne in a car), for he has come from afar to bring new life. But this theory has the great disadvantage of ignoring the peculiar tradition of the god, seen clearly in the *Bakchai* and in the prevalence of *Pentheus* as a title of

that it is to him that we owe the commencement of the differentiation of the Attic drama as tragic, as it would seem to have been in the hands of Thespiis,¹ who wrote, *inter alia*, a drama with the significant title of *Pentheus*. But much may be due in tragic emphasis, as Dieterich argued, to the influence of Eleusis on Aischylos, much also to the genius of Aischylos.

On its merits, therefore, and apart from the evidence of the *Mahābhāṣya*, Aristotle's account of tragedy seems to demand full adherence. The evidence of that text adds to the theoretical probability of the Aristotelian version the unexpected parallel of an actual stage in development, which is not directly recorded in Greek literature. The only way to minimize the value of the evidence is to declare that the *Mahābhāṣya*, which dates probably about 145 B.C.,² perhaps later, is recording a state of affairs introduced from Greece, and it is as well to point out how many improbabilities are involved in such an assumption. The text recognizes the expression of a dramatic theme, the death of Kamsa at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, by two parties of "actors", who do not use action proper, i.e. who are in drama, and it ignores also the overwhelming evidence adduced by Frazer for the killing of the spirit of vegetation and the assumption by the spirit of vegetation of animal shapes. Nor is its view of the dancers on the whole supported by adequate evidence; it remains a hypothesis, and not a very attractive one.

¹ Cf. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 58 seq. The attribution of dramas to Thespiis is uncertain because of the tradition that Herakleides Pontikos wrote tragedies and ascribed them to him. Ridgeway thinks that he divorced the chorus and dithyramb tragedy from connexion with a single tomb and carted it round (cf. Horace, *A.P.* 275, 276) to fairs and markets as a pastime. But this is pure guesswork, and if *A.P.* l.c. does represent facts Thespiis seems not to have attained the creation of tragedy proper, as the reference is rather to comedy (cf. Christ, *Gesch. der Griech. Lit.* p. 175). Dieterich, *op. cit.* p. 174, makes the attractive suggestion that the plaustra of Horace is an allusion to the currus navalis of the epiphania of the god. More probably Thespiis' merit lay in a development of dialogue between his chorus and single actor, in accordance with Aristotle's statement that he invented πρόλογός τε καὶ ἔπειρα to add to the simple songs of the chorus; above, p. 420, n. 3.

² Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii, 309-19; Keith, *Āitareya Aranyaka*, p. 23.

effect performing a dithyramb; it recognizes also the full action,¹ and it knows of actors who also sing; and on the other hand we have no reliable evidence of any performance of Greek plays,² or still less of dithyrambes, in India. It is most clearly the case that in certain departments Greek influence is known in India, but it is equally certain that where it did exist it has left very conspicuous traces, while such traces cannot be found at all in the Indian drama. Nor is there wanting abundant evidence for possibilities of drama in India. The ritual was full of dramatic elements,³ and the Mahāvratā rite preserves to us the traces of a ritual similar to the slaying of Kāṃsa. A Śūdra and an Ārya contend for a white round skin,⁴ symbol of the sun, and the Śūdra is defeated, though in the mild ritual of the Brāhmaṇas the Śūdra is not apparently slain. But there is one salient distinction between Indian and Greek drama which adds to the improbability of the derivation of the former from the latter. The Indian drama must end happily, just as Kṛṣṇa kills Kāṃsa, the red the black, rather than the black the red, as in our source of the Greek drama, the death of Xanthos at the hands of Melanthos and Dionysos Melanaigis, and it is quite probable that the different stress upon the tragic and happy sides depends on a difference in the festival from which the dramas were in the main derived, in the Attic case a winter festival, in the Indian a spring festival giving the tone.

¹ It does not definitely appear whether the *śaṅbhikas* actually acted and spoke their parts, but the *Mahābhāṣya* knows of *naṭas*, "actors," who speak and sing (*naṭasya śṛṇoti*, *naṭasya śroṣyāmah*, i, 4. 29; *agāsin naṭaḥ*, ii, 4. 77), and it is difficult to suppose that the combination of action and speech was not in use.

² Cf. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 347 seqq., 414 seqq.; my note, JRAS. 1909, p. 208.

³ e.g. the vast ritual of the horse sacrifice with its great animation, the Rājasūya, the Vājapeya, and others.

⁴ *Kāthaka Saṃhitā*, xxxiv, 5; *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, v, 5, 14 seqq. (in the comm. on 14 read *parimaṇḍale śvete*); *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, xxi, 19. 9-12; Keith, *Śākhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. 78.

It is, of course, true that there remain many lacunæ in the derivation of Greek drama, and Dr. Farnell readily admits their existence.¹ It is not clear exactly how tragedy became attached to the Greater Dionysia nor why it became so strangely developed at Athens. But arguments against the theory based on these lacunæ such as are urged by Professor Ridgeway are clearly beside the mark; for his own theory makes no attempt whatever to fill the lacuna between "tragic choruses" in honour of the dead and real drama.² It is no part of Dr. Farnell's theory that it was a particular cult of Dionysos as Melanaigis that led to tragedy, and so it is useless to argue³ that tragedy should have been connected with the Apatouria and have been developed early; all that is claimed is that tragedy is a development, specifically Attic in character, of a mystic ritual connected with Dionysos, as a vegetation spirit in goat shape. The development requires the essential change of a dramatic ritual into a ritual drama, and the literary dithyramb appears to have formed the connecting link, being as it seems the reducing to literary form and order of a part only—the song⁴—of the ritual. This gradually was extended

¹ *Cults of the Greek States*, v, 237.

² Epigenes of Sikyon is invoked as a producer of tragedy which did not deal with Dionysos and as developing the tragic choruses (Ridgeway, pp. 58, 67, 68). But we know all but absolutely nothing about him, and what we do know (Zenob. v, 4; Suidas, s.v. *εὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον*) is based on the assumption that tragedy in his day dealt with Dionysos and not with the deaths of heroes. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful if he did more than write dithyrambs; so Haigh, *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, pp. 22, 25; Mahaffy, *Greek Classical Literature*, I, i, 223. The point which Ridgeway ignores is that the dithyramb had already been extended to other topics before tragedy first arose, and therefore had no need to stick to Dionysiac topics. His account of the orthodox origin of drama (p. 2) is really quite unfair. It is easy to overthrow an imaginary opponent.

³ Ridgeway, pp. 75-7.

⁴ The exact points in the development must be uncertain; Haigh, op. cit. pp. 19-21, takes the view that Arion introduced conversations between the chorus and the leader (cf. Pollux, iv, 123), but that depends on pressing the word *λέγοντας* in Suidas, s.v. *Arion*, and this development

to take in much more and to result in the drama proper, which is a conscious representation and no longer a presentation, such as is the mis-called "drama" of the Veddahs of Ceylon.

It is true, however that there must be reckoned with in Attic tragedy another element which is probably of less importance in Sanskrit drama. Aristotle is very unjustly accused by Professor Ridgeway¹ of being confused in his account of the origin of tragedy because he ascribes it in one place to those who began the dithyramb,² and in another³ lays stress on the connexion of the epic with the drama. But the genesis of drama lay in the action of *those who began or composed* the dithyramb, for it was their action which started the spoken part which differentiates drama from other forms of literature; tragedy is neither dithyramb nor epic, and its special character is doubtless greatly due to the grafting upon it of the heroic life of the epic. Aischylos⁴ recognized his deep debt to the "banquets of Homer", and the decisive change of character which leaves Dionysos but one of the subjects of tragedy appears to have been due to the epic; nor is this wonderful when it is remembered how emphatic

seems rather, as held by Aristotle, to be due to Thespis. According, however, to Rabe, *Rhein. Mus.* lxiii, 150, a fragment mentions Solon in his elegies as ascribing to Arion some connexion with tragedy (τῆς δὲ τραγῳδίας πρῶτον δρῆμα . . . εἰσῆγαγεν). But this need not mean more than that he was τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὐρετής, as Suidas tells us. Comedy proper in Greece has a different origin in ritual cathartic cursing; see Farnell, v, 211, 212. For such ribaldry we have a curious parallel in the Vedic *aischrologia* in the horse sacrifice (*Taittiriya Saṃhitā*, vii, 4, 19; *Kāthaka Saṃhitā*, *Aśvamedha*, iv, 8; *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā*, iii, 12, 20; *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, xxiii, 18-32) and the exchange of abuse by a Brahmacārin and a hetaira at the Mahāvratā (Keith, *Sāṅkhāyana Aranyaka*, p. 79). Traces of this form of ritual may be seen in the farces of the later Sanskrit stage. Dieterich, op. cit. p. 167, thinks that satyric drama and comedy have one origin, but this seems only true if the ritual of the worship of Dionysos is regarded as a whole; the different sides of that worship produce different literary forms.

¹ *The Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 7, 57.

² c. 4.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *τεμάχη τῶν Ὀμήρου δειπνῶν*, Athen. 347 E.

was the value placed on the epic by Athens and how marked the place assigned to it according to the tradition by Peisistratos.¹ Athens was precisely the place where we would expect to find, as we do find, the drama under the controlling power of the epic. It is, then, no wonder that Greek drama deals far from exclusively with the Dionysiac cycle from which it drew its origin. The gulf between ritual and drama is very wide.²

¹ It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the legend about Peisistratos yields little or no support to the theory of the debt of the present form of the Homeric poems to his action (see Lang, *The World of Homer*, pp. 281-8, and cf. Murray, pp. 212 seqq.). But there is the evidence of Isokrates (*Paneg.* p. 74) and Lykourgos (*adv. Leokr.* 102) for the attention paid at Athens to the epic.

² Some minor points may be added in this note. (1) The contrast drawn between the Attic Xanthos of Boiotia and the dark-haired aboriginal Neleid Melanthos is only justifiable by the theory held by Professor Ridgeway that the aborigines of Greece were the dark-haired Mediterranean race akin to the Lycians, that they spoke Greek, and that the Achaeans and other invaders were Celtic. But there is much more probability that there is a further stage, namely, before the latest invaders the Dorians (who were, no doubt, closely connected in race with the earlier Greek invaders, and like them, being Aryans, allied to the Celto-Teutonic races, though Ridgeway believes that the Dorians were dark Thracians or Illyrians, matriarchal in character), earlier Greek invaders, the Ionians, and other tribes who brought the Greek tongue and imposed it on the more primitive race, in which case the Neleid cannot be assumed to have been black-haired. It seems that the earlier civilization is that of the Mediterranean race; the reading of the Cretan discoveries will decide if they spoke Greek or not. Cf. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece; Who were the Dorians?* Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 146-62, 163 seqq., 196 seqq., 202 seqq.; Hall, *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, pp. 94 seqq.; *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxv, 324; Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*², pp. 61 seqq. It is asserted by Ridgeway (p. 120) that Orestes and his sister recognized each other by their blond hair, being Achaeans from the north (so Tucker, *Chaphori*, pp. lx seqq.); Achaeans are not Dorians in the tradition, but are opposed to the Dorians, so that we seem reduced to realize even on his own theory that there were different waves of people from the north, and the theory of a gradual penetration of Greece by Aryan peoples bringing the Greek tongue appears most probable; cf. Hall, *Annals of British School at Athens*, xi, 222.

(2) This consideration applies with great force to Professor Ridgeway's ingenious attempt to prove that in the *Supplikes* and the *Ennenides* Aischylos as a reformer is defending the recognition of the binding character of the marriage tie, the change from exogamy to endogamy,

and the abolition of the matriarchy, coupled with the supremacy of the religion of Zeus and Apollo, introduced mainly through the influence of Homer. As proof of the early prevalence of matriarchy in Athens he cites the case of the Lycians (Herod. i, 173), who were, he says, allied with the Greeks in blood, a statement which he does not attempt to prove, and which is true only if we take the oldest strata of population, who were, in the ordinary acceptation of Greeks as those speaking an Aryan tongue, pre-Greek, for Lycian is generally held not to be an Indo-European speech (Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Gesch. der Griech. Sprache*, pp. 289 seqq.). The Spaniards of Cantabria (Strabo, p. 137, 30) were apparently in like case to the Lycians, and there is some, though not decisive, evidence of matriarchy among parts of the Mediterranean race, though Murray, *op. cit.* pp. 67, n. 1, 98, with wonted lightheartedness, accepts it *sine phrase*, and Myres, *Anthropology and the Classics*, pp. 153 seqq., seems to accept it. Then he adds that in Athens in Isaios' time endogamy was usual, as shown by the rule that an "heiress" was expected to marry the next-of-kin, and indeed was no more than a burden on the estate (*ἐπίκληρος*)—the term "heiress" is misleading in this regard. But endogamy had once been the rule under matriarchy, and a survival is seen in the rule that half-brothers and half-sisters by the same father could marry, not, however, those by the same mother. This is, however, clearly no argument at all: Attic law (like Egyptian law) to preserve the estate developed the system of allowing an intermarriage, though it never allowed (as did Egyptian law) full brother and sister to marry. It therefore allowed those with one father to marry, but not those with one mother, natural relationship prevailing over the dictates of property. But that exogamy ever was the rule in Athens is not even hinted at in any authority. In the *Supplikes* the maidens who flee from marriage with a cousin are evidently hard for the king to understand, for he argues with them in the best Attic style, and enunciates a principle of private international law of great interest. "If the sons of Aigyptos," he says, "have power over thee by the law of the city, claiming it on the base of kinship, who would care to oppose them? Therefore must thou defend thyself according to the laws of thy house, on the ground that they have no power over thee," a clear assertion that domicile is the rule regarding personal relations. When it is remembered that the king compares them to Egyptians, Libyans, or Amazons, it can hardly be denied that Aischylos is not discussing a question of burning moment at Athens. Still less does the *Eumenides* avail. The guilt of slaying a mother is a grave one, and the prosecution makes a strong case in favour of the close connexion of son and mother, but the triumph of the opposite view is complete and doubtless in harmony with Athenian feeling, which sympathized, despite its love to succour the oppressed, with the splendid falsehood of Hypermetra. Nothing can be made of the argument used in the *Eumenides*, 201 seqq., that a woman is not kindred to her husband, for the Attic law even in the fourth century recognized that a woman by marriage did not cease to be of her father's family; the father could, if he liked, divorce her from her husband, and on her husband's death she could return to her father's family

if she wished (see Gardner-Jevons, *Greek Antiquities*, pp. 553 seqq.). The laws of Gortyn also recognize fully the male predominance, despite their proximity to Lycia, and their innovations in favour of the female are no doubt rightly attributed by Jevons to advanced ideas, not to survivals of matriarchy. Aischylos was a reformer, no doubt, but his reforms lay not in these matters, but in his spiritual conception of God, and it is curious that Professor Ridgeway should still cling (p. 204) to the improbable theory of his defence of the Areopagos (cf. Haigh, *op. cit.* pp. 56, 57, with Jevons, *Greek Literature*, p. 196; the defence of the Argive alliance in *Eumenides*, 721 seqq., is not really consistent with a defence of the Areopagos, which clearly must have preferred the Spartan alliance).

(3) The view that the Bacchantes were merely Thracian maidens is no doubt correct, but it is difficult to say if the same explanation (pp. 11, 12) applies to the Satyrs, Sileni, Hermenoi, Sauadai, and Deuadai, and like companies, who were, it seems, all real Thracian aboriginal tribes, addicted to tattooing and lax morality; von Schroeder (*Mysterium und Mimus*, pp. 476 seqq.) argues that the spirits of the dead and the mimetic dances in imitation of them, with their power of evoking reproduction, lie at the bottom of these legends, but it is certainly probable that the explanation of these curious figures of myth is simply the dances for vegetative magic, in which the worshippers assumed the semblance of the god, the vegetative spirit in some animal form. This lies at the bottom of the modern Thracian rites, and the legend of satyrs and their variants could easily be derived thence. This view saves us from the necessity of seeing in the satyrs any distinct tribes of aborigines; any performers of the rites could give rise to the myth.

(4) The prominence of the worship of the dead, their tombs, ghosts, the kommoi and threnoi found in Aischylos, and also to some degree in Sophokles and Euripides, cannot be used (pp. 131, 162) to prove the origin of drama. Drama as in Aischylos is really in kind different from the primitive material from which it emerged, and it deals with the great questions of the day and the religious feelings of the time, in which the care of the dead undoubtedly played a great part, as it did in Vedic India and in Persia. Nor must Aischylos' connexion with Eleuses and the probable influence of the mysteries be ignored; cf. Arist. *Ran.* 886 seq.: *Ἀθήνην ἢ ἑτέραν τῆν ἐμὴν φέρει, εἶναι μὲ τῶν σὺν ἄνθρωποις.* In this regard Professor Ridgeway seems to lay too much stress on the aboriginal character of reverence of the dead, and on the fact that burning was the only Homeric custom, as showing that the Homeric conception was totally opposed to reverence of the dead. Homer is dealing with the exceptional circumstances of foreign wars (cf. Dörpfeld, *Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 95 seqq.), and the care for the dead is in his poems extremely well marked, e.g. as regards Patroklos; he may even represent a stratum of thought rather than a complete racial change; cf. Lang, *Homer and his Age*, pp. 101 seqq.; *The World of Homer*, pp. 105-12.

(5) The acceptance by Professor Ridgeway (p. 164) of the legend that Themistokles sacrificed before Salamis three Persian captives to Dionysos

II

Professor Oldenberg has been so good as to send me a copy of an article¹ in which he has, with his usual ability and learning, defended his conception of the Vedic

Omestes seems unfair to that great man, even if we accept the version of Plutarch in *Them.* 13, that he did so of necessity at the demand of those around him on the bidding of the seer Euphrantides. But it rests only on the evidence of Phanias of Lesbos, writing two hundred years later, it is not noticed in Herodotos, and it can safely be put down as a lie (cf. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*², p. 34, and see Grote's criticism, *History*, iv, 227, n.). It is, however, true that here and there human sacrifices long survived in Greece (cf. Farnell, v, 303, and see Murray, pp. 326-31), though again it is doubtful if in Pausanias' time human sacrifice was made on the Lycean mount in Arcadia. Pausanias (viii, 38. 7) hints at it, but this may be merely a case where he quotes his authority without vouching for his own time.

(6) Professor Ridgeway takes great pains to show that the Dorians were not the originators of tragedy, and declares (p. 2) that "it has been universally assumed that the Dorians were the inventors of tragedy". But I cannot find any evidence of such assumption; see e.g. Haigh, *op. cit.* p. 25, and Jevons, *op. cit.* p. 190, who see matters in a truer perspective.

(7) The view that the Anthesteria was properly and solely a great festival of the dead, put forward by Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 34 seqq., and accepted by Professor Ridgeway (p. 50), is relied upon to prove the evidence of pre-Dionysiac choruses in honour of the dead; it is sufficiently refuted by Farnell, v, 219 seqq.

(8) It is difficult to follow Professor Ridgeway's elaborate investigation of the meaning of *thymele* (pp. 39-48) and his conclusion that as there were two altars there were two cults. The *θυμέλη*, as he himself admits, is the place of the offering of burnt-sacrifice to the god, round which the chorus naturally danced; that a chorus could dance round a tomb is perfectly true, but a tomb is not called and could not be called *θυμέλη*, for the dead receive no burnt-offerings (cf. his own clever rendering (p. 137) of *ἐμπύρουι τ' ὀρθοστάται* in Eur. *Hel.* 574), and the theory that an altar replaced a tomb is gratuitous. There was also on the stage as a rule (Pollux, iv, 123; Aisch. *Ag.* 1080) a *βαμός* of Apollo Agnēus, but it is a mere conjecture that this was really an old gravestone, and the author's argument rests on the supposed substitution of a *θυμέλη* for a tomb. On the other hand, he seems right in correcting Haigh's view (*Attic Theatre*², pp. 106, 107) that the table which may have stood beside the *θυμέλη* was used by the leader of the chorus as a place to stand upon and converse with the chorus. That is called *ἀλές* in Pollux, iv, 123, and was presumably an ordinary table, and the notice in *Et. Magn.* s.v. *θυμέλη* is apparently confused; it does not yield the sense desired by Haigh in *θυμέλη* = table on which the choir leader stood, nor is Ridgeway's version satisfactory.

¹ *Gött. Nach.* 1911, pp. 441-68.

Ākhyāna, as a narration in prose in which at the points of heightened interest verses, whether narrative or dialogue, are found. On this defence I desire to offer the following observations, premising that the question at issue is the early existence of such a form of literature and its legitimate application to the interpretation of Vedic hymns, these being the theories which to me seem improbable, and that in the absence of any direct tradition in the Vedic literature of such a form it is incumbent on its supporters to prove their case, not merely to show that it is possible. My position is that such proof has not yet been adduced.

1. It is admitted and emphasized in my paper¹ that there exists an Indian type of literature of quite reasonably early date—but not early Vedic—which gives us verses embedded in prose. But this literature is distinguished from the Ākhyāna type postulated by Professor Oldenberg by the fact that the verses are citations,² excerpts from the floating mass of traditional gnomic literature or other source. Professor Oldenberg³ now suggests that this is a subform of the Ākhyāna, a development of the older type of Ākhyāna. For this view he neither adduces any ground, nor can I conceive of any. The form of literature is a simple one, and in India a common one. I find no ground for denying its independent origin. Take Professor Oldenberg's own examples⁴ of this form: in *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, iv, 8, 1,⁵ in a narrative the Brahmin answers the question of his Brahminhood by the verse—

*kiṃ brāhmaṇasya pitarāṃ kiṃ u pṛchasi mātaram
śrutāṃ ced asmin vedyaṃ sa pitā sa pitāmahaḥ.*

¹ JRAS. 1911, pp. 979-95.

² Neither Hertel, VOJ. xxiv, 122 seqq., nor I have maintained that none of the citations are composed by the author of the prose. The earlier style, in my view, is where they are not so composed (op. cit. p. 986, n. 1).

³ Op. cit. p. 451.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 464.

⁵ *Kāthaka Saṃhitā*, xxx, 1; *Kapishthala*, xlvii, 4.

Surely it is not open to doubt that this is merely a quotation, probably of a popular Brahminical verse; how can it help the Ākhyāna theory? The next case is the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi, 5. 5, where in the middle of prose are verses in which the gods speak to Prajāpati, he to the gods, and the Dānavas (according to Professor Oldenberg, but not to Professor Eggeling¹) also speak. But the verses are given precisely in xi, 5. 5. 12 as a quotation and are obviously a quotation, and so prove nothing; similar quotations are not rare, e.g. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, ii, 3. 8,² and this form of literature is surely a natural one. So in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, v, 11, Aśvapati Kaikeya quotes a verse on the virtue of his kingdom (*na me steno janapade na kadārgo na madyapaḥ, nānāhitāgnir nāvidvān na svairī svairiṇī kutah*), which is not merely gnomic but also, as the form and the word *svairī* show, late. In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, as Professor Oldenberg urges, I see a closer approach to the Ākhyāna type he postulates, and he claims this as a support for his theory, as the *Upaniṣad* is clearly a pre-Buddhist text. But I regret that to this claim I cannot agree. I pointed out that the older Vedic version of the legend in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 11. 8, is in prose, not verse; that version is pre-Buddhistic,³ but I cannot say if the verse version is, and in any case it is no proof for early Vedic literature. But what is more serious, the verse form with mingled prose cannot be reasonably claimed as primitive. What are the facts? The *Upaniṣads* show either (a) prose with occasional quoted verses, like the verses in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the *Chāndogya*, and the *Aitareya* or *Kauṣītaki*; (b) mixed prose and verse, the verses now forming with the prose

¹ SBE, xlv, 95. I am not sure if Eggeling is not right, but the point is indifferent to the inquiry.

² See my note ad loc.

³ The parallel with the Māra legend is proof of that (cf. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 225). But the *Upaniṣad* is not the legend.

an integral whole, e.g. in some slight measure the *Kaṭha* and a better example the *Kena*; and (c) pure verse, as the *Īśa*, *Śvetāśvatara*, *Mundaka*, and often in the later Upaniṣads. Can anyone doubt that the second form is a natural development of the first? The use of quoted verses leads to turning part of the narrative into verse, and a new literary form emerges, not a revival or remnant of an old Ākhyāna form. Later a whole Upaniṣad, originally in prose form, may have been transmuted into verse, or an original Upaniṣad composed in verse. In this case Professor Oldenberg's theory is not only unnecessary but it is most improbable. If the early Upaniṣads had taken the Ākhyāna form something might have been said for his view: unhappily the older¹ Upaniṣads, like the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the *Chāndogya*, the *Aitareya*, even the *Kauṣītaki*, show only quoted verses, and worst of all the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, as has been seen, gives the older prose version. There remains, then, only the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, iv, 3, which is probably a case of quoted verses being worked into a narrative, for the verses are mystic and no doubt traditional.

2. Nor are we carried further by the case of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* tale of Śunaḥśepa. I may remark that the part of the Brāhmaṇa which contains the legend is beyond all doubt late,² and the mention of the names Kali, Dvāpara, etc., whatever their signification,³ is late, so that even if this were an Ākhyāna the evidence would be of little value for early Vedic literature. But, unhappily, the whole of the first verse passage (vii, 13) seems to be culled from gnomic sources; at any rate, to deny that it may

¹ Professor Oldenberg would no doubt admit the priority of these Upaniṣads to the *Kaṭha*. The evidence for it is given by Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, pp. 22 seqq.; cf. Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 41 seqq.

² See e.g. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 205; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* I, xxx; Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 30-3.

³ See *Vedic Index*, ii, 193.

be so culled is logically impossible, and any other theory must prove itself, not claim to be self-evident. And the Ākhyāna theory has this unfortunate difficulty, which Professor Oldenberg with his usual candour admits, but which he does not successfully explain away. The prose tells us of Parvata and Nārada dwelling with the king, and of the latter questioning Nārada and of his reply, but the verses attributed to Nārada contain (v, 7) the plural *brahmāṇo*. Why should this be if this is a true Ākhyāna? There is no satisfactory answer forthcoming; Nārada should address the king, not non-existent Brahmins. But if it is a quoted verse the plural is at once explained. No doubt if the Ākhyāna form were an established fact this detail might be neglected, but the theory of the form is so largely built on the Śunaḥśepa legend that the detail becomes of vital importance. Nor can I see any real reason to doubt that the tale of Hariścandra and Rohita is based on the verses containing the name Rohita, taken from a gnomic poem. Professor Oldenberg deprecates such distrust of the narrative, but I think he can hardly criticize me after his lighthearted dismissal of the *brahmāṇo* of vii, 13. 7. It must be remembered that I am not postulating anything unknown. The *Bṛhaddevatā* is a standing monument of the bogus Itihāsa traditions which surround the *Rgveda*; the *Rgvidhāna* is another; and Professor Oldenberg himself¹ admits that they are bogus. Why may I not see in the *Āitareya* a similar legend? Be it remembered that the *Āitareya* in this part is no very early text; on the contrary, it is decidedly late. Take, again, the last element of the verse, the dialogue of Ājigarta, Śunaḥśepa, Viśvāmitra, and his sons in vii, 17 and 18. This is in itself a whole, and it is most essential to note that it is not an Ākhyāna form. From the beginning (vii, 17. 3) to the end (vii, 18. 9) the narrative is

¹ See e.g. ZDMG. xxxvii, 79. Contrast Sieg, *Die Sagenstoffe des Rgveda*, p. 46.

continuous in verse with connexions giving the speaker's name, save in the case of vii, 18, 1-3, where a note is inserted about the sons of Viśvāmitra, the point of which is to connect genealogically the Pulindas, Śabarās, Andhras, Puṇḍras, and Mūtibas with Viśvāmitra. Surely nothing but devotion to a preconceived theory can prevent it being realized that a genuine epos has been interpolated and commented upon. We have, in fact, another example of what is seen in perfection in the tale of Purūravas and Urvaśi as it is told in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. And in this connexion perhaps it is not without significance that Professor Oldenberg says nothing in defence of the Ākhyāna theory of that tale.

3. Professor Oldenberg is not satisfied¹ with my failure to explain my view of the *Suparṇādhyaṃya*. But surely my position is simple. Professor Oldenberg calls it an Ākhyāna; Dr. Hertel² is certain that it is a drama; I can see that part of it is epic, and that too plain epic, needing no Ākhyāna theory; the rest may be epic dialogue, or it may not. As I am unable myself to make any satisfactory version of the whole, and as two distinguished scholars, after elaborate studies, arrive at very different results, I conclude that the key to the solution is not yet found and probably never will be. The text is admittedly not very early, and is wretchedly preserved, and I submit confidently that to base any argument whatever upon it is to violate every principle of sound reasoning.

4. Professor Oldenberg³ still believes that the *Rgveda* contains Ākhyāna hymns. But why was the prose omitted? Professor Oldenberg can suggest nothing better than that the verses were in some way more important, and he instances the fact that to each there was a response in the *Āitareya*⁴ ritual, of *om* after a *Re*, *tathā* after a *Gāthā*, and he adds that it would have been inconsistent

¹ *Gött. Nach.* 1911, p. 461.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 466-8.

³ *VOJ.* xxiii, 273 seqq.

⁴ vii, 18, 12, 13.

to include the prose in the *Rgveda* and would have added to its length. Now, if we were certain that the verses had been accompanied by prose, this sort of explanation might have been—reluctantly—accepted *faute de mieux*; when it is offered to support a theory of the non-preservation of an original prose it becomes incredible, if we remember the steady persistence with which the prose text of the Brāhmaṇas has come down to us.

5. These considerations seem to me to decide the fate of the Ākhyāna theory for the early Vedic literature. It is not proved by a single text, it is unknown to tradition, and every argument adduced for it is open to grave objection. And that is all I set out in my article to prove. But I will notice the Pāli evidence again adduced by Professor Oldenberg, as it still seems to me that no cogent proof has been adduced to show that any Jātaka is really a primitive Ākhyāna with a modern prose replacing the old prose. I must premise that the date of the Jātakas is too late to be cogent for an early Vedic period, like that of the Mantras of the *Rgveda*; that seems to me obvious, and until it is denied on explicit grounds I cannot see any reason to abandon the obvious. Take now the example of prose and poetry adduced by Professor Oldenberg from the *Mahāvagga*.¹ What is its literary parallel, perhaps model? Surely the form seen in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* as compared with the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* and more clearly in the *Kena Upaniṣad*, the mixture of verse and prose which arises from a versifying of prose, probably motivated by the occasional citation of verses among prose. Similarly, we may have cases of this in the Jātaka, and also actual cases of the same style as is seen in the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, and if there are cases, as Franke² believes, where prose and verse are contemporaneous, such cases are instances analogous to Kathāsaṃgrahaślokaś, where, as Hertel recognizes, the

¹ *Gott. Nach.* 1911, pp. 457, 458.

² *ZDMG.* lxi, 13.

verses are supplied by the author of the prose himself, whether as new composition or as recasting of old material; it must never be forgotten that Niti material in India seems to have been inconceivably plentiful. Professor Oldenberg has forgotten this when he is surprised¹ at my using Franke's view to illustrate my thesis.² A Niti writer was not bound to invent *nīl*; his use of verses of his own composition as quotations is surely perfectly simple (and a modern example is that of Dyā Dviveda, author of the *Nitimañjarī*, who invents and explains his own Niti rules³), though very often he could draw on the existing store. Whether in the particular case in question Franke is right in seeing contemporaneity is disputed by Professor Oldenberg, but not completely convincingly. Then in other cases we are admittedly, as Professor Oldenberg says,⁴ in possession of Jātakas, the verses of which are in themselves a complete whole, e.g. the *Śuddantajātaka*, and Professor Lüders⁵ actually accuses a whole Jātaka (No. 15) of birth from a misreading in a Gāthā. Moreover, admittedly there were early accounts of the Buddha's life in verse proper.⁶ In the face of these facts what weight can be placed on the assertion that the Jātakas as they stand are really, as far as the verses are concerned, faithful replicas of old Jātakas, the prose of which has been lost? Many of the Jātakas are no more, I feel certain, than Pāli parallels of the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, and the verses may be—and indeed often are—divorced entirely from their original sense and connexion. It is no argument against this view that in the earlier Pāli texts verses are found with old prose.

¹ *Gött. Nach.* 1911, p. 452, n. 4.

² But I did not so use it; see *op. cit.* p. 986, n. 1. I only used it to show that the relation of prose and verse was not, according to a recent and careful student of the texts, as Professor Oldenberg thinks, always one of priority.

³ See Keith, *JRAS.* 1900, pp. 127-31; Sieg, *op. cit.* pp. 37 *seqq.*

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 444, n. 3, 450, n. 1.

⁵ *Gött. Nach.* 1897, p. 128, n. 1. Oldenberg here abandons him, p. 449, n. 3.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 456.

for the Tantrākhyāyikā style is certainly an old one, and may easily appear in the Pāli canon—itsself, be it remembered, of no very ancient date. Of course, if it be contended that the Ākhyāna style is really the Ākhyāyikā—and Professor Oldenberg seems to be tending towards this view—*cadit quæstio*, but also *cadit* the attempt of Professor Oldenberg to find explanations of Rgvedic hymns, for he does not in practice apply the Ākhyāyikā theory at all to them. The Jātakas, in fact, will not give any secure foundation for an Ākhyāna theory,¹ and they are not needed if it is merely a question of the existence of an Ākhyāyikā style.

To sum up and to avoid vagueness, I should say that it seems to me that in the Vedic literature certainly, and in the Pāli literature very probably, there is no real case of the alleged Ākhyāna: there do occur two forms which are essentially different from it and which lend no support to the theory of its existence. These are (1) the Nīti style, prose with quoted verses, a style which endures throughout Sanskrit literature; (2) a rarer form, of prose narrative mixed with verses: this is seen in cases like the *Kena Upaniṣad*, and faintly in the *Kaṭha*, and it is not rare in the Buddhist canon. It seems clearly not to be primitive, but to be derived from an older style preserved to us in the earlier Upaniṣads, where the verses are sporadic, and are probably older than the prose in which they are quoted and applied. The transition from prose to verse is not at all unnatural: we know that the earlier Upaniṣads are prose with occasional verses, that the later are pure verse (prose reviving in a still later stage, as in the *Praśna Upaniṣad*), and we see the rise of verse in such cases as *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, iv, 4. 8-21, and

¹ The argument at p. 453 I do not follow. The Jātaka collection treats, of course, the verses as the really important part, because in that collection they are so, the prose being clearly subsidiary. But that tells nothing of their original condition.

Kena Upaniṣad, 1-13: we are therefore feigning no idle hypothesis. Now in all these cases, the prose has *not* disappeared: it is there, and its presence warns us that the theory that it has been lost in the case of the Ākhyāna is a theory for which no parallel has been adduced, and for which I venture to think no parallel can be adduced. Of course, if the theory really were useful in explaining Vedic hymns, I might be tempted to believe the impossible, but my great complaint against it and the origin of my disbelief in it is that it has so far led to nothing, in my opinion, save confusion and absurdity. We can all invent Ākhyānas, as the different theories of Mudgala show, but no one will accept another's version, nor, indeed, can I see why he should. A theory which is unsound in its basis and unsatisfactory in its results seems to me devoid of plausibility.

I may conclude with a mild protest against the attribution¹ to me of the view that the earliest form of the Yajurveda texts was Mantras inseparably connected with a prose explaining them and the ritual. I can see nothing whatever² to justify the theory that I held so foolish an opinion: the Mantras clearly were collected before the Brāhmaṇas were composed. All I have stated—and Professor Oldenberg will certainly not dispute it—is that there existed at one period a text of the Yajurveda in which prose and Mantras were united, and which is adumbrated for us by the texts of the *Taittirīya*, *Kāthaka*, *Kaṣīṭhala*, and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitās*. Nothing else will account for the often verbal similarities of the prose of those texts.

¹ *Göt. Nach.* 1911, p. 466, n. 1.

² *Op. cit.* p. 488. I point out the distinction between the prose of the assumed Ākhyāna and the much less closely connected prose of the Saṃhitās, a fact which might have prevented the accusation. But I know how easy it is to misunderstand, and I cannot hope to have avoided the same fault with regard to others; see e.g. the complaint of Speyer in ZDMG. lxi, 319, 320, though I still think he does regard the phenomenon discussed by me in ZDMG. lxiii, 346, in a somewhat different light than I do.

XVI

THE CHINESE BRONZE KNOWN AS THE "BUSHELL BOWL" AND ITS INSCRIPTION

By L. C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.

IN a recent paper in this Journal on "Chinese Writing in the Chou Dynasty in the light of Recent Discoveries", I expressed the hope that I should be able shortly to publish in the Journal a list of the characters contained in the Chinese inscription of the Bushell Bowl, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with their Lesser Seal equivalents, and some additional forms besides.

This undertaking is carried out in the present paper, the scope of which, however, is rather wider than I then intended. The article now includes a revised modern text of the inscription, a fresh translation into English, and a new photograph of the actual inscription taken by the authorities of the Museum, which for the first time shows every single character in complete detail, a very different presentment from those previously obtained. To reach this result has been a laborious task, and would have been impossible but for the ungrudging and continuous assistance given to me by the Museum authorities in a measure beyond what I could fairly have asked of them. I hope, however, that the now final restoration of the long text may contribute, among other things, to settle the controversy relating to the impugned genuineness of the bowl itself, and of the historical document, as I believe it to be, borne upon its inner surface.

The new translation is based upon Professor Parker's, as his was on the original rendering of the late Dr. Bushell, given in his *Chinese Art*, vol. i, pp. 85-6. I meant at first only to make such emendations as the decipherment

of various hitherto illegible characters would render necessary. But it is a common experience that when once you meddle with another man's translation you are insensibly led on to an amount of change greater than either you at first desire or he probably deserves. So it has been with the present document. But the question of translation has been of quite secondary interest from the point of view from which this article has been composed. My object has been to present the original inscription integrally, in the first place, such as it was left on the metal of the bowl by the hand of the engraver; and, secondly, to construct, for purposes of study and reference, a comparative list of the component characters, separately and severally, with the corresponding forms of the Lesser Seal character, and certain other forms given by the Shuo Wên Dictionary, as well as a number of variants occurring on the inscribed bones of the Honan find.

In the paper published in the October number of the Journal, no reference was made to the question of the genuineness of the Bushell Bowl and of its lengthy inscription. Both, however, have been challenged by high authorities, and it would be idle to ignore the fact, nor is there in my opinion any reason to do so. For my part, after prolonged work upon the bowl and its legend, I remain on the side of the angels, and their representative—*ad hoc*—upon earth, Professor Parker, and opposed to the hosts of the iconoclasts led by the great names of Chavannes, Pelliot, and Vissière, and, in England, of Professor Giles. The decision of the issue is of more than academic and scientific interest, as the following facts serve to show. There exists a celebrated bronze antique known to Chinese connoisseurs and others as the 毛公鼎, Mao Kung Ting, or Cauldron of Duke Mao. This was formerly in the possession of a wealthy family of Shantung Province named Ch'ên, 陳, from whom it was

purchased less than two years ago by the late regretted ex-Viceroy Tuan Fang, for the sum of ten thousand taels, say £1,500. But this figure was a reduced one in consideration of the distinction and particular attainments of the buyer. Fifteen thousand taels had previously been offered and refused for the same specimen. We can, then, to some extent judge at what price the Bushell Bowl would now change hands among Chinese collectors, if it is a genuine antique inscribed with a genuine legend. And now to come to grips with that very question. In his *Adversaria Sinica*, No. 9, 1911, Professor Giles, at the end of an article on "Chinese Bronzes", has conveniently summarized the grounds of the unfaith that is in him, and I cannot do better than quote the whole passage, which is as follows:—

"With regard to the 'bowl' at the Museum, I gather from my own inspection of it, from a passing acquaintance with other bronzes, and from a careful perusal of the passages translated above,

"(1) that the bowl itself is of doubtful antiquity;

"(2) that the inscription was not cast with the bowl, as would have been the case with a genuine antique of the seventh century B.C., but was incised later;

"(3) that the inscription when cut was covered at once with a varnish-enamel to conceal the fact mentioned in (2);

"(4) that the bowl and its inscription have never been noticed by Chinese archaeologists, because it was known to be a fake, for which reason, too, it was readily allowed to slip, for a consideration, from the collection of the Imperial Prince who owned it;

"(5) that the argument against such a lengthy inscription is fully borne out by a comparison which I have made with scores of inscriptions on ancient bronzes; and finally

"(6) that MM. Chavannes, Pelliot, and Vissière may be said to have gained the day."

TEXT OF THE BUSHELL BOWL INSCRIPTION

530	507	484	461	438	415	392	369	346	323	300	277	
1	斯	于	晉	墜	對	成	申	乃	談	辟	啟	非
2	其	彌	侯	乃	揚	命	九	纂	耽	王	晉	親
3	萬	丁	歸	克	天	越	服	乃	颺	曰	疆	弗
4	年	酉	自	配	子	在	之	舊	吾	於	則	展
5	子	元	平	于	之	羣	命	于	牧	曄	亦	僕
6	孫	成	戎	先	休	辟	汝	乃	守	非	惟	正
7	永	御	獻	文	命	敢	爲	先	以	余	乃	三
8	寶	王	成	人	王	有	外	人	爲	一	文	十
9	用	寵	于	乃	曰	不	廷	不	叔	人	公	虎
10		命	唐	亦	叔	率	伯	替	父	不	實	賁
11		晉	叔	有	父	惟	惟	永	憂	惠	勞	三
12		侯	文	終	汝	余	征	命	王	貪	于	百
13		再	侯	晉	往	一	惟	余	曰	于	外	溫
14		拜	越	侯	哉	人	伐	一	於	禍	用	原
15		稽	日	再	吾	有	惟	人	曄	亂	克	董
16		首	丙	拜	命	顯	討	賴	叔	惟	膺	樊
17		敢	申	稽	不	罰	惟	以	父	戎	吾	陘
18		對	告	首	重	晉	篤	寧	余	無	寵	六
19		揚	功	惟	譌	侯	惟	余	懋	厭	命	邑
20		王	于	二	惟	再	來	惟	乃	賴	有	之
21		休	祖	月	汝	拜	惟	汝	丕	世	光	田
22		命	告	甲	念	稽	用	嘉	顯	生	于	式
23			烈	午	弗	首	吾	用	功	心	羣	
538	529	506	483	460	437	414	391	368	345	322	299	

TRANSCRIBED IN MODERN CHARACTERS

254	231	208	185	162	139	116	93	70	47	24	1	
在	公	其	民	上	後	丕	有	乃	叔	觀	惟	1
書	克	靡	竄	下	嗣	顯	遠	光	父	子	王	2
勳	紹	涯	逐	四	天	不	邇	顯	懋	明	一	3
涼	乃	懼	吾	廷	不	功	內	于	哉	堂	月	4
轅	先	遂	郊	不	卑	奕	外	西	昔	遂	辛	5
文	文	壓	邑	度	純	俞	一	誕	在	享	酉	6
牡	人	于	王	遠	若	登	德	卑	吾	晉	晉	7
非	之	淵	曰	人	鵠	于	則	于	先	侯	侯	8
德	成	宅	於	乃	之	盟	亦	中	王	于	告	9
弗	烈	吾	時	攜	弗	府	有	夏	有	周	平	10
賈	捍	王	在	戎	指	詔	若	暨	若	廟	戎	11
彤	吾	室	昔	乃	若	于	先	于	文	王	既	12
弓	于	亦	厲	大	纒	宗	文	要	武	庸	觀	13
娘	艱	未	宣	興	之	工	人	荒	成	以	于	14
弓	吾	有	幽	忠	弗	允	鴻	惟	康	九	王	15
非	亦	寧	越	搆	繹	有	敷	德	純	服	三	16
伐	罔	則	于	吾	實	譽	乃	之	業	之	勞	17
弗	不	亦	平	懿	有	于	心	刑	罔	命	于	18
授	惟	有	桓	親	爽	遠	左	是	不	晉	根	19
介	庸	若	若	播	德	世	右	震	惟	侯	子	20
玉	之	乃	涉	越	弗	其	吾	是	德	王	國	21
蒼	酬	祖	洪	吾	協	在	王	栗	之	若	于	22
符	識	文	川	人	于	吾	家	靡	勤	曰	宗	23
276	253	230	207	184	161	138	115	92	69	46	23	

These six heads resolve themselves into two groups. Nos. (1) and (6) are expressions of opinion, while the remainder are statements of argument. Any considered judgments of Professor Giles deserve the respect which they are sure to receive, and having said so much, though unable to concur in his view, I pass to the specific arguments of Nos. (2), (3), (4), and (5).

First, with regard to the argument from the fact that the inscription was not cast with the bowl, but incised later. This point certainly has weight, for undoubtedly most of the inscriptions on ancient bronzes were previously written on the moulds in which the vessels were to be cast, and in the example under review this certainly is not the case. But the practice of casting an inscription was not invariable, as I shall show, and I venture to maintain that this bowl formed one of the exceptions. I would go further, and express my strong suspicion that one of the clauses near the end of the legend is in terms which may reasonably be read as an implicit statement to that effect. First let us hear Yuan Yuan, the antiquary and scholarly author of the *Chi Ku Chai Chung Ting K'uan Chih*, on the general question.

In *chüan* 3 of the above work, Yuan, in his note on a bell in his own collection, described as the 周公望鐘 Chou Kung Wang Bell, has the following passage: 案考工記鄭注云銘刻之也賈疏云刻之者正謂在模上刻之非謂在器乃刻然考古器銘鑄款固多鑿款亦間有之此鐘篆文是鑄成後刻也 "Chêng [K'ang-ch'êng] in his commentary on the K'ao Kung Chi [section of the *Chou Li*], says: 'the inscription was engraved,' and Chia [Kung-yen] annotates: 'The term 刻, *k'ê*, rightly refers to engraving on the mould, and *not* to engraving on the vessel itself.'" "But" [adds Yuan Yuan] "an examination of the inscriptions on old bronzes shows that while the majority are unquestionably cast, yet incised inscriptions also occur here and there.

The characters on this bell were thus engraved after the casting was completed." Thus Yuan Yuan on the general rule and exceptional instances. Chance enables me to quote another specific example, taken from the Table of Contents forming *chüan* 1 of Wu Shih-fên's *Chün Ku Lu*. Here, on the last page of the volume, he adds to the entry of a bronze in his own collection the words 器鑄文蓋鑿文, "Characters on the vessel cast, on the cover incised."

An incised inscription, then, was not a thing unknown to the metal-founders of ancient China, and cannot serve to prove the fabrication of a bronze that displays it.

Before leaving this part of the subject, I would draw attention to the sentence in the inscription before us already alluded to as having an important bearing on this issue. It is unfortunate that the fourth character in the passage, though now perfectly legible, has so far defied all attempts to fit it convincingly with a modern form, and this to some extent renders uncertain the sense of the immediately preceding word, 元, *yüan*. But this uncertainty does not affect my argument, which is based on the last part of the sentence. The latter runs thus: "On the Ting Yu day a *plain bowl* having been completed was proffered to the King for the favour of his commands." The italicized words represent the unknown character and the syllable *yuan*, "original," next above it, and their translation is therefore conjectural, though the following character, *ch'êng*, "completed," and the ensuing words, leave but little room for material error. What, then, is the meaning of this passage? And what, especially, are we to understand by the "command", or *ming*, which was expected, and, as the next sentence of the text shows, received and ceremoniously acknowledged by the Marquis of Tsin? It could not have been a new order to attack the Tartars, for it is expressly stated that the King's trusted kinsman had just returned from a successful

mission of that kind. Moreover, it was some "command" as to which the formal proffering of some object just completed was appropriate. I can see but one satisfactory explanation, but it is a solution that explains much. The object that was completed and proffered must have been this bowl. The "command" asked for was, I do not doubt, an authorized text given out by the King to be recorded on the proffered bronze in perpetual honour of the Marquis of Tsin. And if so, the text must necessarily have been incised, for the bowl had been cast already without inscription.

This leads naturally to the next charge against the honour of our antique, that the inscription when cut was covered at once with a varnish enamel to conceal the fact that it was incised. I admit the fact, but I dispute the inference. Whether the coat of lacquer was added "at once", which we do not know, or at some time later, it may well have been to preserve the characters from oxidation and decay. In the event, it has been singularly effective for this purpose.

We come now to the argument from the silence of Chinese archaeologists, the one pressed most by the French authorities. On consideration of the later history of the bowl, this does not appear very strong. So long as the bronze remained in the Imperial Palaces it would not be accessible to a Chinese subject for study or description, nor, probably, would it be easy of access when in the cabinet of the Princes of I. But it may be urged that the Emperor Ch'ien Lung ordered the publication of the Palace treasures of this class, and that our bowl finds no place in the *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien*, which illustrates and describes them. This is true, but it is material to remember that the supplement to the above splendid work, as well as the similar catalogue entitled the *Ning Shou Ku Chien*, are neither of them as yet procurable by Western students, so that we cannot

say whether this bronze is, or is not, after all illustrated in one or other of them.

Lastly, Professor Giles makes the length of the inscription a ground for scepticism. The legend is, it is true, the longest known on a bronze vessel, consisting as it does of 538 characters, exclusive of marks of reduplication. But there are several other inscriptions which exceed 300 characters, the celebrated Mao Kung Ting, 毛公鼎, for example, with 497; the Wu Ting, with 403; the Yü Ting, with 390; and the San Shih P'an, once at Yang chou on the Yangtze, now in the Palace collections, with 357. This charge against the incriminated vessel, in view of the other instances just quoted, seems accordingly somewhat slight to support a conviction for forgery.

The foregoing comprises what I have to put forward for the defence. It is deeply to be regretted that the latter should not have fallen to the far more competent hands of Dr. Bushell to conduct during his own lifetime.

Below will be found what I regard as the most valuable, as it has certainly been the most laborious, part of my task. It is a comparative Table in parallel columns showing the individual characters of the bowl, with the corresponding forms of the Lesser Seal, taken from the Shuo Wên, together with the modern shape and sound, and certain additional "Ancient" and alleged Greater Seal forms, also extracted from the Shuo Wên. Finally, I have added, when available, the corresponding variants found on the recently discovered bone fragments from Honan.

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION ON THE BUSHELL BOWL

It was in the King's first month, on the *hsin yü* day, that the Marquis of Tsin, having reported the subjugation of the Tartars, had audience of the King. The King thrice acknowledged the service—on the frontier,

at his capital, and before the ancestry. He granted an audience in the Sacred Hall, and then gave the Marquis of Tsin a banquet in the Chou dynastic temple. The King rewarded the Marquis of Tsin for his services with a commission of authority over the Nine Tenures, and thus spoke the King:—

"Uncle, bravo! In past times amongst the kings before me were such men as Wên, Wu, Ch'êng, and K'ang. Steadfastly and watchfully they never failed in devotion to goodness; their glory reached to the Far West; and so it came about that alike in midland Hsia, and on the marches and frontiers, the punishments under the rule of devotion to goodness were held in awe and in respect, so that, whether afar or near, at home or abroad, there was perfect goodness. Again, there was among your accomplished ancestors one who put forth great efforts in aid of our Royal House. His immense distinction, his immense services, were freely and fully recorded in the State archives, and were publicly proclaimed to the Chiefs of Clans, and verily their praises will endure to distant generations.

"But under the succeeding kings of our line, Heaven did not grant unmixed success,—as when the archer aims not at the bull's-eye, or the spinner leaves the cocoons unwound. In truth there was a lack of goodness, discord with Heaven above and their subjects below; the Four Courts not under control. Then those at a distance fell away, and the Tartars rose upon a great scale; bred troubles and dissensions among our dear kinsmen; drove our people from their homes; and chased them into our suburbs and cities."

The King said—

"Alas! From the times of Li, Hsüan, and Yu, down to those of P'ing and Huan, they were as one fording some broad flood without banks, who fears to go forward lest

he fall into deep places.¹ Our Royal House had no repose until once more there arose a man like your grandfather, the Duke Wên, who was able to carry on the achievements of your accomplished ancestor, and to shield us in our distresses. We, again, never failed to requite those devoted services, by inscribing them in the record of deeds of merit; by the cool chariot-pole and dappled stallions, never presented except for goodness; by the red bow and the black bow, never given except for warlike exploits; by the jade sceptre and the azure token, never displayed except to kinsmen; by thirty chamberlains and three hundred body-guards; and by the lands of the six cities of Wên, Yuan, Kin, Fan, Hsing, and Man. Thus the territories of Tsin were extended, and thus also the Duke Wên was liberally rewarded with alien lands, so that he was able to support our gracious charge, and to enjoy renown among the ruling princes."

The King said—

"Alas! It is not that I, the One Man, have no conscience, and take pleasure in dire disorder. It is the Tartars, who are never satisfied in their encroachments, whose desires grow from generation to generation, who fix furtive and greedy eyes upon our guard-stations, and have caused anxieties for you, my Uncle."

The King said—

"Ah! Uncle, I value your great and glorious services. Carry on, then, as you have done before, and your ancestors before you, the endless charge, unbroken. I, the One Man, trust on you for comfort, and I applaud you. I therefore extend the commission of authority over the Nine Tenures, and appoint you Protector at the alien Courts, with power to quell, to attack, to punish, to reward, to encourage, and to appoint. When this

¹ This rendering of the sentence has been adopted from Professor Giles in his *Adversaria Sinica*, No. 9, 1911, p. 289, with slight modification.

commission has been completed and communicated to the ruling princes, should any dare not to act accordingly, then I, the One Man, will inflict signal punishment."

The Marquis of Tsin touched the ground twice with his forehead in acknowledgment and praise of the Son of Heaven's gracious commands.

The King said—

"Uncle, go you hence! My commands I need not repeat in detail, but see that you bear them in mind without fail. So will you be the peer of your accomplished ancestor, and so will the end be peace."

The Marquis of Tsin then touched the ground twice with his forehead.

It was in the second month, on the *kia wu* day, when the Marquis of Tsin returned from his subjugation of the Tartars, and reported the fulfilment of his task to Tang Shu and Wên Hou. On the next day but one, being *ping shên*, he announced his success to his grandfather's spirit, and his glories to his father's spirit. On the *ting yu* day, a *plain bowl* being completed, was presented to the King for the favour of his commands. The Marquis of Tsin touched the ground twice with his forehead and ventured to acknowledge and praise the King's gracious command.

Let, then, the sons and grandsons to untold generations perpetually treasure this bowl.

NOTES ON THE COMPARATIVE LIST OF CHARACTERS

In these notes the numbers refer to the characters of the list, not to the position in the actual inscription. For the sake of brevity B means any given character in the form found on the Bushell Bowl, and L.S. the corresponding form of the Lesser Seal. S.W. = *Shuo Wên*.

8. The L.S. differs from B and the other forms by the addition at the top.

10. Note that the modern character follows B and not the L.S.

11 and 14. The same remark applies in both cases.

16. B differs essentially from the L.S., but agrees with the *Shuo Wên's* *ku wên* form.

17. The character here given in the L.S. column is called by the S.W. an "occasional form", its normal scripton being equivalent to a modern 根. B and the occasional form are virtually the same.

21. B and the S.W. *ku wên* agree, while the L.S. is rather unexpectedly confirmed by the Bone forms.

24. This character is one of the *Shuo Wên's* radicals. The author, following his practice when the group of characters to be ranged under a radical, "follow," i.e. are composed with, a shape other than that of the L.S. scripton, gives the first place to that form of the radical actually occurring in the members of the group, whether it be a *ku wên* or a *chou wên* version. He then adds explicitly the *chuan wên* or Lesser Seal form, which in ordinary circumstances would have had the place of honour.

It may be observed that B may not here differ so widely from the L.S. as it appears to at first sight.

27. B and the L.S. differ fundamentally, but the former is substantially the same as the Stone Drums variant.

28. B and the Stone Drums form concur against the L.S.

30. B differs from the L.S., but agrees with the S.W. *ku wên* form.

33. Same remark applies as on Nos. 27 and 28.

35. B differs materially from the L.S. and closely resembles the Bone variants.

38. The Bone examples would be represented in modern guise by an average 𠂔.

40. B and the L.S. are different contractions of the fuller forms found on the Bones.

41. The modern, the L.S., and the Bone variants make up a group which differs from the identical group of B and the Stone Drums forms.

43. Here B, the L.S., and the Bone examples coincide, but it should be added that 又 *yu*, right hand, which on the Stone Drums is found for 有 *yu*, to have, is also often so used on the Bones.

45. Notice that the contracted modern form is justified neither by B nor the L.S., and that the latter is closely supported by the Bone version.

47. B, while differing from the L.S., is exactly the counterpart of the Bone example.

51. The characters 不 *pu*, not, and 丕 *p'ei*, immense (once homophones), are not distinguished on the Bowl, but have become differentiated in the L.S.

52. B and the L.S. differ in construction very little, in fact only by a horizontal stroke. The Bone forms support B.

53. B here answers in construction to the modern 僅 *k'in*, but not in meaning, where the equivalent is as shown in the list.

54. B, the L.S., and the Bone forms differ but little, and the first and third not at all.

57. B and the Bone forms unite against the L.S. with its additional upper element.

58. Here B and the *Shuo Wên's* *chou wên* form agree in lacking the radical *yen*, words, of the L.S.

60. Notice that both B and the modern forms have counterparts on the Bones, which also partially confirm both the L.S. and *chou wên* variants.

61. B, though essentially similar to the L.S., is fuller by giving the man of Hsia two feet instead of one.

66. B is much nearer to the Stone Drums version than to the L.S.

68. The more ordinary meaning of *li* is a chestnut-tree, and B and the Stone Drums forms unite in having three chestnuts on the tree against one in the L.S.

74. B here confirms not the L.S. but the *Shuo Wên's* *chou wên* form.

77. Note in B the presence of 又 *yu*, right hand, ignored in the L.S. and modern versions.

84. The lower part of B is ambiguous, but appears to differ much from that of the L.S.

87. Note that the Bone forms here support the L.S. rather than B.

90. There is a slight but important difference between B and the L.S.

96. The two versions vary largely.

101. It is curious that the Bowl form, which differs considerably as to the right half of the character from the L.S., is not found again before the Han Dynasty seals.

104. Note the total unlikeness in construction of the two forms, which are of what I have elsewhere called separate "types".

105. The variant alleged in the *Shuo Wên* to be the *chuan*, or Seal character, is held by Tuan Yü-ts'ai in his edition to be a later interpolation. His reason seems to me good, and I have therefore not entered it in the list.

106. As in the case of No. 24, and for the same reasons, the L.S. form is not the *Shuo Wên*'s first or principal character. B and the real L.S. variant have, it will be seen, a strong general similarity. It should be noticed also that some of the Bone examples confirm the S.W.'s *ku wên* form 𠄎, which Tuan Yü-ts'ai has treated very cavalierly.

107. *Mutatis mutandis* the foregoing applies to this also.

108. B here agrees not with the L.S. but with the S.W.'s *ku wên* form, while the Bones confirm only the *chou wên* variant.

109. The two forms differ widely.

113. The upper or phonetic parts differ significantly, B being nearer to the original pictogram—two cowries strung together vertically.

124. Here also the form in the L.S. column (which again agrees closely with B) is expressly stated by the *Shuo Wên* to be the Seal character, but is not its first and principal form (which I add in the fourth column). Compare notes on 24 and 106.

127. Notice the construction of B, which might have been expected to contain, but does not, the spiral seen in 129.

130. The cutting of B is not perfectly carried out. In this instance once more the S.W.'s Seal form is not its principal entry. The Stone Drums version here does not coincide with B, but approximates to the Bone variants.

133. There is no L.S. form composed with *shui*, water, at the side.

134. B here corresponds not with the L.S. but with the S.W.'s *ku wên* form.

136. B, while identical with the Stone Drums form, differs slightly from the L.S.

143. B and the L.S. appear discrepant. The former is much nearer two variants given by Wu Ta-ch'êng in his *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu*, vol. ii, p. 40.

147. B differs considerably both from the L.S. and the S.W.'s *ku wên* form, but shares something with each.

149. I am not altogether happy about the identity of this character, the lower part of the left side being a mere contraction. But it is probably as I give it, rather than 戴 *tsai*.

150. As sometimes elsewhere, B corresponds much more closely with the modern than with the L.S. form.

159. There is here a total difference of type between B and the L.S. The former is represented by the modern form in the first column, except that the upper part of the right side is absent in the bronze version.

166. B corresponds more with the modern form than with the more elaborate L.S.

169. Both B and the L.S. are represented on the Bones.

174. B and the L.S. correspond. A different type has been adopted for the modern character.

176. B has *hsin*, heart, at the bottom instead of *p'an*, reversed hands, of the L.S.

177. B has the radical *i*, city, at the right side, the L.S. has *fou*, mound, at the left. But the two are often interchanged.

179. Note the difference between B and the L.S., and the confirmation of the former by the Bone variants.

182. Here, as often, the radical *pu*, to strike, replaces *ko*, halberd, in the construction.

185. The modern form follows B and not the L.S.

187. B omits the element *k'ou*, mouth, from the upper part of the character.

192. The two forms differ mainly in the reversing of their constituent halves.

196. It is interesting to see that B confirms that one of the modern scriptions in column 1 which Kanghsi condemns as "vulgar".

204. B lacks the lowest element of the L.S.

206. B shows that the upper part of this character was the

left half of 觀 *kuan*, to regard, and not as written in the L.S. and since.

207. B agrees fairly with the second "occasional form" of the *Shuo Wen*.

210. B differs in arrangement from the L.S., and its variation is supported by the Bone forms.

211. B here is virtually the same as the S.W.'s *chou wén* form.

215. Note that B has *t'u*, earth, at bottom, absent in the L.S. Strictly speaking, the latter form of the character ought to be, but is not, composed of *chu*, bamboo, and the L.S. form of *hsiang*, to sacrifice, shown under No. 24, column 3, as explained in the note on that entry.

216. B is somewhat nearer the Bone form than to either the L.S. or Stone Drums variant.

217. B again is nearer to the Bone forms than to the L.S.

220. B here once more affords an example of the modern form of a character not being derived from the L.S. B closely resembles the variant cited in the S.W. from the works of the poet Yang Hsiung. But the latter misunderstood the construction of the character, which he supposed was made up of two *hands* and *hsia*, below, whereas it consists really of *hand* together with a phonetic element *pai*, representing a plant in linear shape. Notice that both in Yang Hsiung's variant and in the modern character, this plant element occupies the right side of the compound, while in B it is on the left.

221. B differs from the L.S. both by the reversed position of the two halves, and by having the (so-called) radical 頁 *hsieh*, in place of *shou*, head.

223. B has *jén*, man, at the right, not *ts'un*, inch, as in the L.S. and modern forms.

224. B has the right-hand element in 執 *chih*, to grasp, in place of *shou*, hand, of the L.S.

227. The construction of B should be noticed. It contains 先 *hsien*, to precede, over 土 *t'u*, earth, and the L.S. and modern forms are corruptions of this combination.

228. Complicated forms similar to the second of the Bone variants are found on bronzes also.

231. The right side of the L.S. and modern character is 己 *ki*, self, but in B it is a form of 人 *jén*, man. Very

interesting points arise in connexion with this, but they cannot be indicated here.

232. B here stands midway between the L.S. and the *Shuo Wén's ku wén* form.

234. B is a remarkable and very rare variant. Only one other example, to my knowledge, exists. It is cited by the 六書通, *Liu Shu Tung*, from a bronze there styled the Goblet of Fu Kia, 父甲爵.

236. Note the difference between the two forms and the construction of B, the left half of which is really *i*, a character not found except in composition, e.g. in 殷 *yin*, the later style of the Shang dynasty. The older versions of *i* show it as the reversed form of 身 *shén*, *body*. In view of this and of the fact that it cannot have a phonetic value in *kuei*, *to return*, we may perhaps assume that *i* once had some such sense as "turn round", "return". I may add that in certain compound characters on the Bones we find the form placed last in column 4, which closely resembles that of B.

237. The engraver has, presumably by oversight, omitted the two horizontal lines in B.

238. Note the wide difference between B and L.S.

241. The Stone Drums form stands midway between B and the L.S. The Bones support B.

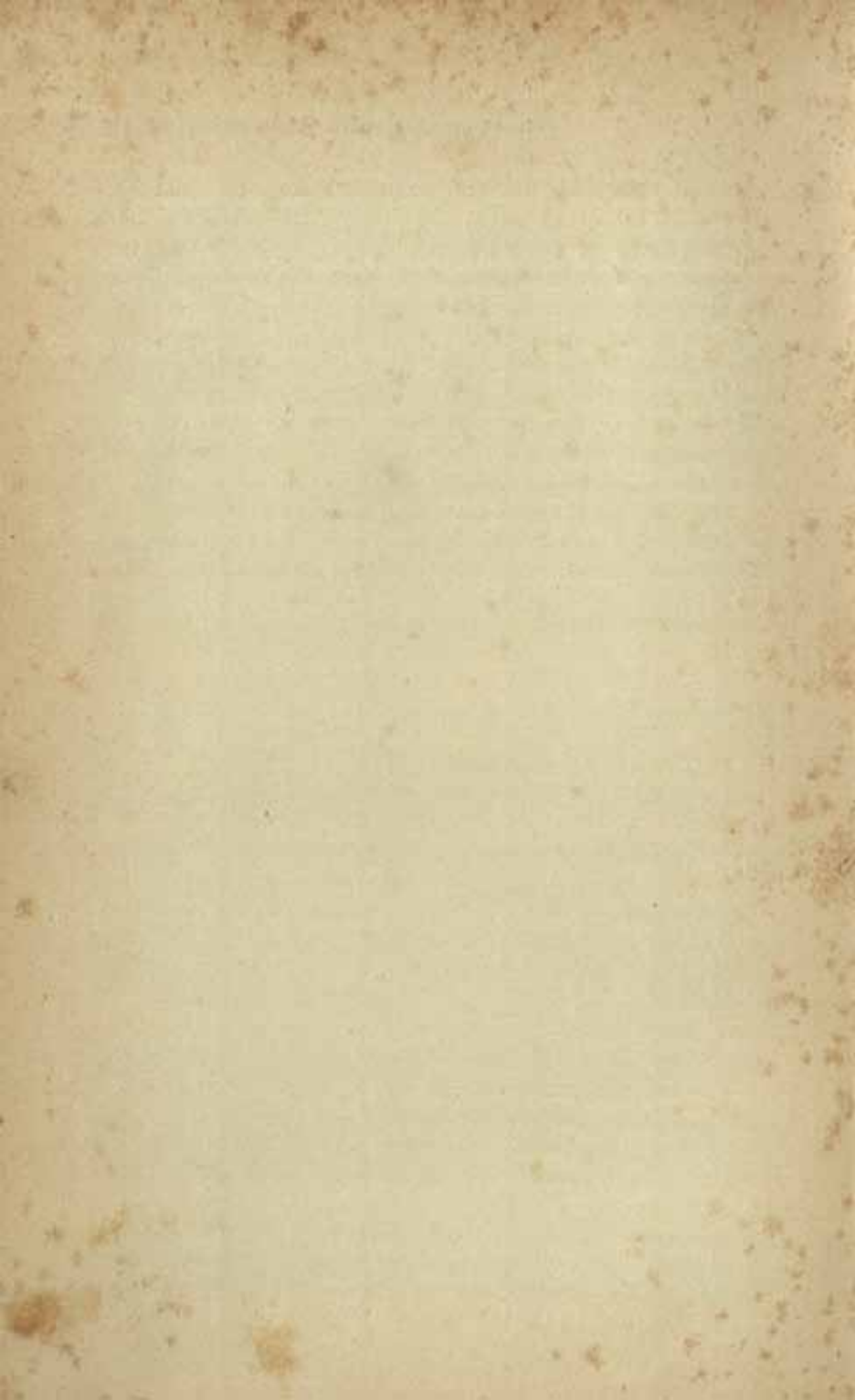
243. A rare Bone variant supports B to some extent.

246. This is by far the most difficult character in the inscription, and has defied all efforts to fix its true identity, though every stroke in the copper is now perfectly clear. I will therefore state what can be said about it, and leave it for chance or future research to reveal its secret. Only one other instance of its occurrence is recorded. That, whether by coincidence or not, is on another Bowl, the well-known San Shih P'an, or San Family Bowl, already mentioned in this paper. On that antique it is the last character of the inscription, which unfortunately in that part is defective, and consequently very hard to understand. Yuan Yuan in his notes on the passage treats the character as an old scription of 鬲 *li*, a tripod cauldron, and in this he is followed by Wu Shih-fên in his *Chün Ku Lu*. But such an equation does not satisfy the conditions, for neither the Bushell Bowl nor the San Shih P'an can properly be styled a *li*.

Wu Ta-ch'êng cites the same example among his unknown forms, and hazards no guess. Mr. Takeda, the Japanese author of the *Ch'ao Yang Ko Tzū Kien*, ch. xxvi, p. 5, and Mr. Chalfant in his *Early Chinese Writing*, p. 29, identify it as the old form of 農 *nung*, *tillage, farmer*, and indeed the *Shuo Wên* does show that the Lesser Seal shape of *nung* is extremely like our form. The difficulty is that such a word seems absolutely impossible in such a context as ours. On the other hand, the characters 器 *k'i*, *vessel*, or 盤 *p'an*, *bowl*, would suit very well, but not the slightest support can be found for such an identification from the recorded ancient shapes of either of those characters.

246. Note the difference between B and the L.S.

247. B and the L.S. differ in construction, the former having 西 *hsi*, *west*, and the latter, 其 *k'i*, *that*, at the left side.



Comparative List of Characters on the Bushell Bowl.





















































































Abbreviations. B.B.-Bushell Bowl. L.S.-Lesser Seal. S.D.-Stone Drums.

C.-Chou wén, and K.-Ku wén, forms, from the Shuo Wén. H.-Hottan Bones.

Modern	B. B.	L. S.	Other forms	Modern	B. B.	L. S.	Other forms
1. 惟 wei			 	20. 覲 kin			
2. 王 wang			 	21. 明 ming			
3. 一 i			 	22. 堂 tang			
4. 月 yueh			 	23. 遂 chue			
5. 辛 hein			 	24. 享 huang			
6. 酉 yu			 	25. 周 chou			
7. 晉 tsin			 	26. 廟 miao			
8. 侯 hou			 	27. 庸 yung			
9. 告 kao			 	28. 以 li			
10. 平 ping			 	29. 九 kiu			
11. 戎 jung			 	30. 服 fu			
12. 既 ki			 	31. 之 chih			
13. 覲 kin			 	32. 命 ming			
14. 于 yu			 	33. 若 io			
15. 三 san			 	34. 曰 yueh			
16. 勞 lao			 	35. 叔 shu			
17. 垠 yin			 	36. 父 fu			
18. 國 kuo			 	37. 樹 shu			
19. 宗 tsung			 	38. 故 tai			

Modern	B. B.	L. S.	Other forms	Modern	B. B.	L. S.	Other forms
39. 昔 hei				57. 西 hei			
40. 在 tsai				58. 誕 tan			
41. 吾 wu				59. 卑 pei			
42. 先 hien				60. 中 chung			
43. 有 yu				61. 夏 hsia			
44. 文 wen				62. 暨 ki			
45. 武 wu				63. 要 yao			
46. 成 ching				64. 荒 huang			
47. 康 kang				65. 刑 hing			
48. 純 chun				66. 是 shih			
49. 業 i				67. 震 chen			
50. 罔 wang				68. 栗 li			
51. 不 pu				69. 靡 fei			
52. 德 te				70. 遠 yuan			
53. 勤 kin				71. 適 shih			
54. 乃 nai				72. 內 nei			
55. 光 kuang				73. 外 wai			
56. 顯 hien				74. 則 tze			

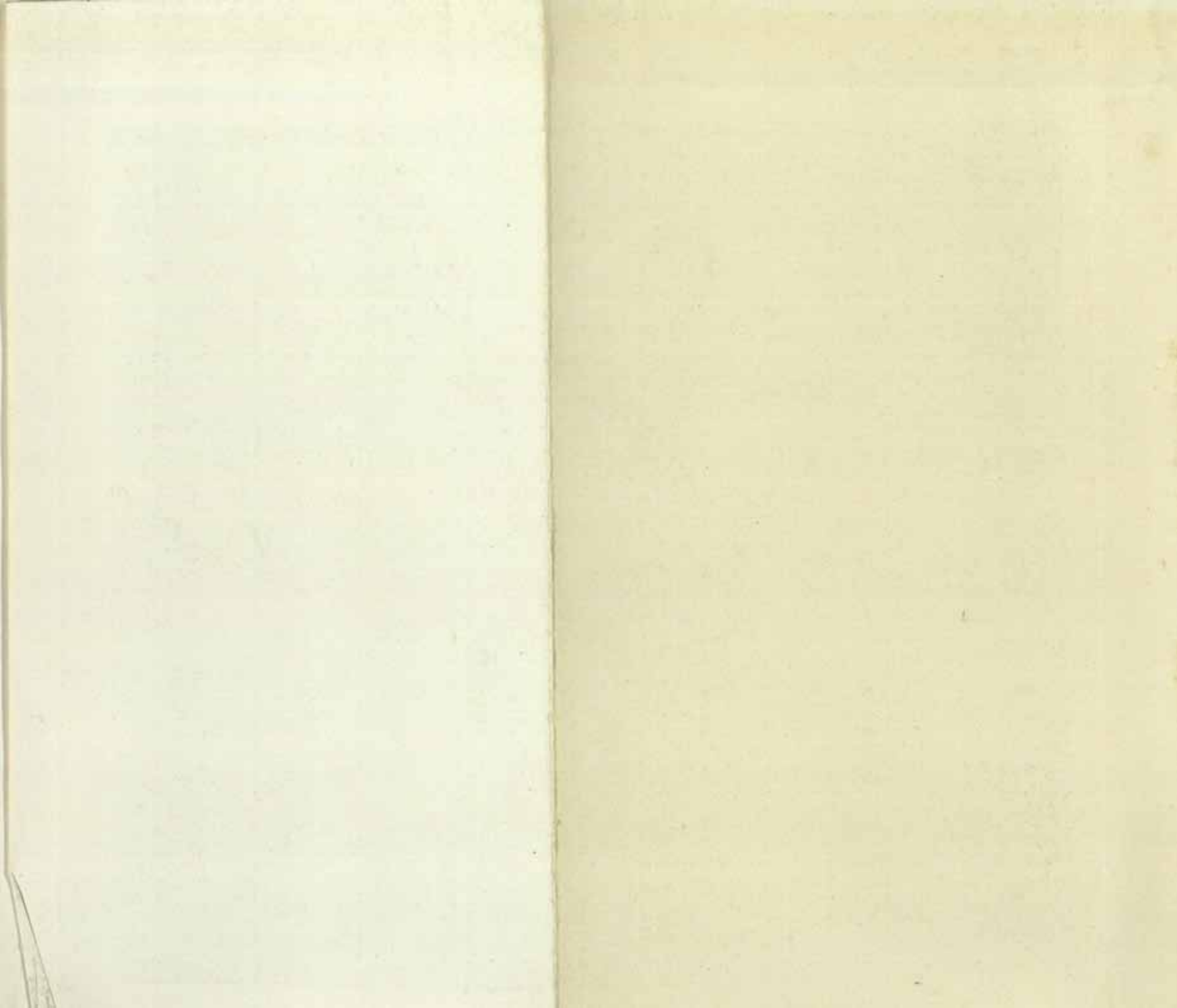
Modern	B. B.	S. S.	Other forms.	Modern	B. B.	S. S.	Other forms
75. 亦 i	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔 ^H	93. 世 shih	世	世	
76. 人 jen	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔 ^H	95. 後 hou	後	後	後 ^K
77. 鴻 hung	鴻	鴻		96. 嗣 sui	嗣	嗣	
78. 敷 fu	敷	敷		97. 天 t'ien	天	天	天 ^H
79. 心 hein	心	心		98. 鵠 ku	鵠	鵠	鵠 ^H
80. 左 lo	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔 ^H	99. 弗 fu	弗	弗	弗 ^H
81. 友 yu	𠂔	𠂔	𠂔 ^H	100. 指 chih	指	指	
82. 家 kia	家	家	家 ^K	101. 纁 xun	纁	纁	
83. 功 kung	功	功		102. 繹 yik	繹	繹	
84. 奕 i	奕	奕		103. 實 shih	實	實	
85. 俞 yu	俞	俞		104. 協 hiech	協	協	
86. 登 tang	登	登	登 ^C	105. 爽 shuang	爽	爽	
87. 盟 ming	盟	盟	盟 ^H	106. 上 shang	上	上	上 ^K
88. 府 fu	府	府		107. 下 hia	下	下	下 ^K
89. 詔 shao	詔	詔		108. 四 sui	四	四	四 ^K
90. 工 kung	工	工	工 ^K	109. 廷 ting	廷	廷	廷 ^C
91. 允 yun	允	允		110. 庶 tu	庶	庶	庶 ^H
92. 譽 yu	譽	譽		111. 構 hei	構	構	

Modern	B.B.	L.S.	Other forms	Modern	B.B.	L.S.	Other forms
112. 興 hung				129. 桓 huan			
113. 患 huan				130. 涉 she			 S.D. H
114. 構 kow			not in Shao Wen	131. 洪 hung			
115. 鰲 i				132. 川 chuan			
116. 親 pin				133. 淮 yai			
117. 播 bo			 K	134. 懼 k'ü			 K
118. 越 yueh				135. 陸 chui			
119. 民 min			 K	136. 淵 yuan			 S.D. K
120. 竄 tsuen				137. 宅 chai			 K
121. 逐 chü				138. 室 shih			 H
122. 郊 kiao				139. 未 wei			 H
123. 邑 i				140. 寧 ning			
124. 旂 we			 K	141. 祖 tsu			
125. 嗥 hu			 ? Also L.S.	142. 公 kung			 H
126. 厲 li				143. 克 k'ö			 K
127. 宣 huan				144. 紹 shao			 K
128. 幽 yu				145. 烈 liet			
94. 其 ki			 K				

Modern	B. B.	S. S.	Other forms	Modern	B. B.	S. S.	Other forms
146. 捍 hau	𢆏	𢆏		144. 蒼 ta'ang	𢆏	蒼	
147. 艱 kien	𢆏	𢆏	𢆏 _C	145. 符 fu	符	符	
148. 酬 ch'ou	𢆏	𢆏		146. 展 chan	𢆏	展	
149. 識 chih	𢆏	𢆏		147. 僕 pu	𢆏	僕	
150. 書 shu	𢆏	𢆏		148. 正 ch'eng	𢆏	正	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
151. 勳 h'ün	𢆏	𢆏		149. 十 shu	𢆏	十	𢆏 _H 𢆏 _H
152. 涼 liang	𢆏	𢆏		150. 虎 hu	𢆏	虎	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
153. 輶 yuan	𢆏	𢆏		151. 賁 pei	𢆏	賁	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
154. 牡 mou	𢆏	𢆏		152. 百 p'ei	𢆏	百	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
155. 非 fei	𢆏	𢆏		153. 溫 wen	𢆏	溫	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
156. 賚 lai	𢆏	𢆏		154. 原 yuan	𢆏	原	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
157. 彤 tan	𢆏	𢆏	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H	155. 莖 kin	𢆏	莖	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
158. 弓 kung	𢆏	𢆏		156. 樊 fan	𢆏	樊	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
159. 茲 lu	𢆏	𢆏		157. 陞 heng	𢆏	陞	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
160. 伐 fa	𢆏	𢆏	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H	158. 鄺 man	𢆏	鄺	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
161. 授 shou	𢆏	𢆏		159. 六 lu	𢆏	六	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
162. 介 kieh	𢆏	𢆏		160. 田 tien	𢆏	田	𢆏 _K 𢆏 _H
163. 玉 yu	𢆏	𢆏	𢆏 _K				

Modern	B. B.	L. S.	Other forms	Modern	B. B.	L. S.	Other forms
181 式 shih	𠄎	𠄎		198 睽 shau	睽	睽	
182 啟 k'i	𠄎	𠄎		199 耽 tan	𠄎	𠄎	
183 疆 kiang	𠄎	𠄎		200 闕 kuan	𠄎	𠄎	
184 用 yung	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 { 𠄎 𠄎 K H	201 牧 mu	𠄎	𠄎	
185 膺 ying	𠄎	𠄎		202 守 shou	𠄎	𠄎	
186 寵 chung	𠄎	𠄎		203 爲 wei	𠄎	𠄎	{ 𠄎 K
187 羣 chün	𠄎	𠄎		204 憂 yu	𠄎	𠄎	
188 辟 pi	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 H	205 纂 tsuan	𠄎	𠄎	
189 余 yu	𠄎	𠄎		206 舊 kue	𠄎	𠄎	
190 惠 hui	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 K	207 替 pi	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 H
191 貪 tan	𠄎	𠄎		208 永 yung	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 H
192 禍 huo	𠄎	𠄎		209 汝 ju	𠄎	𠄎	
193 亂 luan	𠄎	𠄎		210 嘉 kia	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 H C
194 無 wu	𠄎	𠄎		211 申 shên	𠄎	𠄎	{ 𠄎 𠄎 H
195 厭 yen	𠄎	𠄎		212 伯 hi	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 K H
196 賴 lai	𠄎	𠄎		213 征 chêng	𠄎	𠄎	
197 生 shêng	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 H	214 討 t'ao	𠄎	𠄎	
250 孫 sun	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 𠄎 H	251 寶 pao	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 K

Modern	B. B.	L. S.	Other forms	Modern	B. B.	L. S.	Other forms
215 篤 tu	筮	筮		232 終 chung	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 _K
216 來 lai	來	來	來 _{S. D.} 來 _H	233 二 erh	二	二	𠄎 _K 二 _H
217 車 shue	車	車	車 _H	234 甲 kia	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 _K 𠄎 _H
218 罰 fe	罰	罰		235 午 wu	午	午	午 _K 午 _H
219 再 tai	再	再		236 歸 kuei	歸	歸	歸 _C 歸 _H
220 拜 pai	拜	拜	拜 _K	237 自 tze	自	自	自 _K
221 稽 ki	稽	稽		238 獻 huen	獻	獻	
222 首 shou	首	首	首 _H	239 唐 tang	唐	唐	唐 _K
223 對 tui	對	對		240 日 ih	日	日	日 _K 日 _H
224 揚 yang	揚	揚		241 丙 ping	丙	丙	丙 _{S. D.} 丙 _H
225 子 tzu	子	子	子 _K 子 _C 子 _H	242 禰 ni	禰	禰	
226 休 heu	休	休	休 _H	243 丁 ting	丁	丁	丁 _H
227 往 wang	往	往	往 _K 往 _H	244 元 yuen	元	元	
228 重 chung	重	重	重 _H	245 ?	𠄎	𠄎	
229 譯 i	譯	譯		246 御 yu	御	御	
230 念 mien	念	念		247 斯 si	斯	斯	
231 配 pei	配	配		248 萬 wan	萬	萬	萬 _H
				249 年 nian	年	年	年 _H



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE KATAPAYADI NOTATION OF THE SECOND ĀRYA-SIDDHANTA

In my note on the Katapayādi system of expressing numbers, given in this Journal, 1911. 788 ff., I said incidentally, on the authority of statements made by two or three writers which, I now find, are not sufficiently explicit, that this system is used in the astronomical work which is known as the Second Ārya-Siddhānta. I have recently obtained a copy of this work as edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Sudhakara Dvivedi.¹ I find that the work certainly does use a Katapayādi notation. But its system differs markedly from that one, described by me, which is taught by the Paribhāṣhā verse *Na-ñāv-achāś-cha*, etc., and is illustrated by the examples given by me. Also, the work does not confine itself to the Katapayādi notation: see, for instance, p. 172 ff., verses 92-7, where it uses the system of numerical words.

The Katapayādi system used in the Second Ārya-Siddhānta, is defined in chapter 1, verse 2, as follows:—

Rūpāt=katapaya-pūrṇā
varṇā varṇa-kramād=bhavanty-aṅkāḥ |
ñinau śūnyaṁ pratham-āarthē
ā chhēdē ai tritīy-āarthē ||

This tells us that the rows of letters *k* to *ñ*, *ṭ* to *n*, *p* to *m*, and *y* to *h* or *ḷ*, are numbers: each row running from *rūpa*, 'an exemplar or single specimen', which means 'one': also, that *ñ* and *n* are ciphers. To this extent, this system is identical with the one already

¹ Under the title "Mahā-Siddhānta, a Treatise on Astronomy by Āryabhaṭa"; Benares, 1910.

described by me: see the table on p. 791. In other respects this work presents a different system, which, so far as I know, has not yet been found used anywhere else.

The first important difference between the two systems is as follows. The system as taught by the verse *Na-ñāv*, etc., is subject to the rule *Aṅkānām vāmatō gatiḥ*, which means that the numbers must be stated with the lowest figure, the unit, first, on the left, but are to be applied in the opposite direction, with the unit on the right: for instance, in a case quoted by me on p. 790 we have *dē(8)-ha(8)-vyā(1)-pya(1)*, which means 1188. But the rule *Aṅkānām*, etc., does not apply to the system as taught by the verse *Rūpāt*, etc. In accordance with the usual custom of the southern languages, Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese, and, I presume, Malayālam and Tuḷu, the numbers are stated with the highest figure first, and are to be applied in that same direction. Thus, to take a simple instance of a small number, in chapter 1, verse 10, the revolutions of the apogee of the sun in the Kalpa are given by *ghu(4)-ta(6)-pā(1)ḥ*: in the system previously described, this would mean 164: in the present system it means, just as it is stated, 461.

Another important difference is this. In the system taught by the verse *Na-ñāv*, etc., in conjunct consonants only the last member of the combination has value: for instance, in the expression *dēha-vyāpya* quoted just above, the *v* and *p* have no values. But in the system taught by the verse *Rūpāt*, etc., every consonant has value: thus, in this system the same word would have to be taken as *dē(8)-ha(8)-v(4)-yā(1)-p(1)-ya(1)*, and would give, not 1188, but 884,111. Conjunct consonants are not found very freely in the Second Ārya-Siddhānta: but they do occur: in chapter 1, verse 6, we have *knā* = 10; in verse 10, *tsa* = 67; in verse 15, *ska* = 71; in verse 16, *kbha* = 14; and in verse 21, *pra* = 12.

In the system taught by the verse *Na-ñāv*, etc., initial vowels are ciphers. The verse *Rūpāt*, etc., says nothing about initial vowels: for the simple reason that they do not enter into its system at all. In both systems, other vowels have no significance; only the consonants give numbers: thus, *ka*, *kā*, *ki*, *kī*, etc., to *kau*, all mean 1; *kha*, *khā*, *khi*, *kī*, etc., to *khan*, all mean 2.

The last part of the verse *Rūpāt*, etc., tells us that, in the separation of the words giving numbers, the nominative plural masculine is to be treated as ending in *ā*, and the instrumental as ending in *ai*; so as to avoid a possibly resulting *ś*, *sh*, *s*, or *r*.¹ This may be illustrated by the instance given by the editor in his comments on the verse: we can denote 123 by *kakhagāh*, and 660 by *tatanāh*; but if we want to express " 123×660 ", we must take *kakhagā tatanai guṇitāh*; because, if we take, grammatically, *kakhagās tatanair guṇitāh*, this would give " 1237×6602 ".²

In the Second Ārya-Siddhānta I do not find any tendency to use the Kāṭapayādi notation, as it was used elsewhere, in the shape of words having particular meanings; much less by devising sentences such as the *Khagō=ntyān=Mēsham=āpa* which I quoted on p. 789.

I mentioned (p. 789, note 2) that Bentley said that the

¹ Any use of the nomin. plural neuter and the instr. singular is of course barred; because the final *ai* and *na* would always give a not wanted cipher.

² The text has been edited for the most part on these lines. But it seems questionable whether the author wrote on them, and whether the manuscripts follow them. The word *chhēde* in the Paribhāṣā verse seems to imply that the full grammatical forms were to be used, and that it was only in analysing the text that the finals in question were to be rejected. The editor has notified no fewer than ten errata in his treatment of the nominative in chapter 1, verses 7, 8, 10, 11, where he has given it as ending in *āh*, and three errata in respect of his treatment of the instrumental in verses 24, 27, where he has given it as ending in *ai*; and this is suggestive that the manuscripts have the full grammatical forms, and the editor started by following the manuscripts, and then deviated from them in this detail.

Second Ārya-Siddhanta is dated in its first chapter in the Kaliyuga year 4423 (expired), in A.D. 1322, but Sh. B. Dikshit said that its date is not given. I cannot find in the text before me any support for Bentley's statement, which would seem, therefore, to have been based either on some interpolated verse, or on a misinterpretation of some numerical expression which I cannot identify. On the other hand, chapter 2 gives an abstract account of a second work, the Parāśara-Siddhānta: and here verse 2 says, by way of giving a venerable antiquity and authority to the two Siddhāntas, that they were written:—*Īśhad-yātē Kalau yugē*; "when only a small part of the Kali age had elapsed."¹ There are no clear reasons for following Sh. B. Dikshit in placing the work quite so early as A.D. 950: but there certainly are grounds for believing that it was known to Bhāskarāchārya, who wrote in A.D. 1150.

J. F. FLEET.

THE YOJANA AND THE PARASANG

Since writing my note given at p. 229 ff. above, I have found that the subject of the *yōjana* has been treated in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1911, p. 375 ff. M. J.-A. Decourdemanche, dealing with the long *yōjana* of 32,000 *hasta* or cubits, has presented there the conclusion that it was equal to two old Persian itinerary *parasangs* each of 7670·40 metres, and its value was 15,340·80 metres, = 9·53231½ miles.²

It may well be the case that there were close relations between the ancient Hindū and Persian measures; and even though the subdivisions of the *parasang* do not answer to those of the *yōjana*, that the short *yōjana*

¹ In the other Kaṭapayādi system the expression *īśhad-yātē* would mean 6160: in this one it might perhaps be interpreted as meaning 6816: but we are still only in the year 5013.

² I use 39·37 inches as the sufficiently close value of the metre.

of 16,000 *hasta* was the Indian representative of the Persian *parasang* of 7670·40 metres, = 4·76615606 miles.¹ But, accepting the valuations of the Persian measures and the probability of a common origin, we can only conclude that measures originally identical were not preserved unaltered in the two countries so as to remain exactly commensurate with each other. M. Decourdemanche's value of the long *yōjana* of 32,000 *hasta* is based on an assumption that the ancient Indian cubit was of the same length with the Babylonian mean cubit; namely, 0·4794 metre, = 18·873978 inches. But Āryabhaṭa gave 4 *hasta*, = 96 *aṅgula*, as the height of the Indian man; and Varāhamihira has supplemented his statement by telling us that that was the height of the normal or average man (see p. 232-3 above). The application of the value of the Babylonian mean cubit would give 6 ft. 3·495912 in.,—practically 6 ft. 3½ in.,—as the accepted standard height of the normal Indian man. We cannot endorse such a result as this. For the Indian cubit we cannot admit anything in excess of 18 inches; from which we have 9·09 miles, to be treated practically as 9 miles, as the value of the long *yōjana*, and 4·54 miles, to be treated as 4½ miles, as the value of the short *yōjana*.

J. F. FLEET.

SOME HINDU VALUES OF THE DIMENSIONS OF THE EARTH

The Hindū astronomers were accustomed to state either the diameter of the earth, or the circumference, or both: they had to lay down the diameter for calculating the shadow thrown by the earth in lunar eclipses; and the circumference for determining longitudes, as denoted by

¹ M. Decourdemanche has not mentioned either the short *yōjana* or the ancient original *krōśa* of 4000 *hasta*: he has the later double *krōśa* of 8000 *hasta*. He has called this *parasang* the "*parasange d'étapes*." He has also a "*parasange (schene)*" of 6903·36 metres (nine-tenths of the other), = 4·28954045 miles.

distances or by differences of time. They expressed their values in *yōjanas*. And it may be noted that, as they did not know of the flattening of the earth towards the poles, but treated the globe as a perfect sphere, any particular value of the circumference, either stated or to be deduced from a given diameter, represented exactly the meridional as well as the equatorial girth, and also the girth round any other terrestrial great circle.

Āryabhaṭa (wrote in or soon after A.D. 499) gave the diameter as 1050 *yōjana*.¹ His details given in the same place show that he used the *yōjana* of 32,000 *hasta* or cubits, = 9 miles (see p. 236 f. above): and so his value for the diameter was 9450 miles. He had $\pi = \frac{62832}{20000} = 3.1416$,² which gives 3298.68 *yōjana* as the circumference; for which he seems to have taken 3300 *yōjanas*, = 29,700 miles, in round numbers: at any rate, this is the figure stated by his special exponent Lalla, who had the same diameter and the same value of π .³

Brahmagupta (wrote A.D. 628) gave the circumference as 5000 *yōjana*, = 45,000 miles.⁴ From this, with his value $\pi = \sqrt{10} = 3.1623$, we have as the diameter $1581\frac{4037}{31033}$ or say 1581 *yōjana*, = 14,229 miles.

The Sūrya-Siddhānta, l. 59 (from about A.D. 1000), gives the diameter as 1600 *yōjana*, = 14,400 miles: whence, with its π again = $\sqrt{10}$, we have as the circumference 5059.68 or say 5060 *yōjana*, = 45,540 miles.

As regards the merits of these estimates, we need only note here that it seems customary now to quote 7926 or 7926.6 miles as the mean equatorial diameter;⁵ and

¹ Daśagītikasūtra, verse 5.

² Ganitapāda, verse 10.

³ Śiṣhyadhivṛddhida, p. 10, verse 56; for π see p. 28, verse 3.

⁴ Brāhma-Siddhānta, p. 10, verse 36; for π see p. 198, verse 40.

⁵ The latest refinements seem to be those given by Young, from Clarke, in his *General Astronomy* (1904), p. 601:—

equatorial semidiameter,	3963.296 miles;
polar	3949.790 miles.

from these figures, with $\pi = 3.14159$, we have 24,900 or 24,902 miles as the circumference, without fractions.

It might perhaps be thought that, by applying the *yōjana* of 16,000 *hasta* = $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, we could take the statements of Brahmagupta and the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* as successive improvements on that of Āryabhaṭa, and so could understand them as giving respectively diameters of 7115 and 7200 miles; which would be, for those times, quite respectable approximations to the truth. But, even apart from the point that there is no evidence to show, and nothing to lead us to think, that the Hindūs ever made any independent attempts to determine the dimensions, that possibility is excluded for the following reasons. The author of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* belonged to the same school with Bhaṭṭotpala (wrote A.D. 966): and the latter has laid out the *yōjana* of 32,000 *hasta* = 9 miles.¹ And Bhāskarāchārya (wrote A.D. 1150) was a follower of Brahmagupta: he has stated the diameter at 1581 *yōjana*, and the circumference, with a slight refinement of Brahmagupta's value, at 4967 *yōjana*:² and he, too, laid out the *yōjana* of 9 miles.³

So far, indeed, from there having been successive improvements, the reverse was the case: and the explanation seems to be as follows.

If the value of the Greek *stadium* is taken to be 606.75 feet, the *yōjana* of 9 miles works out to $78\frac{23}{80}$ *stadia*. If the *stadium* is taken according to the later valuation at 582.48 feet, the *yōjana* works out to $81\frac{47}{80}$ *stadia*. In either case, we can hardly doubt that the Hindū astronomers would take for convenience, according to their habit, 1 *yōjana* = 80 *stadia* in round numbers: in fact, they would only be doing just what Megasthenes

¹ Commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, vol. 1, p. 48.

² *Siddhāntaśirōmaṇi*, ed. Bapu Deva Sastri, p. 52, verse 1: in verse 52 on p. 261 he has given the diameter more precisely as $1581\frac{1}{4}$.

³ *Līlāvati*, verses 5, 6: he has referred expressly to this in his statement under *Siddhāntaśirōmaṇi*, p. 52, verse 1.

did (see p. 238 above) when he presented 10 *stadia* as the practical equivalent of 1 *króśa*, = $\frac{1}{8}$ of a long *yōjana*.

Eratosthenes (B.C. 276–196) arrived by experiment and calculation at 250,000 *stadia* for the circumference of the earth; for which, recognizing that his result was only approximate, he substituted 252,000 *stadia*, so as to have a number divisible exactly by 360, giving 1 degree = 700 *stadia*.¹ This value was accepted by Hipparchus

¹ Lewis, *Astronomy of the Ancients* (1862), p. 198; Bunbury, *Ancient Geography* (2nd ed., 1883), vol. 1, p. 623. The equivalent is 28,959 or 27,800 miles, according to the two valuations of the *stadium*. But we are concerned here with the actual figures, not with the values of them.

On the assumption that Eratosthenes had practically the true circumference, proposals have been made on the one side to determine the value of the *stadium* from his figures, and on the other side to decide which one he used out of various *stadia*. But it is reasonable to hold, with Bunbury (p. 624), that, writing for Greeks, he used "the customary Greek stade, the length of which was familiar to them all": and a perusal of details fully justifies the same writer's decision that "his conclusion was erroneous, because his data were inaccurate, and his observations defective." His process was the proper one, of arc-measurement; and we know that similar attempts were made in other countries also in early times: but we have no good reason for believing that any early people could perform the operation with any real approach to accuracy; they could not determine with sufficient exactness either the distance between any two points or the latitudes of them.

Eratosthenes may be treated reasonably thus. According to the two valuations of the *stadium*, his original estimate for the circumference, 250,000 *stadia*, comes to 28,728 or 27,579 miles, and with $\pi = 3.14159$ these give as the diameter 9144 or 8778 miles; all without fractions. These results may be regarded as creditable enough for so early a time, though they were, of course, useless for any really scientific purposes: even the higher of them is not very much more faulty in excess than was, in the opposite direction, the estimate (see farther on) which prevailed in Europe till nearly the end of the seventeenth century.

For an idea of the delicacy and difficulty of the operation of arc-measurement, reference may be made to Airy's *Popular Astronomy*, revised issue of 1891, pp. 50–71. See also Proctor's *Old and New Astronomy* (1892), pp. 87–91.

The modern measurements which have given us the true dimensions began in 1528; see Airy's "Figure of the Earth" in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, vol. 5, Mixed Sciences, vol. 3 (1845), pp. 165–240: I am indebted to Dr. Burgess for drawing my attention to this article. In that year, Fernel found the value of one degree on the north of Paris to be 56,746 toises: with the toise taken at 2.1315 yards, this gives

(B.C. 162-145) and Strabo (? B.C. 54 - A.D. 24).¹ And a story told by Pliny (A.D. 23-79) about a certain Dionysodorus shows that, with the rough value $\pi = 3$, the diameter was taken at 84,000 *stadia*.² This, divided by 80, gives Āryabhaṭa's value of the diameter, 1050 *yōjana*.³

Aristotle (B.C. 384-322) quoted 400,000 *stadia* as the value of the circumference of the earth which had been calculated by mathematicians.⁴ This, divided by 80, gives Brahmagupta's value, 5000 *yōjana*.

It can hardly be doubted that the origin of Āryabhaṭa's value for the diameter of the earth is the rough diameter of Eratosthenes' estimate of the circumference. And it seems also a plain conclusion that Brahmagupta's value for the circumference is simply the Indian equivalent of

1° = 68.724 miles; and from this we should have circumference 24,740 miles and diameter 7875 miles, without fractions. Other measurements were made in or about 1617 and 1637. In 1669, Picard obtained the result of 57,060 toises, = 69.104 miles, as the mean value of one degree between Sourdon and Malvoisine, which would give circumference 24,877 miles and diameter 7912 miles. And this last result, becoming known to Newton, enabled him to establish in 1687 his theory of gravitation, in respect of which he had previously failed in consequence of following the then still usual estimate of 60 miles as the length of a degree, with the result of 21,600 miles circumference and 6875 miles diameter.

¹ Bunbury, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 9, 228-9.

² *Natural History*, 2. 112. The story was that, after his death, there was found in his tomb a letter from him, stating that he had descended to the lowest part [the centre] of the earth, and that the distance [the radius] was 42,000 *stadia*.

³ His value for the circumference of course works out to more than that of Eratosthenes; because it was the figures for the diameter that he took over, and he applied to them the practically correct value $\pi = 3.1416$, instead of the rough value, 3, by which they had been obtained.

⁴ Bunbury, op. cit., 1. 396. The equivalent is 46,080 or 44,127 miles, according to the valuations of the *stadium*. This value of the circumference perhaps was (but perhaps was not) associated by the mathematicians with the idea of the earth being a flat disc; a view which Aristotle rejected: he held, with the Pythagoreans, that the earth is a sphere. But it does not follow that the idea would reach the Hindūs with the measure: and any circular plan, with dimensions marked on it, would show the earth as a flat surface, even though it was known to be a sphere.

the value reported by Aristotle. It would be interesting if we could ascertain how it was that Brahmagupta, the later in date, went back to a source earlier than that used by his predecessor Āryabhaṭa.¹

Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587) has not stated the diameter of the earth, but has given the circumference as 3200 *yōjana*; apparently from the Original Sūrya-Siddhānta and the Pauliṣa.² This seems to be a substitute for Āryabhaṭa's 3300 *yōjana*, with a view to having $\frac{3200}{360} = \frac{80}{9}$, as more easy to manipulate than $\frac{3300}{360} = \frac{11}{4}$, as the value of one degree in *yōjanas* along the equator, a meridian, and any other great circle.

The Sūrya-Siddhānta's value of the diameter, 1600 *yōjana*, seems to be only Brahmagupta's value, 1581 *yōjana*, turned into a round number in the usual fashion. The way in which the Siddhānta states it, is itself indicative of this: the text says that the diameter is 800 *yōjanas*, i.e. the radius, multiplied by 2; and Brahmagupta's radius, 790 or 791 *yōjana*, would suggest the substitution of 800 even more readily than 1581 would suggest the substitution of 1600.

In the case of Brahmagupta there is the curious point that, while he has given 5000 *yōjana* as the circumference in the passage mentioned above, and has stated it with a view to calculating the *dēśāntara* or 'difference of place' (longitude), in another passage he has indicated quite a different value: he there says that the difference

¹ Another Greek value was that of Posidonius (about B.C. 135-51), who reduced the circumference first to 240,000 and then to 180,000 *stadia* Lewis, p. 215; Bunbury, vol. 2, pp. 95, 539. This latter figure, 180,000, was taken over by Marinus of Tyre (second century), and was adopted from him by Ptolemy (A.D. 139 and 161): Bunbury, vol. 2, pp. 539, 564. The equivalent is 20,685 or 19,857 miles. The Hindūs would denote the 180,000 *stadia* by 2250 *yōjana*: but such a value does not seem to be found in their books.

² Pañchasiddhāntikā, trans., p. 71, verse 18; and compare p. 16, verse 14; p. 57, verse 10.

of time on each side of the prime meridian is 1 *nāḍī*, = 24 minutes, for 60 *yōjana*; ¹ and this postulates an equatorial circumference of only 3600 *yōjana*, = 32,400 miles. Further, Albērūnī, while mentioning 1581 *yōjana*, each of 8 'miles', i.e. *krōśas* (see p. 239 above), as Brahmagupta's value of the diameter, has represented him as using in his *Khaṇḍakhādyā* still another value for the circumference, namely 4800 *yōjana*.² This I am not able to verify: but it may be a substitute, for some general purposes, for the 4743 which would be deduced from the diameter of 1581 with the value $\pi = 3$, which is mentioned by Brahmagupta as giving the *vyāvahārika* or rough practical circumference.³

Jervis quoted the following other values: ⁴—

Laghu-Vāsishṭha-Siddhānta	{	diam. 1581 <i>yōjana</i> .
	{	circ. 4966 "
Siddhāntaśēkhara	{	diam. 1581 "
	{	circ. 5000 "
Sārvabhauma-Siddhānta	{	diam. 1600 "
	{	circ. 5026 "
Ārya-Siddhānta		circ. 6625 "

There is no difficulty in recognizing the bases of the statements of the first three works. The fourth work is the *Mahā-Siddhānta* or Second *Ārya-Siddhānta*, which says (p. 39, verse 56) that the circumference is 6625 *yōjana* — *ta-yav-āṅgula-mānēna*, "by the measure of the *āṅgula* of six *yava*." This is only another variety of the same estimate: 6625 *yōjanas* of this kind would be equal to 4968 or 4969 *yōjanas* by the measure of the

¹ *Brāhma-Siddhānta*, p. 414, verse 10.

² *Trans.*, vol. i, p. 312.

³ *Brāhma-Siddhānta*, p. 198, verse 40.

⁴ *Primitive Universal Standard of Weights and Measures* (1835), p. 73. It may be noted, as a curiosity, that on p. 53 he made practical use of the long value of π quoted by me in this *Journal*, 1911. 793, and took the decimal even two places farther, ending with 32384.

āṅgula of eight *yava*. Perhaps some reader of this Journal in the extreme South of India can give us more information about this *āṅgula* of the Second Ārya-Siddhānta and the *yōjana* based on it: I have not as yet found them used anywhere else.

J. F. FLEET.

CREMATION AND BURIAL IN THE RGVEDA

In his elaborate treatise on *The Early Age of Greece*¹ Professor Ridgeway has laid great, and indeed excessive, stress on the importance of the difference between cremation and burial as indicating racial distinctions. Thus he has argued that the practice of burial in Mycenaean² civilization, as contrasted with the practice of cremation, which is decisively Homeric, is to be explained by the fact that on the earlier civilization had been imposed a later structure in the shape of an Achæan inroad, the Achæans being of Celtic stock, and coming from northern lands where cremation had become usual, while the Achæans he sharply distinguished from Dorians,³ who were Illyrians,⁴ by their method of disposal of the dead, the Dorians practising interment and not burning.

Now it is worth noticing that Professor Ridgeway's own evidence from Hallstadt and elsewhere⁵ shows that cremation and burial often existed contemporaneously, and that in some places the rich, in some the poor, were buried, in some places were burned. These facts he

¹ See i, 481-551.

² i, 514.

³ Cf. "Minos the Destroyer" (*Brit. Acad. Proceedings*, iv), p. 28. But we have no real evidence of what the Dorians did for centuries after their entry into Greece, and this argument from their later usages is not cogent.

⁴ "Who were the Dorians?" in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, pp. 295 seqq. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*², p. 61, n., suggests that the Dorians were the tribe of the hand (*ἡ δαῖμον*), quoting the *lambda* on their shields. Unhappily for this wild guess, *ἡ δαῖμον* does not mean "moving the hand" either in Greek or in Sanskrit.

⁵ i, 429, 439, 495-8.

explains by the view that this is a sign of the intermingling of two populations, the "Mediterranean race"¹ and the Alpine or Celtic stock, in the localities in question. But there is not the slightest trace of any reason to assert that the two strata of the population (assuming that they existed) were differentiated in matter of disposal after death; that this was so can only be inferred if we establish otherwise that difference in mode of disposing of the dead is an essential sign of race difference.

Now Professor Ridgeway² cites the Vedic Indians as a people who burned their dead, and he traces them by this characteristic back to Central Europe. But it is quite certain that our earliest evidence is unfavourable to his view. In the *Rgveda*³ we find expressly mentioned as Pitr̥s, and therefore as belonging to the Āryan rulers and not to the Śūdra or aboriginal population, those *yé agnidagdhā yé ānagnidagdhāh*, and the *Atharvaveda*⁴ tells us of the Pitr̥s *yé nīkhātā yé pároptā yé dagdhā yé cōddhitāh*. It is unnecessary to consider closely what is denoted by the two additional categories,⁵ but here we have clear evidence of the existence of both customs simultaneously among one people. Nor can we follow Oldenberg⁶ in denying that the usage of burial is to be seen in another passage of the *Rgveda*⁷ which tells earth to receive the dead. It is perfectly true that the later ritual⁸ adapts the passage to the case of the interment of bones after cremation, but this is no proof of its earlier use, and, so

¹ See e.g. Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race*, 1901; Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, 1900.

² i, 532 seqq.

³ x, 15. 14.

⁴ xviii, 2. 34.

⁵ *pároptāh* refers perhaps to exposure (as in Iran) of the dead body to the elements and the birds and beasts, a practice not unknown in later India (see Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*³, pp. 143, 144; Nariman, JRAS, 1912, p. 257); *cōddhitāh* to exposure on a platform or tree.

⁶ *Religion des Veda*, p. 571. He does not, however, suggest that burial was not known.

⁷ x, 18. 9-13. See also *Atharvaveda*, xviii, 2. 50-2.

⁸ Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 580.

far from there being nothing in the language to show that the burial of a corpse is meant, the whole passage is full of such indications: the earth is to open up, a thousand pillars are to keep it up, houses dropping ghee are to be assigned to the dead, a pillar (*sthūnā*) is to be set up. All these are expressions little fitting the small cavity required by a few charred bones, but admirably reminiscent of the stately tombs of Mycenæ. Thus, as a token of racial distinction cremation and burial cannot be successfully used in face of the Vedic evidence, which presents us with early reliable proof of the coexistence of either usage, a coexistence which it may be added is attested for later India through all the ages. With this may be compared the evidence of Ling Roth¹ regarding the Tasmanians who practised simultaneously several very differing modes of burial, and in whose case racial grounds of distinction are not obvious.

It is not, of course, easy to see why Homer should know or mention but one mode of disposal of the dead, but Professor Ridgeway's theory² really does not help. On his own view the Achæans were a mere aristocracy who ruled over an earlier race, and the poet must have known both burial (used by that race) and cremation, and not cremation alone; equally possibly the change of the prevailing mode of disposal of the dead may have resulted from other motives, some change in the mode

¹ *The Tasmanians*, pp. 128 seqq. Cf. Lang, *The World of Homer*, pp. 4, 105-12.

² It is accepted by Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 209-13. Dörpfeld's ingenious view (*Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 95 seqq.) that in all cases burial took place, but in some scorching (occasionally leading to complete burning) as a quasi means of embalming, is quite impossible in view of the language of Homer as well as archaeological evidence. It is, however, probable that the use of *ταφῆναι* in *Il.* vii. 85; xvi. 457, is a proof that Homer knew of burial as an alternative, as Zehetmaier (*Leichenverbrennung und Leichenbestattung im alten Hellas*, pp. 121, 122) argues. Zehetmaier is not a believer in the racial distinction of modes of burial, and it is hard to see what ground there is *a priori* for acceptance of the theory.

of regarding the spirit, or perhaps the necessity of foreign warfare, like the attack on Ilion, and this may have been brought about without any change of race at all.¹ Or, again, it is perfectly possible that there was influence from the north by peaceful contact, not by conquest. Nor need we doubt that tribal movements were known before the Achæan and Dorian invasions. What is certainly not rendered even probable by the evidence is that there was ever a great Achæan invasion of Celts² practising burning, not burial, upon an earlier purely aboriginal population which was Indo-European in speech but melanchrous and rather small in stature, and which buried its dead. All the evidence so far available justifies us rather in asserting that the aboriginal people did not speak an Indo-European tongue, and that the Achæans were only the chief and for a time the political leaders of the many Āryan Greek tribes³ who at some uncertain date—perhaps in special strength in the fifteenth century⁴—

¹ It may have been aristocratic, but aristocracy is not necessarily racial, and Homer is doubtless in part aristocratic, but he describes the burning of the ordinary soldier as well as of the chief (e.g. Elpenor's burial; cf. Lang, *Homer and his Age*, p. 99). Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*², p. 96, lays stress on the desire to avoid harm to the body of the dead, which is not, however, altogether consistent with the raising of a mound over the ashes, and he does not insist that it was introduced merely by the northern invaders (whom he brings to Mykenai in the time of its burials).

² The Celtic theory is not to be pressed; that the Greek invaders were Āryans is clear; that they spoke before the invasion during a sojourn in the Danubian region an Āryan tongue is also clear, and probably it would approximate more closely to the Teutonic and Celtic speeches than it did later—though we do not know for this early period the nature of the Teutonic and Celtic speeches or their differentiation (if the differentiation which is usually ascribed to a racial mixing of the Celts had commenced). But that the Achæans were really Celtic in any precise sense is *a priori* improbable, and the labialism argument has been refuted by Monro, *Homer's Odyssey*, p. 487.

³ Ionians, Pelasgians perhaps, and Minyai must be reckoned here with others. The Achæans may have been and probably were later comers than these.

⁴ The end of late Minoan (or Cnossus) II. It seems to follow the sack of the palace about 1400 B.C., see Burrows, pp. 94-7, which Ridgeway

settled in Greece, introducing the Greek tongue. But we cannot postulate that these invaders practised cremation *alone* either when they entered Greece or after they settled there. Moreover, Professor Ridgeway seems to have overlooked the date of the Vedic evidence for cremation when he insists that the Hindus derived the practice from Central Europe.¹ The evidence of the *Rgveda* cannot reasonably be regarded as later than 1200 B.C., and may well be centuries older, and the evidence for cremation in Central Europe so early is very feeble.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE PARAMARTHA-SĀRA

Mr. Sovani's arguments may be briefly answered. We have (1) Abhinava-gupta's Paramārtha-sāra, a poem in 105 *āryā* verses, which modestly claims to be an abridgment of an older work styled "Ādhāra-kārikāḥ" and purporting to have been delivered by the serpent-king Śeṣa to an inquirer, and secondly (2) a work that has been published in four editions, viz., by Bāla Śāstri in the *Pandit*, by Kēvaldīn at the Navalkiśor Press, by the compiler of the *Śabda-kalpa-druma*, and by Paṭṭisapu

accepts. Probably Greeks were in Greece proper for some generations or possibly centuries earlier; Hall, *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, went perhaps too far in ascribing to them a large influence on the Minoan culture. Burrows, pp. 146, 194, shows the evidence against the Indo-European character of the language of the Mediterranean race as derived from traces of it in Egyptian, in Welsh, and Irish as compared with Berber and Egyptian. See also Kretschmer, *Gesch. d. griech. Sprache*, and Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen und Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland*. Conway's view (BSA. viii, 125 seqq.; x, 115 seqq.) that this language is Aryan is based on a series of improbable suppositions, and is rightly rejected by Burrows (pp. 151 seqq.) and Murray.

¹ See i, 495, 500, 503, 506, 548. He regards the Hindus as making their way into India before the beginning of the iron age, 1400 B.C., and "How much earlier who can say?" But there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the Indians came from Central Europe (the pros and cons are too evenly balanced to render any opinion useful), and there is certainly none as to the date of the beginning of the iron age there or elsewhere in Europe at 1400 B.C.

Vēṅkaṭeśvaraṇḍu in Madras. The latter work as presented in these four editions contains respectively 86, 89, 79, and 79 stanzas. My view, as expressed in the JRAS. of 1910, p. 708, is that the latter is mainly borrowed from Abhinava-gupta's P^o, and dressed up so as to wear the aspect of orthodox Vaiṣṇava monism, though possibly it may have been based upon the lost original of Abhinava-gupta's poem. Mr. Sovani, on the contrary, has discovered that this precious tract, which in its various recensions contains, as I have said, between 79 and 89 verses, is the original Ādhāra-kārikāḥ of which Abhinava-gupta's P^o (containing 105 stanzas) is an *abridgment*. On this discovery comment is superfluous. I content myself with remarking that Mr. Sovani's arguments prove precisely nothing. The commentator on the Prabōdha-candrōdaya is late (sixteenth century); the Prabōdha-sudhākara throws no light whatever on the subject; and his further observations on Patañjali are quite irrelevant.

L. D. BARNETT.

GINGER

On p. 169 of this Journal for 1905, Dr. Thomas expressed doubts as to the derivation of the Sanskrit word *śṛṅgavēra* = Greek *ζῆγγιβερίς* = German *Ingwer* = English "ginger". I think it is quite evident that the second half of it, *vēra*, goes back to the well-known Dravidian word *vēr* (Kanarese *bēr*), "a root." This derivation was first suggested by Dr. Gundert in ZDMG., vol. xxiii, p. 518, and in his Malayāḷam dictionary, s.v. *iñji*, where **chiñji-vēr* is assumed to be the original Dravidian form of the word. This reference seems to be the source of Dr. Burnell's statements in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 352, and *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 286.

Professor Zachariae draws my attention to the fact that the Dravidian origin of the word *vēra* as second member of Sanskrit compounds seems to have been known to

Nilakanṭha, who, in his commentary on *Mahābhārata*, iii, 188, 42, remarks on the word *hrīvēra* as follows: **वेरशब्दः कर्णाटेषु मूले प्रसिद्धः** i.e. "the word *bēra* is employed among the Kanarese people in the sense of 'root'"; see Dr. Printz's dissertation *Bhāṣhā-Wörter in Nilakanṭha's Bhāratabhāvadīpa*, p. 17. It may be noted in passing that the earliest Sanskrit work which quotes Tamil words is Bhaṭṭa Kumārila's *Tantravārttika* (p. 157 of the Benares edition of 1903); cf. Dr. Burnell, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i, pp. 309 ff.

The first two syllables of *śrīṅgavēra* may be a Paṇḍit's corruption of the Tamil and Malayālam *iṅgi*, "green ginger," or its prototype **chiṅgi*, as suggested by Dr. Gundert. But, like Dr. Thomas, I cannot follow Dr. Burnell if he connected this word with another term which is used in various dialects as a designation of "dry ginger", and which appears in the dictionaries under the following forms: Tamil *śuṇḍi*; Malayālam, Telugu, Kanarese, and Sanskrit *śuṇṭhi*; Mahrāṭhi and Gujarātī *sunṭh*; Hindi *sōṭh*.

The resemblance which *śuṇṭhi* bears to *iṅgi* is of a very superficial nature, and the derivation of the second form from the first or vice versa is phonetically impossible. Besides, the fact that in Tamil "green ginger" is called *iṅgi* and at the same time "dry ginger" *śuṇḍi* precludes the identity of both words.

E. HULTZSCH.

VERSES RELATING TO GIFTS OF LAND

On p. 252 of this volume Mr. Pargiter has traced one of the verses quoted in grants of land to the *Mahābhārata*, book iii. When perusing portions of this poem some time ago, I noted, besides that verse, another which is sometimes cited in grants (e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 142, l. 33 f.), viz. xiii, 62, 48—

आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णुर्ब्रह्मा सोमो ज्ञताशनः ।
शूलपाणिश्च भगवान्प्रतिनन्दन्ति भूमिदम् ॥

E. HULTZSCH.

RUPNATH EDICT OF ASOKA

I venture to offer the following brief notes as a contribution to the further study of the Sahasrām-Bairāt-Rūpnāth-Siddapur edict of Aśoka, which has been the subject of so many interesting discussions.

1. *Samānā*. The word occurs in the Siddapur version as part of the phrase *amīsā samānā munisā*, which corresponds to the *aṃmisaṃdevā saṃta munisā* of Sahasrām. It is therefore a middle participle of the verb *as*, "to be," which is stated by B. & R., following Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 409-10, to be used after adjectives—we might add also after nouns, participles, etc., as is proved by Burnouf's own instances. Although it might not be difficult to find another explanation of the idiom (e.g. **samāna* = **prāya*), yet, inasmuch as other middle forms of the verb are known (see, for example, Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*², 636d), the participle *samāna* is an unquestionable possibility, and that this was the current understanding of the word appears, as was noted by M. Senart in his article relating to the edict (*Journal Asiatique*, xix, p. 482, 1892), from its equivalence to *saṃta* in the present passage. I will now append the instances, additional to those given by Burnouf and Childers, which I have found of its occurrence.

- (a) *Dīgha-Nikāya*, vol. i, p. 18, ll. 25-6 (Brahmajāla Sutta):
āgato samāno (cf. l. 27).
- (b) *Id.*, p. 60, ll. 21 and 28-9 (Sāmaññaphala Sutta):
pabbajito samāno.
- (c) *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 218, l. 32:
*ahaṃ samma makkatācchāpako samāno . . . nigodha-
potakassa aggaṃkure khādāmi*.

(For the above three examples I am indebted to Dr. Sten Konow's article dealing with the word in his collectanea for the Pali Dictionary, published in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1909, p. 90.)

(d) *Samyutta-Nikāya*, vol. i, p. 217, ll. 17-18:

*idha kho taṃ bhikkhave sobhetha yaṃ tuṃhe evaṃ
svākhyāte dhammavinaye pabbajitā samānā uṭṭha-
heyjātha.*

(e) ¹ *Saddharmapundarika* (ed. Kern), p. 11, v. 22:

*kāṃsiccā paṣyāmy ahu bodhisattvān
bhikṣū samānā pavane vasantī.*

2. *Palakama* (Sahasrām, Bairāt), *pakama* (Rūpnāth, Siddapur).

There can be no doubt concerning the meaning of the former, which occurs also in Rock Edicts vi and x. It represents the *parākrama*, *parakkama* of the texts, one of the Buddhists *pāramitās*, a synonym of *vīrya*, *virīya*, in conjunction with which it constantly appears. I have elsewhere remarked ("Les Vivāsāh d'Asoka": *Journal Asiatique*, 1910, pp. 515-16) that it contains an at least latent implication of bodily activity, and therefore in this passage is practically equivalent to *pakama*, which in the Pali texts is exceedingly common in the sense of travelling.

Professor Hultsch, however, is not content with this explanation. He declines (*JRAS.*, 1911, pp. 1115-16) to accept the evidence of the Pali books, and contends that "in explaining doubtful words we ought to rely on parallel passages of the edicts themselves, whenever we can quote such, rather than on the language of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* or any other extraneous guide".

I do not apprehend any wide acceptance of such a canon, and I feel some confidence in averring that solid advance in the interpretation of these texts has been due to comparison with the language of the Buddhist books.

But in the case of the word *pakama* we are without passages in the edicts to use for the purpose of comparison;

¹ Add also the following: *Dīgha Nikāya* (*Tevijja Sutta*), i, p. 350, l. 22; *Jātaka* (*Nidānakathā*), i, p. 22, ll. 9, 28; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 651, l. 6.

nor do I see any advantage in Professor Hultzsch's quotation of *parākrama* in Rock Edict x as equivalent of *pakama* in this edict, when two versions of this very edict supply him with the equivalence in its strongest form, namely in *identical* passages. If the equivalence is evident anywhere, it is here.

The proposed meaning "to exert oneself", "to be zealous" is not absent from the Buddhist books only. It is likewise absent from general Sanskrit literature, where the word usually means "a procedure". Furthermore, it is not supported by the derivation. In fact, it reposes solely upon a view of the present passage, where I have shown that it is not indispensable.

I will now *prove* that *parākrama* has a meaning which brings it closer to *prakrama* as denoting "travel". The word expresses not merely a moral quality, but rather a bodily (and hence mental) activity, in virtue of which it is frequently contrasted with *kausīdya*, "sloth." As regards the ordinary Sanskrit literature, anyone can convince himself of this by consulting the lexica. From the Buddhist writings we may cite the passage in the *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann, p. 53, v. 10), *tasya viryacaritasya tat phalaṃ yena kāyu yatha meru śobhate*, where a strong bodily constitution is said to result from the exercise of this virtue in a previous birth. The Pali writings often couple the word with *ārambha* and *nikkama* (e.g. *Samyutta-Nikāya*, vol. v, p. 105, ll. 30, 31; p. 107, ll. 1, 2), and Trenckner in his edition of the *Milindapañha* (notes, p. 428) goes so far as to make it equivalent to *nikkama*. But the most decisive passages are two occurring in the *Vinayapitaka* and *Saddharmapundarika* respectively, viz. :

tassa accāraddhaviriyassa caṅkamato pādā bhijjimsu
(Mahāvagga, v, 1. 19).

"Through his excessive activity his feet were injured by his walking about."

in *Ānandaḥ*. Divine is simply that which pertains to *Deva* (*Divya*).

The infinitude of the auspicious attributes of God, and the entire absence of inauspicious attributes, are implied by the word *Bhagavān*, as explained in the verse from the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (VI. v. 79) quoted several times in the course of this correspondence. On p. 7 of my English translation of the *Bhagavad - Gītā* with Rāmānuja's Commentary, I rendered the six types of attributes therein enumerated as follows: (1) *jñāna*, omniscience; (2) *śakti*, omnipotence or power; (3) *bala*, strength; (4) *aīśvarya*, sovereignty; (5) *vīrya*, constancy or endurance; (6) *tējas*, glory.¹ The question is therefore what single term could be chosen to completely express omniscience + omnipotence + strength + sovereignty + endurance + glory? There are three from which to choose—Perfect, Divine, Blessed. Inasmuch as, not only in idiom and sentiment but also in usage, in both English and Sanskrit, the word "Blessed" most nearly approaches *Bhagavān*, I resign in its favour terms "Perfect" and "Divine", and join Professor Hopkins, who supports this rendering in his article on "The Epic use of Bhagavat" on pp. 727 ff. of JRAS. for 1911. But I should nevertheless prefer the adoption of the word "Bhagavat" itself, without translation, just as "avatāra", "karma", and "paṇḍit" have been admitted citizenship in the vocabulary of the English language.

I am unable to accept Mr. V. V. Sovani's statement that the term *Bhagavān* was first used of great spiritual teachers and inquirers, and that next it came to be used as an epithet of those persons who had acquired spiritual powers, and that then it came to be used of emancipated souls, and, finally, of God. On the contrary, I agree with Professor Hopkins when he says: "It does not

¹ Even these renderings are tentative, but for our present purpose they may be accepted.

seem to me that the advance in application indicated by *teacher, spiritually gifted persons, emancipated souls, God*, can be maintained as a strictly historical fact." As for me, Parāśara settles the question in a reverse order—

Aśabda-gōcarasyā 'pi tasya vai Brahmano, dvija |
pūjāyām BHAGAVAT-śabdaḥ kriyate hy upacārataḥ ||
 (Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, VI. v. 71.)

The purport of this verse is that God is ineffable—no word can express Him, but, as in His personal character he possesses "perfections" or "auspicious attributes", even the word "Bhagavān" is a conditional or reverential appellative—a word chosen for the sake of reverence to designate Him.

tatra pūjya-padārtho-'kti paribhāṣā-samanvitaḥ |
śabdō 'yam nō 'pacāreṇa tv anyatra hy upacārataḥ ||
 (ib. 77.)

But even this term *Bhagavān*, as a conditional epithet for God, is a sign or mark most aptly expressive of Him. Primarily it expresses "God", and it is only secondarily transferred or applied to others (teachers, etc., of Mr. Sovani) as an honorific or courtesy title. Parāśara himself explains how the term most fully expresses the idea of God in *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*: VI. v. 72-6. It is unnecessary to quote the text, which is easily accessible.

"O Maitreya, the word *Bhagavat* is expressive of Para-Brahman, the holy, the ineffably glorious, the cause of all causes. (72.)

"The syllable *bha* has two senses—Prop and Protector; and the syllable *ga*, O sage, means 'Leader', 'Director', 'Creator'. (73.)

"The dissyllable *bhaga* is the sign expressive of the sextuple totality of sovereignty, energy, glory, wealth, wisdom, and freedom. (74.)

"The syllable *va* (= *vān*) is for Him who, by virtue of all objects (beings) abiding in Him, is the Inexhaustible,

take birth here. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, v, 38-40, of which one verse only may here be cited, in Drāviḍa land mostly, i.e. N. lat. 8-11°, the Bhaktas, such as the Āzhvārs (*vide my Lives of Draviḍa Saints*), take birth—

*Kvacit kvacit, mahārāja ! Draviḍeṣu ca bhūriśaḥ
Tāmraparṇī nadī yatra Kṛtamālā Payasvinī
Kāverī ca mahāpuṇyā, etc.*

"Here and there, O great King! the devotees of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) take birth, but mostly on the banks of (the Rivers) Tāmraparṇī, Kṛtamālā, Payasvinī, and meritorious Kāverī are they born."

St. Śaṭhagopa was born on the banks of the Tāmraparṇī, 18 miles from Tinnevely (Madras Presidency), about N. lat. 8° 50'.

3. Then came Rāmānuja and his predecessors (*vide my Life of Rāmānuja and his Predecessors*), who continued the work of the Drāviḍa saints in the Karṇāṭaka country, i.e. N. lat. 11-14°, where lay Rāmānuja's chief field for proclaiming *bhakti*. In what is now, in the twentieth century, called Karṇāṭaka in a limited sense, viz. the Mysore State, Rāmānuja laboured incessantly for nearly fourteen years, restoring the ruins of the ancient and archaic temple of Nārāyaṇa in Melkote (or Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-puram), 30 miles north of the city of Mysore. *Bhakti* therefore really grew up in Karṇāṭaka.

4. In the Marāṭha (Mahārāṣṭra) and the Gujarāt country, Rāmānuja's influence was not so fully discernible, hence *Bhakti* might well have exclaimed "my limbs were mutilated by heretics" (JRAS., p. 801).

5. In Bṛndāvana, on the banks of the Yamunā, *Bhakti* might again well say: "Since I came to V(B)ṛndāvana, I have recovered and am now young and beautiful" (JRAS., p. 801). For, as Dr. Grierson might have

personally witnessed, another great shrine, on the pattern of the Great Shrine Śrīrangam (near Trichinopoly on the Kāveri River), has grown at Br̥ndāvana, on the lines ordained in the *Pāñcarātra* or *Bhāgavat-śāstra* (*vide* my article on this theme in JRAS. October, 1911), to which Rāmānuja and his school belong.

6. Even before Rāmānuja, St. Parakāla (Kali Age)¹ visited the shores of the Yamunā; next Yāmunācārya, the great Guru of Rāmānuja in the tenth century, obtained his name Yāmuna by dwelling on the banks of the Yamunā.

7. All these events go to illustrate the anecdote so aptly unearthed by Dr. Grierson from Indian *bhakti* literature.

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MYSORE (SOUTH INDIA).

October 25, 1911.

ANOTHER NOTE ON THE WORD BHAGAVAN

In JRAS. for 1911, p. 194, Dr. F. Otto Schrader advocates "Holy" for *Bhagavān*. But this word would only be equivalent to *Śuddhaḥ*, *Parīśuddhaḥ*, *Pūtaḥ*, *Pāvanaḥ*, *Pavitraḥ*, used in Sanskrit as epithets of God, and would not express the totality of attributes involved in *Bhagavān*.

The term "Perfect" which I proposed along with other terms, such as "Glorious", "Blessed", etc., although it approaches the perfection of God in all auspicious attributes, would literally, though not connotatively, be an equivalent of the Sanskrit *Pūrṇaḥ*, another epithet of the Deity.

Other epithets which imperfectly comprehend all that is intended by *Bhagavān* are Divine, Supreme, Exalted, and Blissful. The second and third of these are represented by the Sanskrit *Paraḥ*, while Blissful has its counterpart

¹ No. 17, in the hierarchic Table attached to my *Lives of Saints*: his Tamil name is Tirumaṅgai.

the Spirit of beings, the All-Spirit—He abiding in all things without exception. (75.)

"Thus, Maitreya, this great word *Bhagavān* is the epithet solely of Vāsudēva, who is Para-Brahman; and is not otherwise applicable." (76.)

Then follows verse 77 already quoted, and the whole is summed up in the oft-quoted 79th verse referred to above, which it is needless to repeat.

The Naighaṇṭukas have ruled "*Tatra-bhavān BHAGAVAN iti śabdo vṛddhaiḥ prayujyate pūjye*"; the terms *Tatra-bhavān* and *Bhagavān* are used by great men for adorable objects.

Dr. G. A. Grierson's choice "Adorable" is but the equivalent of *Dhyeyah*, or *Upāsyaḥ*, or *Arcyaḥ*.

Until, therefore, further perfection is attained, I would adhere to "Blessed" as the best translation of *Bhagavān*, which has a predicative value, of which even the Latin *Optimus Maximus* falls very much short.

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October 25, 1911.

TWO CORRECTED READINGS IN THE MYAZEDI (TALAING) INSCRIPTION

The words which I read as *dijhām* and *ijhim* in my transliterations of the above-named inscription published in this Journal should be written *diñcām* and *iñcim* respectively. I make this alteration both on palaeographical and on linguistic grounds. The symbol which I had conjecturally rendered *jh* is plainly, as I now see, *ñc*, a composite of *ñ* and *c* (the Pāli version, I am informed by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, confirms this); and the amended readings give forms which from the point of view of comparative phonetics are more acceptable than my first readings, because more consistent with the phonetic system of

Talaing itself, in its later stages, and of the Mon-Khmer family in general. There is only one point remaining to be cleared up: the form *iñcim* appears to involve the prefix *in-*, with which I am not familiar; but this may turn up elsewhere some day.

(Since the above was written and sent in, a new inscription of the same period has been received by me which contains the word *pañcaprāsād*, exhibiting the same composite *ñc*. This Indian loanword settles the readings conclusively.)

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SHANS AND BUDDHISM OF THE NORTHERN CANON

In his article on Buddhism in the Shan States, Sir George Scott contends that it is more reasonable to suppose that the first introduction of Buddhism into the Nan-chao and the Mao Shan kingdoms was from India direct, or from Mongolia, than that it was from the south. The Shans were, and are, a considerable people, and the question of the earliest source of their Buddhism is one of sufficient importance to justify looking over the evidence Sir George produces in support of his contention, and to see what may be said on the other side. Sir George Scott is recognized as a great, if not the greatest, authority on the Shans, and anything he writes in regard to their history and religion is worthy of more than ordinary consideration. In the present instance, however, the evidence is of the slightest, and he himself seems to think that his argument is rather interesting than conclusive, for he admits that "the matter is one quite incapable of proof at the present time". Let those of us who hold that the Shans, in all probability, never had any Buddhism until they got it from the south be equally generous, and admit that we cannot prove beyond a question but that the Shans may have had

some form of Buddhism before the introduction of the Southern Canon; we argue only for a stronger probability.

This review of the article need not detain us long, for about two-thirds of it has to do with the general history of the Shans and with descriptions of hill races, with little direct bearing on the subject supposed to be treated except as a sort of pictorial background. This is pardonable, for every writer on the Shans knows how necessary it is to draw at times on extraneous material (and imagination) to fill in the wide blank spaces of the Shan records.

On p. 920 Sir George says: "there is evidence of lamaism among the Mongols and in the train of Kublai Khan two hundred years and more before the Peguan king came with his Buddhism to the Mao Shan kingdom." That statement probably no one would question; but it is followed by this *non sequitur*: "It seems therefore very clear that Buddhism existed most probably in both the Ngai-lao and Meng Mao kingdoms at least as early as it did in Burma, *and that it was of the Northern Canon*" (the italics are mine). Why is this so very clear? We can show that there is a reasonable degree of probability that Buddhism of the Southern Canon existed in both the Ngai-lao and the Mao Shan kingdoms before the days of Kublai Khan, and with that at least he had nothing to do. Whether these Shans had, or did not have, Buddhism of the Northern Canon at a still earlier date remains to be seen. If they had, it certainly was not due to the missionary efforts of Prince Kublai, for he was not yet born.

Of as little value historically is the reference to Asoka and his 86,000 pagodas (p. 921). That he ever built 86,000 pagodas is probably an hyperbole. The Shan reference to these pagodas belongs to the legendary part of Shan history, where there is a Buddhistical attempt to connect the line of Shan princes, and some of the old towns, with the great Rajas of India. No Shan scholar

seems ever to have taken these fictions very seriously before, and that Sir George himself thinks that they have any historical value is doubtful. Just why he should bring these non-existent pagodas into his argument, and see under them manuscripts of the Northern Canon of Buddhism, I do not pretend to know. My opinion of his scholarship is so high that I am compelled to regard it as a jest; or it may be one of the cases in which it was necessary to draw on the imagination to fill in a blank space.

In order to discredit the Shan accounts of the coming of Shan princes from Mōng-hi Mōng-ham on the Me-hkawng to the Mao Shan kingdom, and of their bringing manuscripts with them, the writer of the article says that "it was quite a common affair in later days for Shan States which had no direct or suitable heir to send to Mōng Mit for a ruler", on the ground that they were of the "purer northern Tai". He further maintains that if Shan princes came in from the south "it would be a reversal of all that we know". On the contrary, it is all that we do know, and reverses nothing. There are a few things on which the Shan records agree, and among them are the following: that the old Mao Shan dynasty ran out before the administration of the "Elders"; that Shan princes were called in (or came of their own accord) from the south; that one of these established a new line of princes at Mōng Mit (as well as others at Hsen-wi and Mōng Mao); that every Shan ruler borrowed from Mōng Mit by any other Shan State was of the Mōng-hi Mōng-ham line of princes, and not of the Mao Shan line as Sir George assumes. Moreover, when there was any borrowing to be done, the States went to Mōng Mao oftener than they did to Mōng Mit, until after the former State became tributary to the Chinese (or at least the capital and a part of the Mao kingdom). It is therefore quite incorrect to say that the Shans regarded

the Mōng Mīr rulers as of purer Northern Tai stock than the rulers of the neighbouring States, for they all alike belonged to the same Mōng-hi Mōng-ham line. If there be any doubt of this, I can certainly support my statement from four Shan manuscripts lying before me. This is not all: according to one of the Ahom manuscripts the then ruling Mōng-hi Mōng-ham line of princes came originally from Northern Yunnan, and were of the same ruling family to which the early Mao Shan princes were connected by marriage, and are expressly declared to be *ngūn sao ngao hkun*,¹ of the same royal line.

Reference is made in the article to the location of Mōng-hi Mōng-ham.² Four Shan records agree in fixing the location on the Me-hkawng; two of them say that it was on the border of Chieng-mai; and one is more explicit and says distinctly that it comprised Mōng-lū, Mōng-yōn, Mōng-kang, and Mōng-hpa. Just what territory was included in these States we do not now know, but the general location is clear enough. That Shan princes came from this Mōng-hi Mōng-ham to the Mao Shan kingdom in the ninth or tenth century A.D. is well attested by the Shan records.

All this has little to do with the introduction of Buddhism among the Mao Shans, except as it helps to introduce the next statement, which is that they "brought manuscripts with them". The Shan word used here, *lik*, shows that more than a mere alphabet was intended. If the latter had been meant, *mè-lik* or *tow-lik* would have been used. A literature of some sort is referred to. I would not myself dismiss this important statement so

¹ Literally, "silver of lords, origin of kings," i.e. the pure original (line of) kings. *Sao* is Shan; *hkun* (and its couplet *kean*) seem to be variants of *hkan*.

² As to the meaning of "Mōng-hi Mōng-ham", I have ascertained that *hi* means "long", and *ham* is not the couplet but co-ordinate, with the meaning "abandoned, deserted"; hence the name means "the long sparsely settled region".

lightly as Sir George does. As the bulk of the Shan literature for all known branches of the Shans (except the Hinduized Ahoms of Assam) is religious, and that religion Buddhism of the Southern Canon, it is a fair supposition that this literature referred to was at least in part religious, and if religious it was of the Hinayana type. Of this there can be no reasonable doubt; neither is there any sufficient reason for doubting that these princes actually brought letters into the Mao Shan kingdom. It was from that moment that traditional Shan history left off and history began. Traditions of immediately preceding events would be trustworthy, but from a little more than a century earlier all is legendary, and much is manifestly pure fiction. This fact goes against any theory that the Mao Shans had any earlier form of writing.

The writer of the article declares that if letters were brought from the south to the Mao Shan kingdom, it is a reversal of all that we know. I fail to see why. Letters came to Tibet from the south; the main body of the Burman alphabet came from the south; what objection can there be to the assumption that the Mao Shan alphabet and the beginnings of their literature came from the same direction? Granting that Buddhism of the Northern Canon was introduced into the basin of the Irrawaddy at Pagan at an early date, that is far from saying that the same agency must have taken it on to the Mao Shan kingdom, together with its literature. If there is the slightest indication that it did so, I am not aware of it.

But as an alternative Sir George suggests Mongolia as a possible source. If Northern Buddhism was introduced into the Mao Shan kingdom from Mongolia, it must have come via the Ngai-lao Shans of Nan-chao. Concerning the early religion of the Ngai-lao Shans of Nan-chao we have at present one Shan document, and only one, that throws light on the subject, and that is one of the Ahom manuscripts. This states clearly that the Ngai-lao Shans,

at the time that Hkun-long and Hkun-lai were sent south to establish a new line of Shan princes in Möng-hi Möng-ham, were animists. Eight lacs of spirits (probably ancestral), as guardian spirits of the land, are mentioned, together with specific directions as to the sacrifices that should be made to them. No mention is made of the Buddha, or of his Law, or of his monks. The record is full of references to animism, but contains no reference to Buddhism whatever.

Ney Elias, relying on a mistranslation of this record, makes out that this Hkun-long and Hkun-lai came down from heaven on an iron ladder; but that the record gives us terrestrial facts (real or assumed) and not celestial myths is evident from the record itself. According to this manuscript, Möng-hi Möng-ham was a part of the Shan province of Möng-htin (Yunnan-sen); Möng-htin extended westward to the Salween; Möng-htin and the Upper Kingdom of the Ngai-lao Shans were "equal in power and glory"; the king of Möng-htin called the northern king "our father"; the northern king called the southern "our son"; a messenger was sent back and forth on horseback; he crossed a river in a boat; the mother¹ of the northern king is mentioned, as also astrologers; Hkun-long and Hkun-lai were sent down to Möng-hi Möng-ham with the knowledge and consent of the king of Möng-htin; they were carried on palanquins, with four bearers each; they were to pay annual tribute to the northern king—this, and much more, shows that we have here a document of some value, and not altogether a silly myth; but even granting that it is a legend, it is a legend of a people that were animistic, and not Buddhistic.

But when did these events take place? No date is

¹ The Shan here is *ya haeng hpa*, "heavenly-jewel-lady." The Shans of Yunnan still use *ya* in speaking of any old lady, and, in polite address, of young ladies as well; hence the queen, instead of the queen-mother, may be meant. It is more probable, however, that the aged mother would be called for consultation, as in this case.

given in the manuscript. The time, however, may be calculated approximately. Between the descent of Hkun-long and Hkun-lai from the Northern Kingdom to the Me-hkawng and the coming of the southern princes to the Mao Shan kingdom there were nine reigns. Allowing an average of twenty years for each reign, or a total of 180 years, this would bring us back to the latter part of the seventh century, or, following another Shan record, to the middle of the eighth, i.e. to the reign of the great northern Shan king Koh-lo-feng. At that time, according to this Ahom record, the Ngai-lao Shans were still animists. It is therefore scarcely possible that Buddhism was taken southward until after the reign of Koh-lo-feng, if at all. There was time, however, for the introduction of Buddhism of the Northern Canon into the Ngai-lao kingdom between this date and the inroads of the hordes under Prince Kublai. What proof of it does Sir George give us? Here it is: "The Chinese annals speak of the Ngai-lao kingdom as being quite a reasonable approximation to their own civilization, which is a concession that they are not too free in making in much later times. Some of the details given certainly suggest Buddhism." What these details are he fails to state, though he has given us the pagodas of Asoka. I will, therefore, give what may be one of them myself. In the reign of I-mu-hsün, we are told, four copies of a certain treaty were made. A few years ago I wrote to a distinguished archaeologist asking in what languages and alphabets these copies of the treaty were presumably written. The reply stated that they were written in Oighur, Chinese, Tibetan, and Shan respectively. This, if true, would have proved that the Shans were at least a literary people at that time. Unfortunately, no proof whatever of the statement was given. Neither is there anything very remarkable in the "concession", for, according to Mr. E. H. Parker's account, the Chinese attributed whatever culture the Shans may have had to

Chinese artisans taken captive in Ssu-ch'uan, and were praising themselves quite as much as they were the Shans.

In my review of this article I have come now to the longest part, concerning Buddhism among the Lahu tribes. On p. 925 we read, "There is, however, one particular race which shows signs of having been at one time Buddhistic, and so adds ground for belief that Buddhism was adopted in the early years of the Ngai-lao and Mao Shan monarchies." The early home of the Lahus, we are told, was on the extreme upper reaches of the Irrawaddy, on the border of Tibet. The grammatical structure of their language, and the presence in it of many Burman words, places the Lahu in the Tibeto-Burman class. That Northern Buddhism may have been introduced among them when they were still living in that early home is quite possible. This, however, is not evidence that the Ngai-lao and Mao Shans adopted Buddhism from the same source. The secondary seat of the Lahus, in the Nan-chao kingdom, was at Mōng-men (Mo-mein), and from that time, according to this article, they have been forgetting their Buddhism as fast as possible, if they ever had any. If they and the Shans were both together Buddhists of the Northern Canon, it is singular that they did not together adopt Buddhism of the Southern Canon. This gives us at least a mere hint that the Lahus were not Buddhists at all. If they ever were, it is peculiar that the Lahus of Kengtung know nothing of it. Their worship now, Sir George tells us, "in its simplicity and vagueness recalls the altars in the courts of the Temple of Heaven in Peking," when it does not correspond to the ordinary spirit worship of their neighbours.

I cordially agree with this charming writer that we know but little about the Shans; but we do know a little, and that little throws no light on any introduction of Buddhism of the Northern Canon among them. I wish

to say, however, that Sir George has made the ablest possible defence of his client. I am therefore sorry that, when weighed in a balance like Belshazzar of old, his client should be found wanting.

W. W. COCHRANE.

HsIFAW, N.S.S.

November, 1911.

SHAN BUDDHISM

I do not presume to intervene between Sir George Scott and Mr. Cochrane in their discussion of this subject: I should be risking the fate of the proverbial mouse-deer who got mixed up with two contending elephants. But without taking sides in the debate, may I be permitted to draw attention to a few facts which may have some bearing on the question?

1. The Shan word *lik*, which I take from Mr. Cochrane to mean "writing", is an Indian loanword (either from Sanskrit or Pāli). It is found in the same form in Talaing.

2. Buddhism of a Sanskrit-using Mahāyānist type can be shown to have prevailed in Southern Indo-China at a very early date, before the Pāli-using type can be traced there. This is pre-eminently the case in Camboja, but the presence of a very large percentage of Sanskrit words in Talaing indicates that it was much the same in the Talaing country too, and it is the same in Siam. This Buddhism, however, is associated everywhere in those regions with an Indian alphabet derived from the *Southern* Indian type and therefore brought to Indo-China by sea, not from Tibet or Northern India overland.

3. All the Tai alphabets that I remember to have seen belong to the Southern Indian type. They seem to be clearly traceable to the same stream of culture which brought this type of alphabet to Camboja and the Talaing country.

Manifestly, therefore, the Shans *might* have received Buddhism of the Sanskrit-using type from the South

of Indo-China together with their alphabet, *if* they got the latter at a period when this form of Buddhism still flourished in those coast lands, as to which point I profess no opinion. But the possibility seems to have been left unconsidered by both parties to this discussion.

Finally, may I draw attention to a passage in Hackmann's excellent little book *Buddhism as a Religion*, p. 70, in which he speaks of the Shans as "adherents of Buddhism, but of a type strictly different from Hinayāna"? His authority on the point appears to be a work by G. W. Bird, entitled *Wanderings in Burma* (London, 1897). The matter is interesting and deserves to be cleared up.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SHAN BUDDHISM

Mr. Cochrane still does not convince me that it may be finally accepted as a fact that Buddhism and letters came to the Tai from the South. The exasperating thing about Tai history is that everything is so vague. We talk glibly of the Mao Shan kingdom, and there is nothing that is conclusive, and very little that is even convincingly suggestive as to where the capital of that kingdom was. We want another Dr. Aurel Stein to dig in the curtilages of the old city sites of deserted Shan capitals to furnish us with clues. The presumption is that the earliest and possibly succeeding capitals were in the Nam Mao valley, at the western extremity of which Mrs. Milne lived when she gathered material for her book on the Shans, but whether it was at Sēlan, or Mōng Sē, or Mōng Mao, we have nothing to show.

Thanks to Mr. E. H. Parker, we know much more about the earlier Ailao or (Ng) Ailao. We know that the Nanchao kingdom extended to Magadha on the west and to Tibet on the north. It also apparently touched the "Female Prince State" (Camboja) on the south. We

know from Mr. Parker's translations of T'êng-yüeh annals that the Nan-chao State was highly organized. "There were Ministers of State, censors, or examiners, generals, record officers, chamberlains, judges, treasurers, ædiles, ministers of commerce, etc., and the native word for each department was given as *shwang*. Minor officials managed the granaries, stables, taxes, etc., and the military organisation was by tens, centurions, chiliarchs, deka-chiliarchs, and so on. Military service was compulsory for all able-bodied men, who drew lots for each levy. Each soldier was supplied with a leather coat and pair of trousers. There were four distinct army corps or divisions, each having its own standard. The king's body-guard were called *Chu-nu katsa*, and we are told that *katsa* or *katsü* meant leather belt. The men wore *chuti*, helmets, and carried shields of rhinoceros hide. The centurions were called *Lo-tsa-tsz*. Land was apportioned to each family according to rank: superior officials received forty *shwang* or acres (the tone of this word being unlike the tone of the first-mentioned word *shwang*). Some of the best cavalry soldiers were of the *Wang-tsa* tribe, west of the Mè Khawng. The women of this tribe fought too, and the helmets of the *Wang-tsa* were studded with cowries. There were six metropolitan departments and six provincial viceroys in Nanchao. The barbarian word for department was *kien*." This does not sound like the status of an animist race, and the further statement that "When the king sallied forth, eight white-scalloped standards of greyish purple were carried before him; two feather fans, a chowrie, an axe, and a parasol of kingfishers' feathers having a red bag" sounds still less like what we are inclined to associate with the cult of fetish-worshippers.

The old writers of annals were not concerned with the religion of the peoples they fought with. They were greatly more interested in their powers of resistance and in the plunder that was to be had if they were conquered.

The (Ng) Ailao were in touch with Magadha; they fought with and defeated and were defeated by the Tibetans. It seems more likely that they learnt civilization and cohesion and religion from those with whom they had their early struggles than from the southerners whom they gradually drove farther towards the sea and overwhelmed. And the religion they would have acquired would be the Mahāyāna form, not Southern Buddhism, just as the peoples of Northern Burma were Mahāyānists till the days of Nawrat'a.

Dhammathawka's 86,000 pagodas are doubtless a figure of speech, but they cover a certain amount of truth in their vaunting multitude. The Shwedagôn was cased seven times. Some of the Asoka pagodas no doubt have been similarly treated, and beneath them might be found buried, as religious objects were buried below all pagodas, the MSS. of the Northern Canon. It is not possible to believe that ministers of state and censors and record officers were appointed in a State which had not a written character, and that written character was surely—in the days of the early (Ng) Ailao—derived from the Northern Buddhists. I-mu-hsün, with his treaty in four languages, died before the apostles of Southern Buddhism could have made any impression on the peoples of the South. The Lahu are certainly not Buddhists now. The southern sections are purely animist, but the northern branches have suggestions of a vague Buddhism which may have been imposed upon them in the T'êng-yüeh neighbourhood by the conquering (Ng) Ailao, and gradually lost in their isolated mountain homes.

It also seems quite possible that the Sanskrit-using Buddhists of the Mahayanist type, who, Mr. Blagden tells us, were found in Southern Indo-China at a very early date, were really the forerunners of the Tai who came to found Siam, and that they were early invaders from the Mahayanist Nan-chao kingdom.

The modern Tai, like the modern Burman, certainly follow the Southern Canon, but it is quite certain that Buddhism first entered Burma from the north, and that it was the Mahayanist form. I still believe that the same will be found to be true of the Tai race. The only hope of proof seems to rest in the libraries of monasteries in the Shan-Chinese States across the border. It may be hoped that Mr. Cochrane will find the time and the opportunity to carry on researches there.

J. GEORGE SCOTT.

THE PEARL-DIVER OF AL-A'SHA

Of the seven passages of which translations are given in my paper on "The Pictorial Aspects of Ancient Arabian Poetry", read on November 14 last, six are easily accessible, and can be read in editions which have passed under the revision of European scholars. One, however, the extract from al-A'shà's poem dealing with the Pearl-diver (pp. 146-7), is less known, and has so far been published only in the unvocalized text of the *Khizānat al-Adab*, by 'Abd al-Qādir of Baghdād, printed in Egypt in 1299 H., which is now rather scarce. I think, therefore, that it will be of interest to readers of our Journal if I append here the original text of the passage, with the vowels added:—

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | كُجَمَانَةُ الْبَحْرِي جَاءَ بِهَا | غَوَاصُهَا وَسِنْ لُجَّةِ الْبَحْرِ |
| 2 | صَلَبُ الثَّوَادِ رُمَيْسُ أَرْبَعَةٍ | مُتَخَالِفِي الْأَلْوَانِ وَالْأَجْرِ |
| 3 | فَتَنَازَعُوا حَتَّى إِذَا أَجْتَمَعُوا | أَلْقَوْا إِلَيْهِ مَسْقَالِدَ الْأَمْرِ |
| 4 | وَعَلَّتْ بِهِمْ سَجْحَاءُ حَادِمَةٍ | تَهْوِي بِهِمْ فِي لُجَّةِ الْبَحْرِ |
| 5 | حَتَّى إِذَا مَا سَاءَ ظَنُّهُمْ | وَوَضَى بِهِمْ شَهْرٌ إِلَى شَهْرِ |
| 6 | أَلْقَى مَرَامِيَهُ بِكَهْلِكَةٍ | ثَبَّتَتْ مَرَامِيَهَا فَمَا تَجْرِي |
| 7 | فَانْصَبَّ أَشَقُّ رَأْسُهُ لَمِيدٌ | نَزَعَتْ رَبَاعِيَتُهَا لِلصَّبْرِ |

- 8 أَشَقَى يَمُجُّ الزَّيْتِ مُلْتَمِسٌ ظَمَانٌ مُلْتَهَبٌ مِنَ الْفَقْرِ
 9 قَتَلْتُ أَبَادُ فَقَالَ أَنْبَعُهُ أَوْ اسْتَفِيدَ رَغْبَةً الدَّهْرِ
 10 نَضَفَ النَّهَارَ الْمَاءَ غَاوِرُهُ وَشَرِيكُهُ بِالْعَيْبِ مَا يَذَرِي
 11 فَأَصَابَ مُنَيَّتَهُ فَنَجَّاهُ بِهَا صَدْفِيَّةٌ كُمُصِيْمَةُ الْجَمْرِ
 12 يُعْطَى بِهَا تَعْمًا وَيَمْنَعُهَا وَيَقُولُ صَاحِبُهُ أَلَا تَنْشَرِي
 13 وَتُزَيِّ الشُّوَارِيَّ يَسْجُدُونَ لَهَا وَيَضُمُّهَا بِصَدِيقِهِ لِلْمَحَرِّ
 14 فَتِلْكَ شِبْهُ الْمَالِكِيَّةِ إِذَا طَلَعَتْ بِمَنْجَبِهَا مِنَ الْخِجَارِ

NOTES

v. 2. In the commentary contained in the *Khizānah*, i, p. 544, it is stated that *رئيس* should be vocalized as an accusative, as the *حال* of *غَوَّاهِهَا*: it would, I think, be more natural to take it as a *صفة* and therefore in the nominative.

v. 3. *مَقَالِدُ الْأَمْرِ*. In rendering these words "the collar of captaincy" I have assumed that *مَقَالِدُ* is connected with *قِلَادَة*, and this may well be the case; but the *Lexx.* generally explain it as equivalent to *أَقَالِيدُ*, plural of *إِقْلِيدُ* (the Arabicized form of the Persian *كَلِيد*), "key": in any case it implies that the sailors invested their chief with authority over them.

v. 4. *خَادِمَةٌ* has been substituted for the reading of *Khiz.* *خَادِمَةٌ*, which could only mean (when used of a boat) a small craft attached for the service of another, an unsuitable sense here: we may also read *خَادِمَةٌ*; both words mean "swift", the sense required.

v. 7. I have not been able to find authority for *تُرِجَّتْ* in the sense "(his teeth) were clenched", though this seems to be certainly the meaning intended.

v. 10. The discussion in *Khizānah*, i, 542, shows that the grammarians generally read either *نَضَفَ النَّهَارَ* or *نَضَفَ النَّهَارَ*, taking *و* to have been understood before *الماء*, though it seems preferable to read (with ar-Riyāshī and al-Māzinī, p. 543, lines 2, 3) *نَضَفَ النَّهَارَ* in the accusative as a *ظَرْفٌ*. There is an alternative reading *رَفِيقُهُ* for *شَرِيكُهُ*; as the Diver was the captain of four, the singular *شَرِيك* or *رَفِيق* must stand for the plural (as rendered in the translation); this is a very common idiom, especially with such words as *صَدِيقٌ* and *عَدُوٌّ*.

v. 13. الشَّوَارِي is given as an alternative reading to الصَّوَارِي, the latter meaning "sailors". I have preferred the former, because we have already left the vessel and have had brought before us the pearl-merchants who wish to buy the precious prize, which, in the second hemistich, the Diver energetically withholds from them, clutching it with both hands raised to his throat.

v. 14. The first word is a syllable short of what is required by the metre; perhaps we should read فليتك.

The ode in praise of Qais son of Ma'dikarib of Kindah, from which this extract is taken, is variously attributed to Maimūn al-A'shā, the poet of Qais b. Tha'labah, and to Zuhair, called al-Musayyib (or al-Musayyab),¹ son of 'Alas, of Dubai'ah. The former was the opinion of Abū 'Ubaidah, Ibn Duraid, and others, the latter that of al-A'sma'i. 'Abd al-Qādir states (i, 545) that he copied the extract he gives from al-A'shā's *Dīwān*, and presumably the notes from the commentary thereto; the poem is not, however, as I learn from Professor Geyer, contained in Tha'lab's recension of the *Dīwān*. Ibn Qutaibah quotes from it (but not these verses) as the work of al-Musayyib (*Shi'r*, p. 83). Al-Musayyib was al-A'shā's maternal uncle, and al-A'shā was his *rāwīyah* (that is, the official transmitter of his compositions). In these circumstances it is natural that the works of the elder poet should be appropriated by, and in the course of time be ascribed to, the younger and much more famous author. The balance of probability is, therefore, in favour of al-Musayyib.

Passages dealing with the getting of pearls in the fisheries of the Persian Gulf are not infrequent in the ancient Arabian poetry. There is an interesting description of such a scene in the poem by al-Mukhabbal of

¹ 'Abd al-Qādir expressly states (*Khiṣ*, i, 545, lines 6 and 5 from foot) that the name is in the *active* form, given to him by his father because he left the camels of which he was in charge to wander by themselves (سَمِيحًا) while he was busy with his poetry. The name is, however, more often given in the *passive* form, Musayyab, and is so explained in al-Anbārī's commentary to the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* (my edition), p. 92, l. 7.

Sa'd b. Zaid-Manāt (a contemporary of the Prophet) in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (Thorbecke, No. 11, vv. 13-15, my edition, p. 213), where the diver is depicted as winning his treasure from the midst of a billowy sea in which the sword-fish, سيف, *Xiphias*, lives. There is another in a poem by al-Farazdaq (*Naqā'id*, No. 59, vv. 18-28, Bevan, pp. 517-20), where the pearl is guarded by a deaf sea-serpent, the terror of the divers. The diver risks death, however, and wins the pearl from the serpent's mouth, but is bitten in doing so and dies as he reaches the surface.

I take this opportunity to make two slight rectifications in my paper. In the passage from Labid's *Mu'allaqah* describing the wild-cow (p. 140), the verses are given in the order in which they stand in all editions of the poem. Nevertheless, however, it seems certain that we should transpose the two verses "She wandered distracted about . . . suckling and weaning" from their present place, and enter them after verse 4 of the extract and before the description of the rainy night. The reason is that in all these scenes the rain and cold are brought in by the poet in order to enhance the speed of the animal; and accordingly the description of them should immediately precede that part of the narrative where the wild-cow is beset by the hunters and their dogs. The seven days' wandering, which now stands between, interrupts the proper sequence.

On p. 141 I suggested that the habit of the male ostrich sitting on the eggs laid by his mates was unique. It is, however, common to the ostrich with other *Ratite* birds, such as the Emeu in Australia and the Rhea of South America, and was very probably the habit of the extinct Moas of New Zealand.

C. J. LYALL

THE APPEARANCE OF THE PROPHET IN DREAMS

I should like to supplement in a measure, from one point of view, the arguments on this topic furnished by Mr. F. Krenkow in the *Journal*, *ante*, pp. 77-9. It is no uncommon thing in Islamic literature to find both theological doubts and questions of practical controversy solved by the decision of the Prophet, who appears in a dream, and this on the authority of the *hadith* treated by Mr. Krenkow,—decisions which extend as well to isolated cases affecting *individuals*, as to matters affecting the interests of the *community at large*. Let me give instances of both classes from that literature.

A man was employed by its owner to drive an ox from one place to another. On the way he was attacked by robbers to the peril of his life, and he escaped only by surrendering to them the ox entrusted to his charge. Thereupon the question of law arose: Was the agent bound to compensate the owner for the property entrusted to him, or did the danger to his life amount to *vis major* and so displace the liability. The once renowned jurist Aḥmad b. Abi Aḥmad al-Ṭabari, known as Ibn al-Qāṣṣ, ob. A.H. 335 (A.D. 946-7), in Tarsus, maintained the former view, whilst Abu Ja'far al-Ḥannāṭi held that on the true view he was exempt from liability to make compensation. At this point, according to Tāj al-dīn al-Subkī,¹ the Qāḍi Abu 'Alī al-Zajjāji, a pupil of Ibn al-Qāṣṣ, saw the Prophet in a dream, and seized the opportunity of asking him to decide the point of controversy between his teacher and al-Ḥannāṭi. "It is your teacher who has decided aright," pronounced the Prophet, to the great joy of his questioner.

Of much the same date is a dream vision in which the Prophet solved a doubt which disquieted the pious Ṣūfī Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. Sa'dūn al-Jazirī, a Maghribi who spent a large part of his life in journeying about

¹ *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ii, p. 104.

Eastern Islām, and took part in its wars; died A.H. 344 (A.D. 955-6). This holy man, around whom when praying we are told that a light used to play, was anxious to be assured on the point, how many *Rak'ahs* were obligatory during the *Ṣalāt al-duḥā*. Under the tenets of Mālik and of Laith there was a discrepancy in the number prescribed. The pious man tells us how his doubt disturbed him during his wanderings in the Muqāṭṭam range of hills near Cairo, until the Prophet pronounced in a dream a decision in favour of the ruling of the Imām Mālik.¹

The renowned Shafeite jurist of Mecca, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haithami, ob. A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565), mentions in his treatise *Riyāḍ al-riḍwān* (preserved in the History of Gujarat by Abū Allah Muḥammad Ulughkhānī, which has been edited by E. Denison Ross), in the course of a eulogistic life of the learned vizier, 'Abd al-'Azīz Āṣaf Khān, that a contemporary pious Ṣūfī Shaikh was in continuous communication with the Prophet. On any question of doubt presenting itself, he used to say, "Wait until I can make inquiry of the Prophet," and shortly afterwards he brought the Prophet's decision.² This anecdote seems, nevertheless, accounted for by the Shaikh's hallucinations when in a *wakeful* state—a trait rather frequently present in Ṣūfī biographies.

The foregoing cases are instances of instruction imparted to individuals; but a number of instances are to be gathered from literary sources where doubts on religious questions affecting the entire community were decided by means of such visions; cf. the vision of al-Ash'arī, the motive for his action against the Mu'tazilāh. A disputed point of old standing as to ritual was this: whether when holding prayer over the dead

¹ *Maqṣarī*, ed. Leyden, i, p. 552.

² *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, ed. E. D. Ross (Indian Texts Series II), London, 1910, p. 375.

(*ṣalāt al-jināza*) the corpse may be borne into the precincts of the mosque, or whether the rite should be performed outside.¹ The celebrated mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabi (whose visions of the Prophet in his dreams were most frequent, as appears from his work, the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, throughout) was desirous that the question in dispute should be set at rest, so far as concerned his place of abode, Damascus. He accordingly narrates how he saw in a dream a corpse carried into the mosque, and that he also saw the Prophet disapprove of this, and direct the corpse to be removed from the mosque, and conveyed to the Jairūn Gate.²

Changes in ritual, too, which confirmed conservatives habitually resisted, were at times alleged to have received the Prophet's approbation in a vision, and this expression of consent was made to supply the want of any confirmation by a written tradition. When the Dervish class in Cairo managed (A.H. 791, A.D. 1389) to get the long-established *Adhān* formula extended by the inclusion of Praise of the Prophet, the innovation was rested on the Prophet's approval announced in a vision.³ And when two centuries later conservative circles resisted the establishment of *ṣalawāt* meetings as introduced by the Ṣūfis, the legend was spread abroad that the Prophet had appeared in a dream to one of the bitterest opponents, and had signified his approval of the pious custom thus introduced in his honour.⁴ The appeal to this form of decision passed among this superficial folk as the weightiest argument against the expressed disapproval of theological jurists at the pious *Bid'ah*.

Earnest voices were, indeed, upraised in disapproval of

¹ *Ibn Sa'd*, III, i, 105, l. 3; *ib.* 302, l. 19; and al-Nahrawālī, *al-Plām bi-a'lām beit Allāh al-ḥarām*, ed. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Stadt Mecca*, iii, 208.

² Murtaḍā, *Ithāf al-Sāda* (commentary on the *Iḥyā*, ed. Cairo, iii, 458).

³ Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1st ed., ii, 272.

⁴ Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, ii, 455.

legal decisions being based on such visionary arguments, especially when they sanctioned practices which were in contradiction to the *Sunna*. To this effect is the opinion of al-Nawawi against any authoritative use being made of reputed visions in dreams.¹ And the Maghribi Sunna-zealot, Muḥammad al-'Abdarī (ob. A.H. 737, A.D. 1336-7), devotes an entire chapter of his work, which he rests on Nawawi's authority, to combating such methods of seeking counsel.²

But even up to a very recent period it has been possible to impose on the superstitious multitude, especially on those far removed from the centres of Islamic civilization, precepts which have been imparted by the Prophet in dreams. In East Africa a versified religious manual (*Manẓūmāt al-tauḥīd*) is widely current, which was dictated to its editor, Aḥmad al-Marzūqī, in A.H. 1258 (A.D. 1842), in a dream, on which the author himself, and a learned Javanese, have written commentaries.³ On Java too descended, in A.H. 1297 (A.D. 1880), through a revelation of the Prophet vouchsafed to a certain Shaikh, 'Abd Allāh, in a vision, an earnest exhortation to true believers, the written text of which was alleged to have been found by the Shaikh near Muḥammad's tomb at Medina. This exhortation was some time since brought to public notice by Professor Snouck Hurgronje, who has pointed out its significance.⁴

I. GOLDZIHÉ.

BUDAPEST.

January 31, 1912.

¹ *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 55, l. 7, *infra*.

² *Mudkhal al-shar' al-sharīf*, Alexandria, 1293, iii, pp. 302 ff.

³ Cf. on this C. H. Becker in *Der Islam*, 1911, ii, 27.

⁴ De laatste Vermaning van Mohammed aan zijne Gemeente uitgevaardigd in het jaar 1880 n. Chr. : in *De Indische Gids*, July, 1884.

THE MEANING OF THE WORDS HOJĪ TASH

In one of my wife's Notes on the *Bābar-nāma*, JRAS. for 1909, p. 454, an entry in the Turkī language is quoted, referring to the gift of a manuscript of Bābar's Memoirs. The unknown writer says therein that the manuscript, now known as the Kehr MS., and the foundation of the Ilminsky volume, was given to him in 957 A.H. (1550) at a place or stage (*manzil*) called Hojī Tāsh. Now, though Hojī is written with a wrong *h*, and there is no dot to indicate that *kh* was the proper letter, there can be little doubt, I think, that the word intended is *Khawājah*. It might also be *Hājī*, but this is less likely. But we have been long puzzled to identify Hojī, or *Khawājah*, *Tāsh*, and books and maps have been searched in vain. I think, however, that I have now discovered that *Khawājah Tāsh* is a title, and that it means the "Master of Stonework", and that "the place called *Khawājah Tāsh*" is equivalent to "the place called Farhād". My ground is that in the canto of Nizāmī's *Khusrau and Shirin* which describes the suicide of Farhād, the unhappy lover of *Shirin*, the poet proceeds to moralize on the instability of life, and the flux of human bodies. He says Farīdūn and Kai-*Khusrau* (famous Persian kings) are now motes blown about by the wind, and then he adds, *Khawājah Tāsh* no longer lives and his breath is borne to and fro by the winds of autumn. Evidently by *Khawājah Tāsh* he means Farhād, and the allusion is to his skill as a sculptor and an engineer. As Nizāmī tells us, Farhād carved the likenesses of *Shirin* and of *Khusrau* and his black steed *Shabdiz* on the rock (at Tāq Bostān), and made a canal for *Shirin*, and was making a road for *Khusrau*—all for love of *Shirin*, whom he hoped to win as his reward—when he was treacherously slain by the false news of her death. If, then, *Khawājah Tāsh* be Farhād, the place called by the former name must in all probability be somewhere near Kirmānshāh or Bisitūn (Behistūn), and

so in the north-west part of Persia, for that is the only place where Farhād was employed. If this be so, and the date 957 be correct, the note cannot be by Humāyūn, for he had left Persia two or three years before. However, the fact of the misspelling of the word Khwājah or Hājī is sufficient to show that the note could not be by so highly educated a prince as Humāyūn.

H. BEVERIDGE.

"A HISTORY OF FINE ART IN INDIA AND CEYLON"

Two regrettable errors occur on p. 315 of my book in the citation of Mr. Havell's views on Tibetan painting. The quotation "splendid in drawing", etc., is applicable, not to plate xlix of *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, but to a large painting in Berlin; and the reference to Mr. Havell's criticism of his plate li is inaccurate. His praise refers only to the upper figures in that composition, and not to the principal figure, which he correctly describes as a "monstrosity" of "thoroughly degenerate type".

I cannot explain the lapse of attention which caused me to make incorrect notes on the subject, and can only express my regret at the inadvertent misrepresentation of Mr. Havell's opinions.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

January 16, 1912.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PREHISTORIC ANTHROPOLOGY
AND ARCHEOLOGY

The Fourteenth Session will be held in Geneva during the first week in September. Full information can be obtained from the Secretary, Dr. WALDEMAR DEONNA, 16 Bvd. des Tranchées, Geneva.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

The Fourth Session will be held at Leiden from September 9 to 13. Full information can be obtained from the SECRETARIAT, 71 Plantsoen, Leiden.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

- (1) BIBLIOTHECA BUDDHICA, XIII: MAHĀVYUTPATTI. Ed. J. P. MINAYEF. 2nd ed., with index, by N. D. MIRONOFF. St. Petersburg, 1911.
- (2) MEMOIRS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1-127: SANSKRIT-TIBETAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY, being an edition and translation of the *Mahāvyutpatti*, by ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KÖRÖS. Ed. by E. DENISON ROSS, Ph.D., F.A.S.B., and MAHĀMAHOPADHYĀYA SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀ-BHÜSANA, F.A.S.B. Part I.

The first edition of the *Mahāvyutpatti* by Minayef appeared in 1887, and was reviewed by Professor Zachariae in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1888, pp. 845 ff. It is now out of print. Minayef had at his disposition four MSS. (P, D, M, U), belonging partly to the University Library and partly to the Asiatic Museum at St. Petersburg, and one printed copy in the Tibetan character forming a part of the 123rd volume of the *Tanjur* (T.). The best among them is P, of which the editor gives a short description in his preface, pp. iii ff. There are two more MSS. in St. Petersburg (L and S) which Minayef could not use for his edition in 1887, but which he described in the manuscript notes contained in his own copy of the *Mahāvyutpatti*.

The present editor, N. D. Mironoff, states in his preface that in 1905 Professor Oldenburg suggested to him to prepare a new edition of the *Mahāvyutpatti* in which he would make use of the MSS. L and S and also of the copious notes, additions, and corrections he had found in Minayef's copy. The two new MSS. offered comparatively few additional readings, as we can see in the notes at the

bottom of the pages, which are only a little more extensive than in the first edition. The text also shows slight alterations in those cases only where the first edition had an evident misprint or where Minayef had inserted a correction in his own copy.

In this way most of the pages in both editions are identical. The only real difference lies in the fact that at the beginning of some paragraphs Minayef reproduces the heading, while Mironoff prefers to omit it. So, for instance, § 60 reads in the first edition: *indriyavaimātratā* 1, *mṛdvindriyaḥ* 2, *madhyendriyaḥ* 3, *tikshṇendriyaḥ* 4. In the second edition we have: *mṛdvindriyaḥ* 1, *madhyendriyaḥ* 2, *tikshṇendriyaḥ* 3. It is clear that *indriyavaimātratā* is only the heading of the paragraph, and if included in the text should certainly not have a number attached to it. The same occurs in § 77. The paragraph begins in the first edition: *Catvāri dharmasamādānāni* 1. Afterwards the four *dharmasamādānas* are enumerated, and that brings the number to five, which is certainly wrong. The same proceeding may be observed in §§ 81, 82, 100, 119, 120, 183, 208, 267, 269.

The principal advantage of the second edition is the excellent index, which reproduces every word of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* with its paragraph and number. All Sanskrit scholars should be thankful to Mironoff for this capital piece of work.

At the end of his preface Mironoff states that when the third part of his edition of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* had nearly left the press another edition of the same text appeared in Calcutta, but that he could not make up his mind to give an opinion about this edition for the present, and that he preferred to postpone it for a later occasion.

This leads us to the second part of our review. The editors of the Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary, Denison Ross and Vidyābhūṣana, tell us in their preface that they could not use Minayef's edition of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* for

the beginning of their book, but that they got it from Dr. Thomas, librarian at the India Office in London, when the first sixteen pages had already left the press.

The Calcutta edition is based on a MS. written by Csoma de Körös, the pioneer of Tibetan studies. I see from the preface, p. iv, that the Tibetan portion of the MS. needed little or no revision. With regard to the Sanskrit, this seems not to have been the case, as the editors were obliged to change the transcription of Csoma to that adopted by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and here and there also to correct the reading of the Sanskrit. The Tibetan portion of the text is not to be considered here—I leave this entirely to a Tibetan scholar—but about the Sanskrit portion I must say with regret that in spite of the corrections which Csoma's MS. has undergone in the hands of the Calcutta editors, a considerable number of mistakes has been allowed to stand in this edition. I shall prove this later on by quoting a number of words from § 186, and I hope that this review will come in time to permit the editors to correct similar mistakes in the second and third instalments of their edition.

As Minayef's and Mironoff's editions do not give any translations of the words in the Vocabulary, this is evidently the most valuable part of the Calcutta edition. Here also the editors have followed Csoma in nine cases out of ten, and they are certainly not to be blamed for doing so. Still, in some cases, for which examples are given in the preface, they have been obliged to correct Csoma's translation.

I shall now submit to the reader a number of interesting words from § 186, with their translations. R. designates the Russian edition, C. the Calcutta edition.

§ 186 R. = 34 C. gives the names of the degrees or classes among men.

No. 44 R. *bhatavalāgra* = 43 C. *ghatavolāgra*. Neither reading is satisfactory, but R. is supported by all MSS.,

while C. is an arbitrary correction of the Calcutta editors. The translation is not given.

No. 59 R. kāravālikaḥ = 57 C. karavālika (Taravārika), "he that carries the crooked sword." Both readings are equally correct, as we find them both in Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 788 Sch., and Taravārikā, ib. 782, Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, 2. 8. 54, and Hārāvali 133. Karapālikā occurs also in Pāli Abhidhānappadipikā 392. The commentator of Hemacandra calls it turushkāyudham, and this has induced Weber (*Indische Studien*, 16. 38) to suggest that it might be a Persian loan-word (just as *sphara* below). If it is Sanskrit the literary meaning would be "hand-protecting".

No. 71 R. daṇḍavāsika = 69 C. daṇḍavaśika. Daṇḍavāsika and the identical daṇḍavāsin (Triḥ. 2. 8. 24) can mean either "a doorkeeper" or "a village headman". The reading of C. daṇḍavaśika, and the translation "the keeper of a serpent" are supported by no authority.

No. 64 R. spharika = 62 C. papārika, "the shield-bearer." Spharika is evidently derived from sphara, "shield," Hem. 783. Zachariae, *Indische Lexicographie*, p. 67, takes it to be a Sanskritization of the Prākṛit pharao, but I think that Nöldeke (*Monatsberichte der Berliner Academie*, 1883, p. 1109) is right, who considers it as a Persian loan-word. Why the editors of C. have changed this into papārika I cannot tell.

No. 84 R. dhānuvādī = 82 C. dhanavādin. Both are evidently incorrect and the reading in the footnotes of R. dhātuvādī must be adopted. Cf. Hārāvali 195. The meaning is the same as that of the preceding khanyavādī, "skilful in discovering mines." C. substitutes dhanavādin (which is not to be found elsewhere) and translates "a broker" or "go-between".

No. 89 R. khatikaḥ = 87 C. khantika. The correct reading is khaṭṭika = māṃsavikrayī, a "butcher" or "seller of meat". See Hemacandra's Anekārthas. 3. 30.

No. 97 R. *bhraiṅgarikaḥ* = 95 C. *bhraiṅgarika* (?). The correct reading (if one is correct) must be that of R., as the second is no Sanskrit word at all, but the meaning is obscure. The St. Petersburg dictionary suggests that it may be a wrong derivation from *bhrīgāra*, "a water-jar," and identical in meaning with the following *sūpakāra*, "a cook."

No. 102 R. *palagaṇḍa* = 99 C. *palagaṇḍa*, "carpenter." This word is correct, and the translation as well. It occurs also in Pāli, *Abhidhānappadipikā* 506. Monier-Williams derives it from *pala*, "straw," but the second part remains obscure.

No. 113 R. *ṣilākuṭṭaḥ* = 110 C. *ṣilakuha*, "stone-cutter." The commentary on Hemac. *Anakarthas* ii, 82, explains it by *ṣilākuṭṭakaḥ puruṣaḥ*. There can be no doubt about the meaning of the word. The reading of C. is not to be found elsewhere.

No. 140 R. *maudrikaḥ* = 140 C. *mantrika*, "a writer, clerk, amanuensis." According to Böhtlingk and Monier-Williams *maudrika* is a maker of seals (*mudrā*). *Māntrika*, on the contrary, means "a sorcerer" (see *Maṅkha* 69), and this may be the correct reading here, as it agrees best with the preceding words *mauṣṭika* and *vidūṣhaka*.

No. 155 R. *kṛṣhivalaḥ* = 146 C. *kṛṣhipāla*, "a neat-herd." Both readings are here equally good; the second is the better from an etymological point of view, but the first is also supported by good authorities. See, for instance, Hemac. 890.

No. 168 R. *badhakaḥ* = 158 C. *vādaka* (*vādin*). The reading *vadhaka*, although supported by no manuscript, would be still better. In any case the meaning must be "murderer" or "hangman", as this only agrees with the preceding words and with the following *hananaṃ*, "putting to death." The reading of C. and the translation "petitioner" are totally out of place here.

I have reached the end of my review. In the chapter

which I have selected, we have found about a dozen words with regard to which the Calcutta edition and the two Russian editions do not agree, and in most of these cases the Russian reading has proved to be the better one. As for the translations, Denison Ross says in his preface that where any difference arises between the Sanskrit and the Tibetan, he has followed the Tibetan; and I certainly cannot blame him for this.

The present instalment represents about one-third of Csoma's manuscript. If in the following instalments the editors will be careful to stick to the Russian text, and to deviate only from it when there is a palpable reason (as, for instance, in the case of dhānuvādī above), I have no doubt that their work will be an excellent addition to Indian lexicography.

E. MÜLLER.

BERNE.

November, 1911.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA, BEING LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF CEYLON. Edited and translated by DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE. Vol. I, Part V. London, 1911.

In the fifth instalment of his interesting work Wickremasinghe gives us seven important inscriptions, of which only one (No. 18) is mentioned in my *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*. The rest was discovered by the editor and Mr. Bell during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Nos. 12 and 13 are pillar inscriptions dated from the first year of the reign of King Abhaya Salamevan, No. 13 from the month Hil (October–November), No. 12 from the month Undvaep (November–December). Wickremasinghe has found in the 51st chapter of the Mahāvamsa that Kuṭṭhaka, the chief captain of King Sena II, built the parivena Senāsenāpati and endowed it with great

possessions. This might induce us to identify the Kuṭṭhaka of the Mahāvamsa with the Kuṭṭhā of our inscription, and in this case the name of the king, Abhaya Salamevan, would correspond to Sena II (917-52 A.D.). But for different reasons, stated on p. 165, Wickremasinghe comes to the conclusion that Abhaya Salamevan cannot be identified with Sena, but rather with one of his immediate successors, either Udaya I (952-63) or Kassapa IV (963-80).

No. 14 is a slab inscription by Queen Līlāvati, found in Anurādhapura. Wickremasinghe compares it with the Abhayavaeva pillar (A.I.C., No. 157) of Lag Vijaya Singu Kit. I am ready to admit that I was wrong in stating (A.I.C., p. 69) that Lag Vijaya Singu Kit married Queen Līlāvati; he was only her chief minister. Abhā Salamevan is simply an epithet of the queen, and the first line of the inscription 157 should be translated thus: General Lag Vijaya Singu Kit, chief minister to Queen Abhā Salamevan Līlāvati, etc.

No. 15 is again a slab inscription, dated from the twelfth year of a king who calls himself Abhā Salamevan, and has been identified by Mr. Bell with Dappula V (991-1003). Piriheḷā, in line 40, is a gerund of piriheṇavā, "to deprive," as I have already stated with regard to the verbal noun pirihelima, with the same signification, in my edition of *Heranāsika* in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, p. 29.

Nos. 16 and 17 are pillar inscriptions, the first at Buddhanehāla, 47 miles from Anurādhapura, belonging to Vajiragga, the captain whom King Udaya I (952-63) sent with Prince Mahinda to quell a rebellion raised by Kittaggabodhi, the second at Moragoda, near the Padaviya tank belonging to King Kassapa IV, the brother and successor of Udaya I (963-80).

With regard to the translation I have only one observation to make. The word *mahavar*, C. 25, is translated by "chief artisans" on p. 171, and in the footnote

Wickremasinghe explains it by Skt. *mahākāra* or *mahā-ācārya*. He admits also the possibility to identify it with Skt. *matsyakāra*, "fisher," or *māmsukāra*, "butcher." The same word occurs in the tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale, B. 54 (*Ep. Ceyl.* 97, 112), and in the slab inscription of the same king near the stone canoe (*Ep. Ceyl.* 118, 120), besides on the pillar of Kassapa III in the jungle near Mihintale (A.I.C., No. 115, A. 3, C. 2). There Wickremasinghe translates it by "high roads", and in this sense it would correspond to the Skt. *Mahāpāra*. I believe that this meaning is the correct one, and that the translation on p. 171 must be corrected in this passage. The words *raḍ kol kaemiyan* are the subject and the words *suvar mahavar* are the object of the sentence. *Suvar* corresponds to Skt. *supāra* just as *mahavar* to *mahāpāra*. In this case the translation would run thus: "That the servants of the royal family should not enter the good roads and the high roads." In fact, nobody can understand why the goldsmiths or the butchers or the cooks or the fishmongers should be concerned in an edict in which the entrance of a certain temple property is forbidden to highway robbers, thieves, and murderers.

On the Moragoda pillar, B. 19, we find the word *pas-laduran*, which Wickremasinghe translates by "keepers of record books". In the note thereto he compares *paspot* in the Mihintale tablets, A. 54, rendered there by "register", the corresponding Skt. word being *pañcīkāpustaka*. In my translation of this passage (A.I.C., p. 117) I had rendered *paspot* by "five books", but I admit that Wickremasinghe's is better, especially with reference to the passage on the Moragoda pillar, where my rendering could not suit at all.

No. 18 is a rock inscription of King Gajabāhu I (177-99 A.D.) at Pālu Maekiccaeva. The square letters belong to the southern Brāhmī alphabet of the second century, and are similar to those of Nāsik, Kuḍā, and Sunnar.

Wickremasinghe has found out that the tank in the Upala district in question is the Vaḍamanaka tank, which, however, cannot be identified, and that the community of priests to which this tank was granted was that of the Thūpārāma at Anurādhapura.

Our best thanks are due to Mr. Wickremasinghe for the great care he took in editing these inscriptions. We hope that he will soon gratify us with a new instalment of his valuable work.

E. MÜLLER.

BERNE.

November, 1911.

DIE GESCHICHTE DER DALAILAMAS. Von G. SCHULEMANN.
Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1911. pp. 262; 8·20 m.

The priest-kings of Tibet are certainly of sufficient political and religious importance and interest to justify a special work devoted to their history. As a contribution towards such a systematic history, Mr. Rockhill published in 1910, in the *T'oung Pao*, an important mass of new material under the title of "The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their Relations with the Manchu Emperors". Yet, strange to say, this essential source of material is neither utilized nor even mentioned in the text of the book under notice, which was issued over a year later. By this omission the work loses materially in interest and completeness.

Herr Schulemann has compiled his volume from the miscellaneous references scattered through many books of travel and systematic accounts of Buddhism, the titles of which are mostly cited in the footnotes. It embodies, however, no new material and displays a tendency to discursiveness and the inclusion of much irrelevant matter. About one-third of the volume is taken up with introductory remarks upon topics having little or no direct bearing upon the subject of the book. The first chapter, extending to fifty-four pages, deals with Buddhism in

India, China, and elsewhere from its origin until Tsongkhapa's reformation; and the second chapter with the general features of that reformation itself, from which issued the yellow-cap sect. Although the Dalai Lamas eventually arose within this sect, voluminous remarks upon its general features are scarcely called for in a history of these hierarchs, especially as priest-kingship was established in Tibet several centuries before the yellow-cap sect originated.

In the account of the Dalai Lamas, which begins in the middle third of the book, we notice a want of accuracy on some elementary points, and even on the origin of the title *Dalai*. The old confusion between the terms *Dalai* and *Gyal-ba* in the belief that they were synonymous is repeated. As a fact, the designation *Dalai* (or properly *Talai*, as the present writer has shown in these pages from Tibetan sources) was a Mongolian title conferred by the dominant prince Altan Khan in 1576 A.D. upon the third of the series of yellow-cap hierarchs (as Rockhill long ago pointed out from Chinese sources); and not until two generations later did the Dalais attain the temporal sovereignty.

On the other hand, the epithet *Gyal-ba*, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Jina* or "The Victorious One", a common cognomen of the historical Buddha as well as the mystical supernatural Buddhas of the Quarters, which is now applied to the later Dalai Lamas, has not been shown to have been applied to the earlier *Dalais* or to their non-*Dalai* predecessors amongst the yellow-cap hierarchs of Lhasa. The later official Tibetan lists apply the term *Gyal-ba* also to a long series of Tibetan and Indian monks and more or less mythical personages stretching back to the mythical Avalokita himself. But this list, as the writer of the present notice has shown, was presumably the invention of the first sovereign Dalai Lama so late as the seventeenth century A.D., and merely a part of the

fictitious ancestry fabricated for himself and his two predecessor Dalai Lamas.

Amongst minor mistakes it may be noted that the vernacular form and etymology ascribed to the word *Darjiling*, namely "Dar-rgyas-gling" (IV and 145), is undoubtedly wrong. The word is certainly "rDo-rje-glin" (pronounced *Dor-je-ling*), or "The place of the rDo-rje (or *vajra*, thunderbolt)". It is thus written locally, and a legend of the thunderbolt is current at the shrine, the history of which is known and has been cited by the writer in his *Buddhism of Tibet*.¹ The current English form of the name owes its exchange of *a* for *o* to the later uninformed official system of Indian spelling—the earlier official forms having been until after Hooker's day *Dorjeling* and *Dorjiling*, in keeping with the actual pronunciation and true form.

For the preparation of a fuller history of the Dalai Lamas a large amount of new material is now available in the shape of numerous biographies and collected works of the Grand Lamas of Lhasa and Tashilhunpo, collected by the present writer in Tibet during the Younghusband Mission of 1904. These volumes are now deposited in the libraries of the India Office, British Museum, Oxford and Cambridge, with the rest of his collection, and await examination.

L. A. WADDELL.

GRAMMAR OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE. Part I: ACCIDENCE, by J. T. PLATTS; revised and enlarged by G. S. RANKING. Part II: SYNTAX, by G. S. RANKING. 8vo. Oxford, 1911.

There appears to be current an idea that the Persian tongue is of transcendent simplicity and beautifully easy to acquire. Doubtless the foot-rule which measures the

¹ See also *Place, River, and Mountain Names in Darjiling District and Sikkim*; by L. A. Waddell, in JASB., 1891, p. 69.

value of books by their thickness has helped in the formation of this opinion; doubtless a glance within the pages of Persian grammars themselves has demonstrated sufficiently its truth. Many grammars indeed of New Persian have been published in European tongues, and unfailingly they point out prefatorily or otherwise how extraordinarily unembarrassed by grammatical roughness is the path of the speech of the Land of the Lion and the Sun. Each grammarian travels rapidly and cheerfully in the steps of his predecessors, mayhap bringing a pebble that the microscope has discovered, and in the end all with mutual congratulations comfortably rest in the airy palace of fancy of the *Ashāb-i-vaqār* va *nāmūs* on the cushions of the ease of accomplishment incomplete.

سرائین نکتہ مکر شمع بر ارد بزبان

In short there has been really no Persian grammar of outstanding merit, no grammar comparable with those of the first rank that treat of the classical and modern European tongues. The Lecturer in Persian at Oxford has issued a revised and enlarged edition of the late Professor Platts' Grammar. That grammar, so far as it went, was undoubtedly the best English-Persian scholarship could show. Unfortunately it was never completed. The syntax, which his sound knowledge of the language would have given, never appeared, and students have had to chew the cud of patience whilst elaborating a syntax of their own from their own reading. To this new edition, however, Mr. Ranking has added a syntax. He has proposed to himself the construction of a systematic syntax modelled after a series of grammars concerning the quality of which ignorance on our part prevents any statement.

The object of a scientific syntax is to teach and explain the correct and idiomatic usage of a language in its entirety if possible. Mr. Ranking has made a pioneer effort to do so (though evidently the immediate object is to

assist in translating from English into Persian), not altogether unhappy, yet not in our opinion with entire success. It might have been fuller; there might have been less repetition; there should have been more examples with the names of all the authors attached. A student is not acquainted with the whole range of Persian literature, nor yet is he able to recognize at a glance a line of verse, and it is at least desirable for him to know whether a citation is prose or poetry, a distich from Firdausi or a sentence from the *Vazir-i-Khān-i-Lankurān*. Further, for the guidance of the student greater care should have been taken to point out constructions which, though classical, are to-day obsolete and those also which are most usual. One does not write or speak Elizabethan English. This is one great fault we find with the book, since there is no monition given as in the first edition. It is a matter of opinion, of course, but we should have preferred the Persian of Persia to-day considered as the norm, with the classical and pre-classical features subjoined in notes. This explains doubtless the reason for many omissions, and the summary way in which the prepositions are dismissed. The treatment of tenses is unsatisfactory. Much that is given in Part II of the Syntax will be found already stated in Part I or even in the *Accidence*. One of the most important subjects omitted is a thorough exposition of the collocation of words in a sentence. Is the student to suppose any order is permissible? He may then congratulate himself on writing such exquisite Persian as this: *نظر حاتم افتاد بر یک سر ناکاد*. A curious feature also is the repetition of examples. We have noted in the Syntax at least twenty-two given twice and not always for a different purpose. Perhaps this is a peculiarity of the method on which the syntax is based.

In order better to give our general impression we shall consider one of the sections, say that on the noun-clause. In the first place there is no definition of what a noun-clause

is, and secondly the "two great classes" are neither mutually exclusive nor yet complete. The division is also bad. To make A depend on the quality of the sentence (even though "that" is in Britannia type), and B on the introductory word, breaks a common rule of logical division. The term "that-clause" is objectionable. A clause introduced by "that" is not necessarily a noun clause. Examples § 49 (ii) and § 50 (i), p. 257, are repeated on p. 258. For ourselves we should consider the clauses in § 50, نکر تا مرا برخویشتن نکزینی, and § 62, تا درشتی هنر نپنداری, comparable with the Greek (σκόπει) *ὅπως μὴ ἐρείς ὅτι ἔστι τὰ δώδεκα δις ἑξ*, as so bordering on the final construction as to warrant their treatment under that head. Example in § 51 (2) is repeated on p. 267. § 64 is practically a repetition of § 51. The four examples in § 53 do not contain noun-clauses. We should think that پادشاه بر سلامت حالش شادمانی کرد is a simple sentence. Example in § 54 (3) is repeated from p. 233, and (4) is found again at p. 272. It is somewhat difficult to understand why the sentence in § 56, p. 260, بفرمود تا غلام را بدریا انداختند, should be said to have a noun-clause, and at p. 247 a consecutive clause, and again why on p. 261 بفرمود تا ویرا در زندان محبوس کنند should contain a noun-clause, and at p. 246 بفرمایم تا منادی کند a final clause, the result in each case being uncertain. In the examples in §§ 59, 60 we wonder where the noun-clause is. In § 61 the fourth example is found also at p. 236. In § 62 (4) and (5) have no noun-clauses, and the clause in (6), found also at p. 239, is final. Again, in § 63 (2) a schoolboy would not dare call چها دیدم چها کشیدم or چه خوش بودی noun-clauses without danger of chastisement. The term noun-clause has a definite fixed connotation in grammatical language, yet the author has used it not only wrongly but to include what looks like a miscellany of jottings gathered from

reading. A scientific grammar demands a precise use of terms, and either the Eastern grammatical terminology should rule uniformly throughout or the Western. § 64 deals with *Oratio Recta* and *Oratio Obliqua*. A more thorough and varied treatment would have given greater satisfaction. Surely it was not necessary to give twice the same example from the *Bahāristān* of *Oratio Obliqua*; besides, some texts give *بیابم* and *بفروشم* though the *Schlecta-Wssehrd* printed edition reads *بیابد* and *بفروشد*. Phillott in his edition of *Hāji Bābā* says the use of the indirect is on the increase. Less ambiguous examples, then, and more of them ought here to have been given.

As regards the *Accidence*, Professor Platts' work is too well known to require any comment. Mr. Ranking has made some additions and some alterations in arrangement. He has relegated the original verb-classification to an appendix, and substituted his own; the section on compound-words has been remodelled, and changes have been made in the part dealing with the Arabic verbal forms. Platts' Grammar deals with the classical language. In its revised condition one would have liked greater attention paid to present-day usage. Forms that are now disused might have been asterisked. Among the additions it might have been noticed that in a series of plural nouns *ان* or *ها* is very commonly added to the last only, and that in an adjectival series there is a peculiar and idiomatic use of the *اضافات* as conjunctive connective. Attention might have been drawn also to the adding of the superlative suffix *ترین* to the last adjective in a number, and to the fact that in the older and newer language the comparative *تر* is sometimes added to nouns (v. Nicholson's edition of the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliyā*, vol. ii, p. 9 of the Introduction). Again, *تا هم* as an adversative particle with the signification of "nevertheless" is not a Persian

idiom (cf. the Urdū and Hindī use of **तौभी**, **तویی**, in the principal clause in a sentence where the subordinate is concessive).

The section on Prosody, consisting of a short examination of metres and hints on scansion, is also the work of the reviser. We hold, however, with Salemann and Shukovski: "Im Baue des persischen Verses herrscht das streng prosodische Princip der altclassischen Sprachen, welches von der Quantität der Silben ausgeht," and think that for practical purposes the idea of vowels long and short together with the **نیم فاعله** will give best instant aid in the scansion of a Persian verse. The addition of this section is heartily to be commended. The book itself is well printed, and wonderfully free from typographical error. A greater variety of type would certainly not have been without advantages. The use of the lower case, for instance, to differentiate notes and remarks would have made for greater clearness in the presentation of the principal matter.

We have remarked the following:—

p. 81. **آلئ** instead of **آثار** (if at all) as present stem of **آغشتن**.

p. 138. **یای مصدری** for **یای مصدری**.

p. 226. **دید** for **دید**.

p. 235. **و** transliterated as *wa* and *o* when *va* and *u* occur regularly.

p. 250. **آپچه** for **آپچه**.

p. 251. **چنانست** for **چنانست**.

p. 262. **باز داشتند** for **باز داشتند**.

p. 262. **یادمی آید** for **یادمی آید**.

"At last," we said when we saw announced the publication of a scientific Persian syntax; "not yet," we now say. Nevertheless the grammar before us is the best and fullest in English, and now that the syntax-ground

has been broken we shall hope that Mr. Ranking may be able to change our "not yet" into "at last" by giving us a separate and complete treatise on Persian syntax, not framed upon any extraneous model but according to the plan which his great learning and experience shall suggest as most suitable to an Eastern language. Too long, as he says, has it been the custom to look on syntax in Persian as a quantity to be neglected, and to forget that in reality Persian is one of the most idiomatic of living or dead tongues.

J. S. HAIG.

BEAUTY: A CHINESE DRAMA. Translated from the Original by Rev. J. MACGOWAN. London: E. L. Morice, 9 Cecil Court, Charing Cross, 1911.

The Chinese are enthusiastic theatre-goers and will sit for hours entranced, watching the phantasmagoria of gorgeously attired actors in the silks and satins and plumes of bygone days, albeit the stage is well-nigh bare of our modern-day appanage of furnishing and scenic accessories. The plays themselves are short, but they follow one after the other with scarce any interval. Hence the idea in the West that Chinese plays last for days.

In this brochure we have one of these almost innumerable printed dramas of the Chinese put into English blank verse. Like many of the plays it is founded upon historical facts.

Though women are not allowed, as a rule, on the stage in China, many of the scenes which are enacted have for their motif romance in which, it is needless to say, woman has her fair share. The title of the story in this case is the name of the heroine, who lived some 1,800 years ago. Her tragic tale is most popular among the lovers of the drama in China. The Chinese story, whether told in the form of a novel or dramatized, is generally interesting, often most interesting; for we then get the intimate life

of the people pictured by those who are familiar with all its phases. The present drama is no exception to this rule, as scene succeeds scene in the course of the four acts. The story begins with a double dream. The Emperor dreams of a beauteous maiden, and the lovely girl dreams of the Emperor. Love at first sight, though the vision of each is in a dream. The dream must come true, so wills the Son of Heaven and so Heaven itself wills; but the powers of ill, personified in the villain of the piece, frustrate the rapid consummation of events, and when at last all seems well—the tragedy of it all—then Beauty's loyal sacrifice for the weal of her country.

Mr. Macgowan is well fitted for his task. He has spent a long life in China, is thoroughly familiar with the people and their language, and has the ability to put the Chinese verse into a good readable English equivalent.

The book is well printed and in its simple binding looks dainty and attractive.

J. DYER BALL.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM SEMITICARUM AB ACAD. INSCRIPTIONUM ET LITERARUM HUMANIORUM CONDITUM ATQUE DIGESTUM. Pars I: Inscriptiones phœnicias continens tom. ii, fasciculus quartus. Folio; pp. 417-579. Paris: E reipublicæ typographeo, 1911.

The latest instalment of the C.I.S. consists of a series of 648 inscriptions from Carthage, to which are added eight Neo-Punic ones, bringing the total of Phœnician inscriptions up to 3,251. At the first glance the monotony of this class of inscriptions is somewhat depressing, and one cannot but sympathize with the editors' final sigh of relief at the conclusion of a *longum et ingratum opus*. Yet it was by no means a thankless task, because every student of Semitic philology must feel deeply grateful to them for the untiring industry, accuracy, and comprehensiveness displayed in their reproduction of

the inscriptions and their notes thereon. Their suggestions in the restoration of missing letters in the fragmentary legends are, as a rule, happy, and even where the reader might differ from them there is little room for improvement. The sameness of the texts might be taken as a sign of stagnation in religious matters, and one might ask whether it was worth the trouble to collect, reproduce, and comment on every small fragment of these inscriptions. Now the conservatism visible in these votive tablets is itself a phenomenon of some interest, but of real importance is the great variety of persons' names which would certainly enrich the Semitic vocabulary if we knew the way to read them and how to determine their etymologies. This, of course, offers much material for speculation and research, and shows the necessity of preserving every scrap that has been unearthed.

The instalment before us contains a number of new names, many of which are quite obscure. The following survey gives these names in alphabetical order, together with some non-committing attempts at elucidating their meanings.

אנלפאם (3,000). In the second syllable the editors think of the Latin *lepus*. Might it not stand for *elephas*? We know of the extensive use made by the Punians of the elephant in warfare, and the image of the elephant appears on the coins of Juba I, king of Numidia (see Gesenius, *Monumenta phœn.*, tab. 42). The name might thus mean "elephant's strength" (?).

א*בל (3,189) is very happily explained by Dr. Slouschz, one of the editors, as **החבל** "sailor".

בעלברך (2,859), "Baal has blessed."

הגול (2,643). The possible readings suggested by the editors, **הגלו** or **הגלי** *Gallus*, have little to recommend themselves. Why not let it stand, viz. **הגול** cf. **بنونيهان** J. Dor. 235 and **سنيب** L.Ar. and Tāj Ar.

דרר (2,806) is compared by the editors to דרדע, but cf. דרד.

הלרפש (3,056). The suggestions of the editors are not convincing, though at present nothing better offers. Is it perhaps ἀδελφός?

השרן (3,092).

השק (2,877).

המי (3,179).

כנת (3,145). Cf. כנתתא (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 298).

מ*ם (3,138). The editors' suggestion מ[נ]ם Ma[na]ssus cannot be accepted off-hand, as one would expect מנש. Is it not מ[נ]ם Magus?

מסלוי (3,066) and מסלות (3,108), to which perhaps also belongs מסורי (Cooke, *Text Book*, p. 156). All three names might be ethnic forms of *Massilia*.

מקלא (3,049). To the suggestions given by the editors we might add the Mishnic מקלה (*Taanith*, ii, 2).

מתלא (3,141). The editors' *Metellus* is quite acceptable.

ססא (3,000). *Souso*.

סלם (3,134). *Sallum* (?)

ססר (2,882) is scarcely to be connected with סיסרא as the editors suggest. It might perhaps be connected with סרסר, which occurs several times in the well-known marble stele, British Museum, Cyprus, Room No. 31.

עברכרר (2,630).

*פל*פנ (3,148). Dr. Slouschz suggests פליפנא [Philip-pina]. With less violence to the spelling we might read it Πολυφώνη.

פצין (2,655).

*פפ (2,946).

רבין (2,909).

שמו (2,760) might stand for שמוע (Num. xiii, 4). Both names occur in Professor Sachau's *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*, etc., 8, l. 8; 9, l. 21; 17, l. 5, and 18, col. iii, l. 3. The same work contains a number of pottery stamps with

Phœnician names found in Elephantine. From this circumstance we may infer that commercial intercourse existed between this place and Carthage or the Phœnician mother country. Several of these names are quite new.

I have only to add that the reading רמן (2,632) is probably but a stonemason's mistake for חמן. There is no evidence that the Aramaic deity רמון (2 Kings v, 18) was worshipped in Carthage. The name אמתנעם (in the same inscription) probably stands for אמתנעם, cf. *Giddeneme* (*Pœnulus*, scene 3) = גרנעם. פן (3,153) is only a misprint for בן.

Appended to the volume is a concordance of the numbers of the inscriptions in the *Corpus* with the older collections, and, of course, very useful. The editors are to be heartily congratulated on the completion of the volume.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE CHINESE AT HOME. By J. DYER BALL, I.S.O., M.R.A.S.
8vo; pp. xii, 370. R.T.S., London. 5s. net.

Nearly fifty years residence among the Chinese, a close study of their literature, manners, and customs, an intimate acquaintance at first hand with the old regime, and a minute knowledge of the causes leading to the new order are no mean qualifications for a writer on China. Mr. Ball has already distinguished himself as a Sinologue, and his writings on Chinese subjects, his grammars and dictionaries of the Canton dialects, and treatises on the Chinese Classics have made him well known to students and residents in the Far East. His *Things Chinese* is a mine of information and one of the few indispensable working tools for the student of the Chinese people. One naturally turns with interest to a new volume from our author, for here we expect to reap the fruit of a rich experience.

The feeling of an old China hand in reading this book is one of familiarity. The whole atmosphere is as Chinese

as are the excellent reproductions in colour of sketches by native artists which are a feature of the volume. The book is a sympathetic study of a much described but little understood people. The oft-recurring phrases such as "the author came across a case in point" inspire the reader with a sense of security regarding the writer's interpretation of Chinese life.

The book is divided into twenty-seven chapters. There are seven coloured plates, six being reproductions of native drawings, besides numerous well-selected photos. It is only possible to make a selection in a short review. The chapter on "The Life of a Dead Chinaman" helps to reveal the secret of the amazing continuity of Chinese life and thought, and shows how the dead hand of the past has stifled China's progress. The chapter on "Fung Shui" also explains some of the causes at the bottom of the "arrested development" of China, and throws a flood of light upon the curious anomaly of a country infinitely rich in natural resources but remaining so miserably poor as China is.

The "Much Married Chinaman" gives a peep into the domestic life of the people. It will be surprising as well as refreshing to many in England to know that "in China the mother-in-law is held up to the highest respect and almost worship".

The chapter on "John Chinaman Abroad" should be carefully studied by all who are interested in the future relations of East and West. The Yellow stream is set towards the Occident, and no Exclusion Treaties will stem the tide. Some 200,000 Chinese annually migrate from the country, and a perusal of this chapter proves that such emigration is not necessarily an evil. One should read in connexion with this chapter that on "The Yellow Peril". Mr. Ball has done great service in revealing the real mind of China as expressed by her sages regarding war. "The idea that China will rouse herself in her hundreds of millions to overrun the Far West is a fevered dream . . .

not that Chinese brains are not capable of the formation of plans of warfare," but because by temperament her people are peaceable, and apart from external pressure will probably remain so.

There is a delightful chapter on "John Chinaman's Little Ones". "China is a land of children," and these "quaint mites of humanity" with their droll mixture of babyishness and maturity are very fascinating. "A population large enough to fill a kingdom peoples the rivers, etc., of China." "John Chinaman Afloat" is a vivid description of a little known part of the Celestial Empire. The section on opium, "The Drug: Foreign Dirt"—the Chinese name for opium—should be pondered well. The whole subject is controversial, and various opinions are held as to the regularity of its introduction into China, and the attitude of Britain regarding the trade. There is even disagreement about the effect of opium-smoking on the individual, and Mr. Ball's words, "body-ruining, mind-enfeebling, and soul-blasting drug," may sound strong, but one must remember that his experience as Registrar of Chinese and his intimate relations with them for years constitute him an authority.

The style is simple and forcible, and the book really enables the reader to understand the Chinaman. It is to be hoped that Mr. Ball in the leisure afforded him by retirement from the Civil Service will venture upon a larger and more ambitious examination of the Chinese character.

HARDY JOWETT.

A HISTORY OF FINE ART IN INDIA AND CEYLON. By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. Ret. pp. xix, 516. Oxford, 1911.

In this fine volume Mr. Vincent Smith has made the first comprehensive survey yet attempted of the whole field of

Indian Fine Art in all its branches from its beginnings to the present day. The field is a vast one, and it is dotted (if one may be allowed the expression) with isolated and fragmentary remains, often without ostensible connexion one with the other. A school of art springs suddenly to light and then lapses into obscurity, the next illumination of the scene disclosing something apparently entirely different. To deal adequately with such a subject on historical principles requires qualifications not easily to be found combined in one individual; historical knowledge, research, and accuracy, combined with critical faculty and æsthetic perception and tempered by a sane and balanced judgment, are part of the indispensable equipment of the writer who grapples with this task, and it may be fairly asserted that Mr. Vincent Smith does not fail when judged by this severe criterion.

The classification of subjects alone affords an index of the difficulties of dealing with such a comprehensive field. Should the art of each period be treated as a whole, or should each branch, painting, sculpture, or architecture, be dealt with consecutively? Some cross-division is inevitable, and the art inspired by rival creeds, Hinduism, Buddhism, or Muhammadanism, demands separate treatment. Mr. Vincent Smith's treatment is practical, if not always consistent. Hindu architecture, for instance, is treated in chap. ii from the earliest period to the present day, while Muhammadan architecture from the twelfth century till modern times is not dealt with till chap. xii, where it is placed with other foreign arts towards the end of the volume. Yet Hindu eighteenth century painting, which is equally an offshoot of Persian art, is dealt with in chap. ix, in immediate succession to the painting of Ajanta. Good reasons may be assigned for this treatment, and in fact there is no possible arrangement which would not be open to criticism of some kind. Roughly speaking, the indigenous styles have been dealt with first, but with them must be included

early importations of foreign methods (as in the case of Gandhāra sculpture). Later foreign influences are dealt with in chaps. xi to xiv, which are concerned with the Central Asian and Persian art, introduced by successive Muhammadan invasions.

Outside India proper the art of Ceylon has been rightly included, but no fixed rule seems to have been followed in dealing with the other countries into which Brahmanism or Buddhism were carried by migration. The sculptures of Java are dealt with, but not its architecture, while the great Hindu buildings of Kamboja are not mentioned. Siam is omitted, while Tibet is included. The subject of the colonizing of Further India and the Archipelago is a vast one, and might well form the subject of a separate treatise, but a partial inclusion (such as that of the Boro Budūr sculptures) is perhaps to be regretted. Javanese art (like Tibetan) can only be considered Indian in its original inspiration, and shows signs of such varying ethnical elements that it is very doubtful whether it should be classed as Indian, although it finds a proper place in a description of arts illustrating the Brahmanical and Buddhist religions.

These are minor points; the main substance of Mr. Vincent Smith's work is entirely satisfactory and provides an indispensable survey of the subject. The chapters on architecture are very full and useful, both as regards the early and mediæval styles and the Muhammadan architecture of later times. They may be compared with advantage with the latest edition of Fergusson, especially in the part relating to Muhammadan buildings.

Mr. Vincent Smith brings forward a new theory of the origin of the domed stūpa and of other roofs in early or later Hindū or Buddhist buildings (such as the curvilinear steeple of the modern temple), viz. that these forms are derived from an original constructed with

elastic bamboos bent in towards the centre. This theory (first applied to curved roofs by Mr. W. Simpson) has been extended by Mr. Vincent Smith to the domed stūpas, and certainly deserves careful consideration; if further research confirms it, a truly Indian origin has been found for these most interesting buildings, and this development is comparable to that of lithic from wooden forms in many well-known cases. In sculpture, on the other hand, as far as a judgment can be formed from the scanty remains of Asoka's time, the first impulse came from outside India. No other deduction can be drawn from the combination in the fine Sārnāth capital discovered in 1905 (plate xiii) of the lions on the abacus with a Persepolitan capital (also found in the slightly earlier pillar at Bakhirā). Mr. Vincent Smith does not accept Mr. Marshall's opinion that this capital may have been the work of an Asiatic Greek, but it is hardly possible to resist the conviction that this art proceeded from Persia, at that period under Greek rule, and less than a hundred years afterwards we find Heliodorus, son of Antialkidas of Taxila, erecting a monument to Vishnu at Besnagar, which shows how direct Greek influence may have been exercised. The railing at Bodh-Gayā (about a hundred years after Asoka's death) shows many motives derived from Asiatic Hellenistic art. The carvings at Barāhat (185 to 173 B.C.) also show unmistakable signs of outside influence, but display as well the power, so often found afterwards, of assimilating this influence and adapting it to Indian ideas. The same may be said of the Sāñchi sculptures and the work of the Gandhāra school, of slightly later date. (It may be remarked *passim*, with regard to the date of the Gandhāra sculptures, that Professor Oldenberg's theory dating Kanishka's accession in A.D. 78 is now by no means generally accepted, and that this event may probably be placed more than a century earlier. If this

be the case the commencement of the Gandhāra school of sculpture must be placed in the middle of the first century B.C. and not long after that of Sāñchī.) The great difference between the schools of Gandhāra and Barāhat and Sāñchī is, that while foreign elements are found in the latter, the treatment is purely Indian, while in Gandhāra there is very strong evidence of Hellenistic work, and in the best specimens the naturalistic treatment of the human body and the drapery shows that the sculptors had undergone something resembling Greek training. But here, too, the Indian feeling was strongly shown. This combination forms one of the most interesting problems in Indian art, parallel to the later treatment of Hindū subjects by Indian artists trained in the Persian school. In both cases the result has been a successful form of art, the rapid decline of which may be traced to political and social disruption rather than natural decay. The more purely Indian development of sculpture culminates in the Amarāwatī stūpa with unrestrained luxuriance of form and ornament, contemporary with, but apparently uninfluenced by, the later Gandhāra schools of the north. The latter, however, had an important offshoot in Mathurā, but its most important result was in Central Asia, where the remains recently discovered at Dandān-Uiliq, Turfān, and other places by Stein and v. Le Coq show the derivation of Chinese and Japanese Buddhist art from this source. The whole of this subject is very fully dealt with by Mr. Vincent Smith, and the latest discoveries of archæology are utilized.

In India proper Buddhist art soon disappeared, and was succeeded by a more debased form, that of the Hindū sculpture based on the Brahmanical revival and introducing the violent and distorted forms with which we are familiar in mediaeval and modern sculpture. When not extravagant it is stiff and weak, and the modelling almost

uniformly poor. Technical skill in carving is not lacking, and occasionally life-like figures are found in minor parts of reliefs, but these are few. The excessive laudations which have been lavished on the more successful specimens can only lead to disappointment in those who search through the depressing wilderness of mediaeval and modern sculpture for something pleasing and natural. The free and open-air life depicted so effectively in the relief-pictures of Sañchi, Barāhat, Gandhāra, and Amarāwati has disappeared, and it is rare indeed to find any reflection of the life of the Indian middle ages in the enormous mass of sculpture which survives. The Jain sculpture does not suffer from the extravagances of Paurānic Hinduism, but is stiff and lifeless.

To find sculpture with life in it we must go outside the limits of India proper. In Java, among an alien race with ethnic qualities manifestly differing from those of India proper, we find in the beautiful reliefs of Boro Budūr a revival of the glories of the early Buddhist sculpture, and in the smaller bronzes of Ceylon and some of those from Tibet there is often beauty and grace. The bronze-work of Southern India, as distinguished from Ceylon, is monotonous and lifeless as a rule. It may be doubted whether the pleasing figure of Pārvati (fig. 175) given by Mr. Vincent Smith is not really from Ceylon, as it reproduces the characteristic expression and attitude found in many of the minor Ceylon bronzes. There are few bronzes of more than a few inches in height. The fine figure of Pattinī Dēvī (in the British Museum) from Ceylon (pl. 1) is an exception, and but for the unnatural smallness of the waist it would be a very satisfactory work of art. Of the numerous figures of Siva dancing the Tāndava dance the Polonnāruwa figure (fig. 188) is perhaps the best, although the extra arm stretched across the breast is more than usually disfiguring. Several of these figures show life and grace, and it is to be regretted

that there is no good example in England, the British Museum specimen being heavy and not among the best of its kind.

The Ceylon art approaches nearer to the Indian than does that of Java; on the other hand, that of Tibet, inspired by Lamaistic Buddhism, though descended from the late Indian Mahayanist school, is yet Mongolian in style and sentiment, and can in no way be considered as Indian. Some of the bronzes of this school have considerable beauty; the small figure of Saraswati (pl. xli c) is extremely graceful.

Taking Indian sculpture from first to last Mr. Vincent Smith has given a masterly and exhaustive survey, and, without detracting from other treatises dealing with parts of the subject, it may be safely asserted that there is no other authority of an equally comprehensive nature.

Painting in India does not admit of anything approaching consecutive treatment. We have the sudden and early blossoming (probably under a stimulus from Central Asia) at Ajanta, Bāgh, and Sigiriya, of which an excellent and fully illustrated account is given in chap. viii, and then we spring across the ages to the Hindū adaptations of the Persian or Central Asian art brought into India by the Mughal conquest in the sixteenth century. The gap cannot be filled; in India there is practically nothing after the middle of the seventh century, and it can only be conjectured (see Mr. Vincent Smith's remarks on pp. 303 and 328) that the Indian artists who so quickly mastered the foreign style must have had some previous training; undoubtedly Hindus predominated among the artists of Akbar's time, as is shown on p. 470. No doubt in introducing this art from the laxer Shi'a communities to the more rigorous Sunnis of North India, Akbar was met by the religious difficulty which has crippled painting and sculpture in other Sunni lands, and was glad to find a body of native craftsmen hampered by no such prejudices.

Mr. Vincent Smith has perhaps exaggerated the special Hindū developments of this art. It seems to be merely Hindū, inasmuch as it deals with religious subjects and Indian tales, but in beauty of colouring it can hardly be considered equal to the art of Bukhārā and Persia. Both are minor arts, purely illustrative of narratives, and, in spite of all praise, this pretty form of painting, destitute of perspective and atmosphere, can never take the highest rank. Mr. Vincent Smith appears to consider that the principles of art established in Europe by centuries of practice and criticism are inapplicable to Oriental painting, and that its conventions must be persisted in; yet it seems doubtful whether a false system based on disregard of nature and its laws can ever be revived when once it is dead, and whether the true laws of sight applied with Indian patience and colour-sense may not ultimately result in a finer school of art than that which is now departed, even though the first results of the combination may not seem promising. Mr. Vincent Smith's criticism is on the whole moderate and sane, and supplies a wholesome counterbalance to some recent writings on Indian art which ignore its most obvious defects, and seem sometimes inspired as much by political as by artistic enthusiasm.

Some mention should be made of the minor arts—Hindū and Muhammadan—to which Mr. Vincent Smith devotes two interesting chapters (x and xiii). These deal with gems, coins, jewellery, gold and silver work, work in other metals, terra-cotta, tiles, and woodcarving. These chapters are excellent and far in advance of anything existing on these subjects. The most interesting finds of modern times are here described as well as the more familiar specimens. Thus we have the Kanishka casket, the Yusafzai pendant, and the Tānk patera, as well as the Bimārān reliquary and the Badakhshān patera. As regards the last it seems doubtful how far it may be

called Indian. Perhaps Græco-Persian would better denote its origin. The Tānk patera is undoubtedly Indian, and Mr. Vincent Smith's theory that the drinking figure and his female attendant represent a Yaksha and Yakshi, as in some of the Mathurā sculptures, is deserving of careful consideration, and may very probably be correct.

The selection of intaglios (p. 352) hardly seems adequately to represent this minor phase of Indo-Greek and Indo-Sassanian art, but the available specimens are not numerous. In coins Mr. Vincent Smith is an authority, and his description of such of them as have artistic merit is excellent.

Among the minor arts of the Musalmān period perhaps that of tile-making, not yet extinct, is one of the most interesting. (Some fine domed tombs decorated with modern blue and white tiles were erected a few years ago by a Baloch chief, Sir Imān Bakhsh Khān, to deceased members of his family at Rojhān on the North-West Frontier.) It may be noted here that the animal represented in the tile in plate *exi c* is an ibex, and that in plate *cxii a* is an urīal or wild sheep, which I have also seen as an intaglio on a cornelian ring. In neither case are they antelopes.

Taking Mr. Vincent Smith's work as a whole there can be no doubt that it is, and must remain, for several years to come, the principal authority on the fascinating and important topics with which it deals. It is a beautiful work, very fully illustrated, and the Clarendon Press as well as Mr. Vincent Smith must be congratulated on its appearance.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January, February, March, 1912.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

January 9, 1912.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. T. M. Ainscough.

Mr. Pulinkrishna Dé.

Miss Mary Foley.

Mr. A. P. Peters.

Babu Hira Lal Sood.

Mr. H. A. Thornton.

Mr. James Troup.

Mr. M. N. Venketaswami.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Hogarth gave a lecture on "Carchemish".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Tuckwell, Dr. Hagopian, and Dr. Pinches took part.

February 13, 1912.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Shambhu Dayal Bhatnagar.

Mr. H. Gipperich.

Rev. Percival Gough.

Babu Jogendranath Gupta.

Dr. Asutosh Roy.

Mr. R. N. Samaddar.

Thirteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Sir Charles Eliot, K.C.M.G., read a paper on the "History and Monuments of Cambodja".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Dyer Ball, Mr. Blagden, Mr. Dames, and Dr. Thomas took part.

March 14, 1912.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Talib Masih Alexander.
 Mr. Gerard L. M. Clauson.
 Babu Manomohan Gangooly.
 Rev. A. S. Geden.
 Dr. van Hinloopen Labberton.
 Pandit Sunder Narayan Mushram.
 Mr. Joseph Holdsworth Oldham.
 Mr. William James Perry.
 Mr. Jotindranath Samaddar.
 Mr. G. Tahoor.
 Mr. R. L. Turner.
 Mr. Raza Ali Wahshat.
 Rev. Godfrey Edward Phillips, M.A.

Two nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. R. Grant Brown, I.C.S., read a paper on "The Use of the Roman Character for Oriental Languages".

A discussion followed, in which the Rev. J. Knowles, Rev. Dr. Weitbrecht, Miss Ridding, Dr. Pollen, Mr. J. Dyer Ball, and Mr. Daniel Jones took part.

II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.
 Bd. LXV, Heft iv.

Weissbach (F. H.). Zur Keilinschriftlichen Gewichtkunde.

Littmann (E.). Tigre-Erzählungen.

König (E.). Neuere Stammbildungstheorien in semitischen Sprachgebiete.

Schmidt (R.). Beiträge zur Flora Sanskritica.

Grill (J.). Zur mandschurischen Übersetzung des Tao-tê-king.

Roeder (G.). Das ägyptische Mastaba-Grab.

Praetorius (F.). Bemerkungen zu Takla Hawäryât.

II. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. XXV, No. iii.

Bartholomae (C.). Mitteliranische Studien.

Grube (W.). Proben der Mongolischen Umgangssprache.

Charpentier (J.). Rgveda, viii, 100 (89).

Reich (N.). Aus der Sammlung der demotischen Papyri in der kgl. bayrischer Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München.

III. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Vol. XXXII, Pt. i.

Haupt (P.). Some difficult passages in the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge.

— The five Assyrian Stems *la'u*.

Vanderburgh (F. A.). Babylonian Legends. B.M. Tablets 87,535, 93,828, and 87,521.

Oliphant (S. G.). The Vedic Dual.

Gray (L. H.). The Dûtāṅgada of Subhāṭa translated from the Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Blake (Frank R.). The Hebrew Metheg.

IV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY.

Vol. XXXIII, Pt. vii.

Sayce (Prof. A. H.). The Hittite Inscription at Aleppo.

— Three Seal Cylinders.

Langdon (D. S.). Tablets from Kiš.

Ball (Rev. C. J.). A Study in Biblical Philology.

Hall (H. R.). Two Coptic Acknowledgments of Loans.

V. TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR INDISCHE TAAL-, LAND-, EN VOLKENKUNDE.
Deel LIII, Afd. 5-6.

Rapport supplémentaire concernant le pays d'Asahan.

Krom (N. J.). L'inscription de Nglawang.

Rinkes (D. A.). Les Saints de Java.

Erp (T. van). Notices Archéologiques. (7 planches.)

Juynboll (Th. W.). La date de l'építaphe de Malik Ibrāhīm.

VI. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT.
TOME XI, NOS. 1-2.

- Huber (Ed.). Études Indochinoises.
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TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

The Medal for 1912 has been awarded to Mr. J. F. Fleet,
C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (ret.), for his distinguished work in
Indian Epigraphy, History, and Chronology, in which
subjects he is the foremost authority in England as well
as in foreign countries.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
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1912

XVII

NOTES ON SOME SUFI LIVES

By H. F. AMEDROZ

BY the recent appearance in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" of vol. xvii, the *Kashf al-Mahjûb* of Dr. R. A. Nicholson, preceded, as it was, rather closely by the Treatise on *Mysticism* of Evelyn Underhill, the Eastern as well as the Western manifestations of the mystical spirit are portrayed. Dr. Nicholson is concerned exclusively with the former, which in *Mysticism* are but lightly touched on, its subject being that *Mysticism* which is dependent on a specific religious impulse, and is thereby distinguishable from Pantheism.

The number of accredited Western mystics throughout the ages seems to have been small: their list in the appendix to *Mysticism* scarcely reaches three figures. This is perhaps not matter for regret. What Gibbon says (chapter xxi) of abstruse questions of metaphysical science, may be said too of the problems involved in mysticism, that it must often have been those least qualified to judge who aspired to do so, their weakness for the task being measurable by their degree of obstinacy and confidence. The mystic's aim is to escape from the world of sense and perception; his goal is to become in some way identified with, or merged in,

Reality or the Absolute¹; his path is throughout assumed to be upwards; and the warrant for his attaining his goal is solely his own confident and ecstatic assertion that he has attained it. Mystics, we are told in *Mysticism* (p. 26), far outdistance "the votaries of intellect, or of sense"; and again (p. 43) that "they stand head and shoulders above ordinary men"; they are "the pioneers of the spiritual world"²; and (p. 5) that "we have no right to deny validity to their discoveries, merely because we lack the opportunity or the courage necessary to those who would prosecute such explorations for themselves". Substituting here a lack of "the leisure or the inclination", as in no way detracting from the roundness of the sentence, its logic, it may be observed, would have disqualified most of us from distrusting Dr. Cook's narrative of his journey to the North Pole. For we are warned (*ibid.*) that "we must not begin to talk of the unreal world of these dreamers until we have discovered—if we can—a real world with which it may be compared". In the case put, only the South Pole would have fulfilled the requirement.

In truth the mystic's unvarying and unhesitating confidence of success, whatever may have been his intervals of doubt and despondency, is very akin to that

¹ "Reality" is defined (p. 40) as "an independent spiritual world unconditioned by the world of sense"; the "real life, spirit" is to be preferred to the "lower life of sense"; not "existence, the superficial obvious thing," but "substance, the underlying verity," is to be our home (p. 207). The better antithesis would seem to be "Annihilation of our thought of phenomena", the Sufi's ultimate goal.

² The majority of the names in the Appendix are of small weight in the world's annals, and it is not as mystics that some of them, such as Aquinas, Dante, or even William Law, are known. The contention on p. 541 is staggering: "When science, politics, literature, and the arts—the domination of nature and the ordering of life—have risen to their height and produced their greatest works, the mystic comes to the front, snatches the torch and carries it on. It is almost as if he were humanity's finest flower. . . ." The Renaissance, then, blossomed into St. John of the Cross and St. Rose of Lima.

"certainty" insisted on by Newman in his *Grammar of Assent*, and is open to the same objection, viz. that experience shows that no degree of certainty, however strong, can be conclusive evidence of the facts believed. Such certainty may, and does, prove a whole-hearted enthusiasm and a predisposition to be convinced—but nothing more. Certainty is attainable, if at all, by another method, and the rival processes are illustrated in Froude's criticism of Newman¹ by the contrast he draws between the gravely and cautiously formed conclusion of the scientific investigator, and the school-girl's determination that the weather is going to be fine,—she having this advantage, that she is quite convinced the fact will be as she believes. In *Mysticism*, too, p. 287, occurs a highly suggestive comparison of the mystic's perception of his "illumination"—his half-way house to his goal—with a lover's conviction of his mistress' perfection. Precisely so: his wish is father to the fact he believes.

The imperfections of our sense impressions are also emphasized, and young idealists are invited (p. 8), as a useful exercise, to consider what would be the result were our senses, at the bidding of some mischievous demiurge, to exchange duties, so that we came to hear colours and see sounds. But most of us in our youth, whether idealists or not, must have been faced by the problem—

"If all the trees were bread and cheese,

And all the sea were ink,"

without any resulting anxiety.² A simple method of

¹ *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, 1872, vol. ii, p. 124.

² A very similar problem exercised the mind of an eminent Sufi, Shakkī al-Balkhī. His pupil, Hātim al-Aṣamm, quoted to a Christian monk a saying of Shakkī: "If the skies were brass and the earth iron, rain and vegetation would cease, and were all people from end to end of the earth dependent on me, I should remain unconcerned."

لو كانت السماء نحاس والارض من حديد فلا السماء تمطر ولا الأرض تنبت وكان عيالي ما يمين الخائفين لم أبالي
The monk

foiling the demiurge would be to shift the terms used to denote these frolicking senses.

Nor is *Mysticism's* terminology of the clearest. We are told (p. 40) that the mystic "knows reality because he is real"; and (p. 49) that he attains Being because "only Being can know Being"; and again (p. 146), that "the soul, according to mystic principles, can only perceive Reality in proportion as she is real"—aphorisms which recall the sentiment that "who drives fat oxen should himself be fat". Some of the dicta are more striking than convincing. Thus (p. 87), "the light that never was on land or sea" is, to the favoured few, a "scientific statement"; the mediaeval mind (p. 91) "gave to music a cosmic importance, discerning its operation in many phenomena which we now attribute to that dismal figment, Law"—law being used, presumably, rather in its sense of an unvarying rule of nature than of (*inter alia*) the protector of the author's copyright. A luminous saying of Jalāl-al-Dīn (p. 38, repeated by the author in a recent article in the *English Review*, 1912, p. 522), "Pilgrimage to the place of the wise is to find escape from the flame of separation," is called "the mystic's secret in a nutshell"; and again (p. 127), certain lines of Blake of the "more inspired", and therefore more unintelligible, character are declared to contain a prominent Christian doctrine "in a nutshell". In a nutshell, too, it was that another, and not less inspired, poet set himself to describe the Higher Pantheism—the Pantheism "to which the mystics always tend" (p. 144)—and his concluding couplet may well be cited here—

"God, whom we see not, is: and God, who is not, we see:

Fiddle, we know, is diddle: and diddle, we take it, is dee."¹

advised him to quit a teacher who indulged in such baseless fancies;

لأنه يفكر فيما لم يكن كشف كان (*Mir'at al-Zamān*, B.M. Or. 4618, 102^v, l. 18).

¹ "The Higher Pantheism in a nutshell," in *The Heptalogia, or, the Seven against Sense* (a cap with seven bells); London, 1880.

Dr. Nicholson may be held, therefore, to have been well advised in subjecting his work to a scholarly treatment rather than, as suggested by the reviewer in the *Athenæum* of May 27, 1911, in seeking to make it attractive to the general public. "Austere scholarship" may, in their eyes, have its drawbacks, but to those whom Dr. Nicholson is immediately addressing it is welcome. It implies, moreover, the exclusion of the element of propaganda, which in *Mysticism* is undeniably present.

The *Kashf al-Mahjûb* is stated to be the most ancient Persian treatise on Sufism. The language and the subject are equally outside my knowledge, but the authorities on which the author relied were Arabic, and the transliteration of the sayings quoted throughout the volume shows that they reached him in that tongue.¹ This led me to search for their originals in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣāfiyya* of Sulami, B.M. Add. 18520, where many of them are given. Some of these occur, with others added, in the copious Ṣūfī obituary notices in the *Mir'āt al-Zamān* of Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi, B.M. Or. 4618, covering A.H. 219-79, in his grandfather's *Muntazam*, B.M. Or. 3004, covering A.H. 228-89, and in the *Ta'riḫ al-Islām* of Dhahabi, Leyd. Cod. 1721 (Rev. Cat. No. 843), B.M. MSS. Or. 48*, Or. 48, Or. 49, and Or. 50, covering A.H. 241-490. The yield from these sources may be of interest. The Ṣūfī, if not a man of much action, was assuredly a man of many words: their sayings gave rise to a copious literature. Sulami, himself a Ṣūfī, composed, besides the *Ṭabaḳāt*, other works on Sufism, viz. *Ta'riḫ al-Ṣāfiyya* and *Miḥan al-Ṣāfiyya*, both quoted by Dhahabi,

¹ The oldest extant treatise on Sufism in Arabic is said (Preface, xxiii) to be the *Kitāb al-Luma'* of Abu Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. A.H. 378, Dhahabi, B.M. Or. 48, 155^b); this text Dr. Nicholson intends publishing in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" series from a MS. in the possession of Mr. A. G. Ellis. Lately the British Museum also has acquired a complete and legibly written MS. of the work, of A.H. 548 (Or. 7710).

and perhaps used by the author of the *Kashf*.¹ It is, however, from deeds rather than from words that the truth should be sought, and by this test it would appear that in two important respects the Sūfi differed from the Western mystic: he was not averse either from learning or from domestic life. Many of them handed down traditions, wrote polemical treatises, and were intimate with jurists of eminence. In the case of Ibn Khafif (noticed *Kashf*, pp. 158, 247) his four hundred marriages are stated, and very plausibly, to have been nominal, and to have implied on the wives' part the seeking rather a blessing than an establishment, but he is described to us as advising his hearers to stick to study, and to pay no heed to any Sūfi warnings to the contrary; he himself had pursued learning under difficulties, and those who foretold his failure, in the end found him of service to them.² And we find him in discussion with his teacher, the eminent Shafeite jurist Ibn Suraij (d. A.H. 306, Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. i, 46), who demonstrated from the Kurān that

¹ Dr. Nicholson assumes (Preface, xxiii) that the work of Sulami referred to by the author of the *Kashf* is the *Tabaḥāt*, but the *Ta'rikh* may be equally intended, and this might account for the discrepancy mentioned p. 114, n. 1. The *Mihān* is quoted in Leyden, 1721, 6^a, and B.M. Or. 48*, 100^a, l. 6, the *Ta'rikh*, ib. 47^a, and Or. 48, 70^a, 100^a, etc.

Dhahabi says of Sulami, ib. 149^a: [محمد بن أبي بكر الرازي] حكايات منكره من حكايات القوم.

قال ابن باكويه: نظر ابو عبدالله بن خفيف يوماً الى ابن مكتوم وجماعته من اصحابه يكتبون شيئاً فقال: ما هذا. قالوا: نكتب كذا وكذا. قال: اشتغلوا بتعلم شيء ولا يغرّنكم كلام الصوفية فاني كنت اخبأ محبتي في جيب مرقعتي والورق في حجرة سراويلي واذهب خفية الى اهل العلم فاذا علموا بي خاصموني وقالوا: لا تفلح. ثم احتاجوا اليّ (B.M. Or. 48, 129^a). وابن مكتوم هو محمد بن الحسن (ib. 149^a, l. 14). وابن باكويه هو محمد بن عبد الله الشيرازي (Ansāb, 344^a, 18).

the love of God is obligatory¹; Bistāmi (p. 106) said that the disagreement of the learned was essential to the observance of the precepts of divine knowledge²; and Ruwaim (p. 135) held that dissension was essential to Sūfi well-being.³ When the Sūfi Shaikh Abu-l-Faḍl al-Sahlaki met the jurist Abu Ishāq al-Shirāzi (Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. i, 9) at Bistām on his return from his mission from the Caliph to Nizām al-Mulk, he was treated as an equal with much courtesy (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 81).⁴

And the Sūfi appears constantly as a "family man". The author of the *Kashf* discusses the question of marriage, and leans somewhat in favour of celibacy (see pp. 360-6, the last of these pages putting a case very similar to that of Tristram Shandy), but Sūfi practice tended in the other direction. Junaid (p. 128), when a slave-girl was unexpectedly bestowed on him, gave her to a brother Sūfi, by whom she had a fine boy (Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. i, 339); Ruwaim (p. 135), reproached for having deviated from Sufism into the service of the State, (for that is the truth of the *Kashf* statement that he "hid himself among the rich"), protested that he had been compelled to this

قال ابن خفيف : سألنا يومًا القاضي أبو العباس بن سريج بشيراز ونحن محضر مجلسه ليدرس الفقه فقال لنا : محبة الله فرض أم لا . قلنا : فرض . قال : فما الدليل . فما منا من أجاب بشي⁵ فسألناه فقال : قوله تعالى " قل إن كان آباؤكم وأبنائكم " الآية (ix, 24). قال : فتواعدهم الله على تفضيل محبتهم لغيره على محبته والوئيد (B.M. Or. 48, 128^b). لا يقع إلا على فرض لازم

ما وجدت شيئًا أشد على من العلم ومتابعته ولو لا اختلاف ما وجدنا العلماء لمقبول متحيرًا (B.M. Add. 18520, 14^b).

قال رُويم : لا تزال الصوفيّة بخير ما تفاقوا فإذا اصطالحوا اهلكوا (ib. 39^a).

⁴ Dhahabi (Or. 50, 150^a) tells how Sūfi women met Abu Ishāq and threw their rosaries into his litter in the hope of a blessing through contact with his person.

reluctantly allowed his garment to be cleaned, stipulating that its inhabitants (*kaml*) were not to be injured, and on its return cleaned, said that the change was to him a matter of indifference. Stories of self-inflicted sufferings among *Šūfis* are constant. The notice of Bishr al-Hāfi (p. 105) in the *Mir'āt al-Zamān* (B.M. Or. 4618, ff. 51-7) is a record of exaggerated austerity. He deplored his birth, wept until his eyes suffered, courted cold to emulate the poor, and refused food prepared by his sister, as he could not be sure whence it had come. Bisṭāmī (p. 106) refused to dry his clothes on a tree for fear of injuring its branches, and used his own back instead (ib. 206^a, l. 3 a.f.). Khair al-Nassāj (p. 145) submitted to being wrongly claimed as a slave, "deeming this to come from God" (which would have been true, too, of his resistance, and, moreover, is an amplification of the version in *Ṭabaḳāt*, 73^a; as is also the master's "repentance", and the sight of the "Angel of Death"); and the conduct of Abu Ḥamza Khurāsānī (p. 146) completely traverses the dictum that God helps those that help themselves, for on what principle he, after ignoring the help of the thoughtful wayfarers, made use of the dragon's tail to escape from the pit, is a mystery indeed. Ibn al-Jauzi, who was a man of approved piety, tells this story of Abu Ḥamza Baghdādi, and adds that his silence in such a case, i.e. when in peril of life and with help within call, was contrary to revealed law.¹ Of Ibn Khafif (p. 158) Dhahabi says that, wrongly suspected of theft from a shop, he decides on resignation (*taslīm*), and is silent. When condemned by the Amīr to lose his hand he recognizes in him a former slave of his father, answers his Arabic by Persian, and is answered by a *kunya* which he had borne only in his youth. Emotion on the Amīr's part follows; next the real thieves are caught; and

¹ وسكوتہ فی مثل هذا مخالف للإشرع (B.M. Or. 3004, 203^a).

finally, the Amīr, in lofty, if undeserved self-reproach, undergoes a self-inflicted penance.¹ Akṭa' (mentioned p. 304, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 397) is also noticed by Dhahabī (Or. 48*, 47*). He actually did lose his hand for wrongly imputed theft, and refused to have the stump treated. In a night vision he saw the Prophet lay hold of his hand, and in the morning he found it healed.

Throughout these stories the element of legend is, of course, prominent. The marvellous is, indeed, ever liable to accretion, and to this the pages of the *Kashf* bear witness. Ibn Adham (p. 103) is reproved there by an antelope "in elegant language"; in the *Ṭabaḳāt* his game is a hare, or fox, and the voice proceeds from the pommel of his saddle.² The additions to the story of Nassāj have been mentioned. And in the case of Shibli (p. 155), according to both *Ansāb*, 329*, l. 14, and Dhahabī, Or. 48*, 227*, it was not he, but his father, who was chamberlain, and not to the Caliph, but to Muwaffak, on whose deposition from the succession he lost his place—an unexpectedly tangible result of that proceeding.

On the other hand, the *Kashf* narrative discloses likewise omissions, due conceivably to the author's inability at times to put a Persian sense on his Arabic original.

فَنظَرْتُ إِلَيْهِ فَعَرَفْتُهُ وَكَانَ مَمْلُوكًا لَوْلَادِي فَكَلَّمَنِي بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ وَكَلَّمْتُهُ
بِالْفَارْسِيَّةِ فَنَظَرَ إِلَيَّ وَقَالَ : أَبُو الْحُسَيْنِ . وَكُنْتُ أَكْتُبُ بِهَا فِي صَبَائِي
فَتَحَكَّكَتُ فَعَرَفَنِي فَأَخَذَ يَلْطَمُ رَأْسَهُ وَوَجْهَهُ وَاشْتَغَلَ النَّاسُ بِهِ فَإِذَا
بِضَجَّةٍ عَظِيمَةٍ وَأَنَّ اللَّصُوصَ قَدْ مَسَكُوا فَذَهَبَتِ النَّاسُ وَرَأَيْتُ وَأَنَا
مُلْطَخٌ بِالْدمَاءِ جَائِعٌ لِي أَيَّامٌ لَمْ أَكُلْ فَرَانَنِي عَجَبُوزٌ فَقَمِيرَةٌ وَقَالَتْ :
أَدْخُلِ الْبَيْتَ . فَدَخَلْتُ وَلَمْ يَرْنِي النَّاسُ وَغَسَلَتْ وَجْهِي وَيَدَيَّ فَإِذَا
الْأَمِيرُ قَدْ أَقْبَلَ يَطْلُبُنِي فَدَخَلَ وَمَعَهُ جَمَاعَةٌ وَجَرَّ مِنْ مَنْطَقَتِهِ سَكِينًا
وَحَلَفَ بِاللَّهِ وَقَالَ : أَنْ أَمْسُكَنِي أَنْسَانٌ لَأَقْتُلَنَّ نَفْسِي . وَضَرَبَ بِيَدِهِ
رَأْسَهُ وَوَجْهَهُ مِائَةَ صَفْعَةٍ حَتَّى مَنَعَتْهُ أَنَا ثُمَّ اعْتَذَرَ (B.M. Or. 48, 128*).

² (B.M. Add. 18520, 3*).

The notice of Makki (p. 138) is taken up mainly by a story of his curing a youth by causing verses to be chanted to him. The first couplet was a hackneyed one; it occurs *Agh.* xx, 182, and in the *Umdat* of Ibn Rashīq, Cairo, 1325, i, 23, and it is applied by the poet Ibn al-Ḥajjāj to his own case in *Hilāl al-Ṣābi*, 431; and in all the versions it is not a slave, 'abd, but a dog, kalb, who is supposed visited in illness. The next couplet cures the youth, and in *Ṭabaḳāt* we are given Makki's explanation why this was so, and it may well be that the author of the *Kashf* found the explanation a dark one.¹

Another omission seems to occur on p. 153. The Persian equivalent of the transliterated Arabic words, "speaking tongues are the destruction of silent hearts," imports a contrast not present in the Arabic. But the *Ṭabaḳāt* version has added words² which do introduce the soul, *nafs*, and it may be that the Persian was a free rendering of both the sentences.

Ḥamdūn al-Kaṣṣār, in expounding the doctrine of Blame, *malāma*, says (p. 66) that it is a compound of the Hope which characterized the *Murjiyya* sect³ and the Fear

فَسُئِلَ عَمْرُو عَنْ ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ : إِنْ الْإِشَارَةُ إِذَا كَانَتْ قَبْلَ السَّمَاعِ
كَانَتْ مِنْ قَبْقُوقٍ فَالْقَلِيلُ يَشْفِي وَإِذَا كَانَتْ بَعْدَ السَّمَاعِ كَانَتْ مِنْ
كَانَتْ مِنْ قَبْقُوقٍ فَالْقَلِيلُ يَشْفِي (B.M. Add. 18520, 45^a). I am indebted to
Professor Goldziher for a meaning, which he declares to be only tentative.
"If the illumination precedes the *Simā'* it is of a higher sort, and a little
music suffices to cure; if, however, the *Simā'* be applied to an un-
enlightened person whose enlightenment comes only later, then it is of
a lower order, and the *Simā'*, being profane in character, may be injurious."
The Professor concludes: وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ.

[أَلْسِنَةٌ مُسْتَنْطَقَاتٌ تَحْتَ نُطْقِهَا مُسْتَهْلِكَاتٌ] وَأَنْفُسٌ
مُسْتَعْمَلَاتٌ تَحْتَ اسْتِعْمَالِهَا مُسْتَهْلِكَاتٌ (B.M. Add. 18520, 70^a).
Professor D. S. Margoliouth has solved this saying thus: "The tongue
when made to speak is made to perish thereby; and the soul, when
made subservient to some worldly purpose, meets the like fate."

² Ma'mūn held the tenets of this sect to be proper for kings:
قَالَ الْعَامُونَ : الْأَرْجَاءُ دِينُ الْمُلُوكِ (Ibn abi Ṭāhir Ṭāifūr, B.M. Add.
23318, 34^a).

which was incident to *Kadari* tenets. Dhahabi makes him go on to say that the combination of the two was needed, inasmuch as unmixed fear induced despair and unalloyed hope led to a lack of humility,¹ which is a very intelligible position. The author of the *Kashf* detects in the opening words "a hidden meaning", and he is but moderately successful in unearthing one.

To represent *Ṣūfī* dicta by words is difficult—in their view wellnigh impossible—but the profane should be aided in the attempt by having before them the dicta as uttered. In some cases the author of the *Kashf* quotes them inaccurately. On pp. 245–6 we are given "subtle indications" on the subject of *fanā* and *bakā*, terms which Dr. Nicholson has elsewhere rendered by "annihilation of our thought of phenomena" and "perpetuation of our thought of God". On this subject sayings by Nahrajūri and by Shaibāni are quoted, which appear also in *Ṭabaḳāt* and in Dhahabi, and more correctly.² The former makes the perfect state to consist in the passing away of the aspect of man's worship, and its replacement by an abiding perception of the deity's presence in all his acts here below. The latter holds perfection to hinge on man's true attainment of the higher state, working in conjunction with his true mystic development here below, i.e. *ikhlas*, not "and",

وَسُبُل (حمدون) عن طريق العلامة فقال : خوف القدرية ورجاء المرجية يعنى كلاهما معاً فان من ركب الخوف المقلق فقط ومن سلك الرجاء الدائم ذهب خشوعه (Leyden, 1721, 123^b).

قال التبرجوري في الغنا والبقا : هو فنا روية قيام العبد لله وبقا روية قيام الله في الاحكام
قال ابو اسحق القرويسيني (يعنى ابراهيم بن شيمان) : علم الغنا والبقا يدور على اخلاص الوجدانية وصحة العبودية وما كان غير هذا فهو من المغاليط والزندقه

(B.M. Add. 18520, 87^a, 92^b; and Or. 48^a, 193^a, 233^a).

but "of" *wahdāniyya*, this applying to the higher state towards which man is to strive, whereas *'ubūdiyya* refers to man's lower attitude of worship. Such is the explanation, if I have rightly grasped it, for which I am indebted to Professor Snouck Hurgronje. The author of the *Kashf* proceeds to give the "real gist" of the sayings, and in a cloud of words.

Again, certain experiences of Bistāmi on his pilgrimages (*Kashf*, 107, and again 327) are described by the author as a "subtle tale", which indeed is true of his version, but the subtlety seems in part due to his blundering. A different and fuller version is given in the notice of Bistāmi in Or. 4618.¹ In the *Kashf* version his third pilgrimage is a success, and is not calculated to awake his repentance. But in the text below, on that occasion he sees neither the house nor its master nor the people.

حججبتُ أول مرة فرايتُ البيت واسمُ ار صاحب البيت
وحججبتُ ثانيًا فرايتُ صاحب البيت ولم ار البيت وحججبتُ
ثالثًا فلم ار البيت ولا صاحب البيت ولا الناس فقلتُ : مَنْ مِثْلِي
وقد وصلتُ الى هذه الحالة . وعجبتُ ففتفتُ بى هاتفتُ : اعجبتُ
أذهب فلا حاجة لنا فيك . فتبتُ ايامًا في البادية على وجهي
لا أكل ولا اشرب ولا انام فمررتُ بدَيْرٍ فيه راهبة فقلتُ : هذا مكان
طاهر اصلي فيه . فقالت : طهر قلبك وصل ان شئت . فدخلتُ
دَيْرًا فرايتُ قومًا يعبدون الصليب فغرتُ وقلتُ : ويحكم أتعبدون
مَنْ يضر ولا ينفع وتدعون عبادة مَنْ ينفع ولا يضر . ففتفتُ بى ذلكُ
الياتفتُ : محن في غنا عمن تضحك أذهب فلا حاجة لنا فيك .
فقلتُ : ما بقى بعد هذا حديث . ثم قلتُ ليراهب : ناولنى زُنارًا .
فناولنى فقلتُ : ما بقى غير شد الزنار . فادخلتُ يدي في اكمام
مرقعتي وقلتُ : ارم بها واشد الزنار . ولم يبق الا ان اخرج راسي
من مرقعتي ففتفتُ بى الياتفتُ : لا يا ابا يزيد ما وصل الحال الي
هذا (B.M. Or. 4618, 209).

He is surprised that this should befall one who had attained to his "state", and his pride rises. Thereupon an unseen speaker bid him begone, rejected. He wanders disconsolate to a monastery in the desert, and finds there worshippers of the Cross, whom he rebukes for thus wasting their efforts. Again the voice warns him that his advice is unsought, and that he is rejected. In despair he asks to be given a monk's cord, *zunnār*, which he sets about putting on, and has nearly done so when the voice resumes, and tells him to desist, saying that things have not come to this pass, but that whilst his love was recognized so was his pride. The Ṣūfi, in his scorn of those professing another creed, was probably unconscious how very much he and they had in common, and how largely, indeed, his own system was derived from those he presumed to admonish. The story affords, too, an instance of the "spiritual pride" at times incidental to the Ṣūfi state, as will be noticed later.

Aḥmad b. Yaḥya al-Jallā (p. 134) is made to explain his patronymic *Jallā*, both in the notice of Yaḥya (d. A.H. 258) in Or. 4618, 201^a and in the son's notice by Dhahabī,¹ as due, not to his having ever wandered from his home, but to the power of his exhortation in attracting hearts. Both the notices tell how Aḥmad, having persuaded his parents to devote him to Allah, returned in after years, and knocking at their door received the reply, "We had once a son, but gave him to Allah," and the door was not opened. Anyone who, remembering Mrs. Humphry Ward's heroine in *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, and her wish for "Ivan with his axe" to drop on the neck of St. Francis Borgia, should be led to applaud the parents' act, will have missed the true inwardness of the incident. For it is as a *Zāhid* that Yaḥya is noticed in two MSS., and in

¹ ما جلا ابي شيئا قطا لكنه كان يعظ الناس فيقع كلامه في قلوبهم
فسمى جلا القلوب (B.M. Or. 48^a, 35^a).

both his act is attributed to the Arab rule of not recalling a gift.¹

The *Mihna* suffered by the Sūfis at the instigation of Ghulām Khalil (pp. 137 and 190) is mentioned in Dhahabi's notice of him,² but not the woman's accusation

مُحَنِّينَ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ لَا تَرْجِعُ فِيهِمَا وَدَمِينًا . وَمَا فَتَحَا لِي الْبَابُ¹
(B.M. Or. 4618, 201*, l. ult., and Or. 3004, 170*, l. 14). Ma'rūf al-Karkhi (p. 113), born a Christian and converted to Islām, returned also, knocked, and announced himself. Asked his religion, he replied "Islām", and his parents thereupon became Moslems also (Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. iii, 384).

قال الذهبي في تاريخ الاسلام : ذكر لغلام خليل هذه الشناعات²
من حوض الصوفية في دقائق الاحوال والفناء والاصطلام والمحبة . مما
يذم الحوض فيه ائمة السنة . قال ابن الاثيري : ذكر له بعض
مذهبهم في المحبة ولم يزل يبلغه انهم يقولون : نحن محب ربنا وهو
يحبنا قد اسقط عنا خوفه بغلبة محبته . فكان ينكر هذا الخطأ بخطأ
مثله حتى جعل محبة الله بدعة وقال : انما المحبة للمخلوقين
والخوف افضل واوّل بنا . قال الاثيري : بل المحبة والخوف اصلان
من اصول الايمان لا يخلو المؤمن منهما وان كان احدهما اغلب
على بعض الناس . قال : فلم يزل غلام خليل يقض بهم ويجذب
منهم ويغري بهم السلطان والعادة ويشد على يده والددة الموثق
(المتوكل) فامرت المحتسب بطلبهم وطلب القوم وفرق الاعوان في
طلبهم وكتب اسماءهم وكانوا نيفاً وسبعين نفساً فاحتفى عامتهم
وحبس جماعة منهم مدة . قلت : انكاره المحبة جهل منه وكذا
من استغرق في المحبة ولم يلحج الخوف والنار واهوال القليمة فهو
جاهل وبكل حال حب الله واجب والخوف منه انفع في كل وقت
(Leyden, 1721, 119^a).

وقال ايضاً في ترجمة النوري : قال ابو نعيم : سمعت عمن الينسا
بمكة يحكي : لما كانت محبة غلام خليل ونسب الصوفية الى
الزندقة امر الخليفة بالقبض عليهم فاحخذ في جملتهم النوري
فادخلوا على الخليفة فامر بضرب اعناقهم فبادر النوري على
السياف فقتل له في ذلك فقال : اوثر حياة اصحابي على نفسي
هذه اللحظة . فتوقف السياف فرق الخليفة امرهم الى قاضي القضاة
اسماعيل بن اسحق فسأل النوري عن مسائل في العبادات فاجابه

against Sumnūn, which is probably a fiction. We find Ghulām Khalil sharing the objection of the orthodox in general to the Ṣūfī views on *Aḥwāl*, *Fanā*, and *Maḥabba*, holding that the proper objects of the last were fellow-creatures, and that the Deity was an object of fear. His exhortations roused the people, and the Caliph had some Ṣūfis imprisoned. In the view of Ibn al-A'rābi (Abu Sa'īd Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. Ziyād, d. 340) love and fear are equally admissible; Dhahabi discourages excess of the former as prejudicial to the latter: and, regarding religion as an auxiliary of the civil power, Ghulām Khalil was in the right. Nūri's self-sacrifice (p. 190) is told by Dhahabi on the authority of Abu Nu'aim (d. 430), and he is made to say only that he prefers his comrades' lives to his own. To the Chief Kāḍī, who reports favourably on them, (he was not al-'Abbās b. 'Alī, but Ismā'il b. Ishaq, d. A.H. 282), Nūri says that Allah has servants who hear, speak, and eat through him (but not "who sit", etc., as in the *Kashf*). And the Ṣūfis are released by the Caliph without being given the refusal of a boon.

The story that Abu Bakr al-Warrāk (p. 142) caused some of his writings to be committed to the river by an agent (whose behaviour resembled that of Sir Bedivere to King Arthur) describes an apparently not unfrequent Ṣūfī act, for Abu Ḥayyān al-Tauhīdī (*Irshād al-Arīb*, v, 386, 389), when reproached for having burnt his works to prevent their falling into unworthy hands, defended his

وقال له : وبعد هذا فليله عباد يسمعون بالله وينطقون بالله ويأكلون بالله . فبكى القاضى ودخل على الخليفة وقال : ان كان هؤلاء زنادقة فاطلقهم . فليس في الارض موحد . فاطلقهم (ib. 159^a).

Ibn al-A'rābi is probably quoted from his *Ṭabaḥāt al-Nusāk*, which Dhahabi mentions by name in the notices of Muḥāsibī (ib. 3^a), of Abu Ḥamza Baghdadī (ib. 103^b), and of another Ṣūfī, Abu 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Masūhī, d. A.H. 256 (ib. 90^b). Ibn al-A'rābi is noticed by Dhahabi, Or. 48^a, 241^b, and Brock. i, 521. In the *Kitāb al-Luma'* of al-Sarrāj (B.M. Or. 7710) he is said to have written a work, the *Kitāb al-Wajd*, which does not appear to be elsewhere recorded.

conduct by the examples of Dā'ud al-Ṭā'i (p. 109), Dārānī (p. 112), and Sufyān al-Thaurī (Ibn Khall, de Sl. Eng. i, 596), all Ṣūfis, and of Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, xi, No. 792, where the act is mentioned), Abu 'Amr b. al-'Aṭā (ib. xii, No. 846), and Abu Sa'īd al-Sirāfi (*Irshād*, iii, 84).

Certain differences between Ṣūfi sects are enumerated in the *Kashf* (pp. 176 ff.), but all of them excepting two are declared commendable, and the difference between them lay, not in the sum-total of the tenets, but in the emphasis laid on the items. A leading Ṣūfi preached on some special tenet, and it became identified with him and with his followers. Muḥāsibī's section heads the list, and we are told (p. 182) that his theory did not influence his practice. This was to distribute blame evenly—indeed, freely: witness his angry denunciation of his pupil Abu Ḥamza's very innocent greeting of a bird, for such Dhahabī, in his notice of the pupil, declares the act to be, and he declares it on what looks very like another version of the previous story, which he had just given, but more briefly than in the *Kashf*. In the two it is only the bird that differs. The second story is laid by Abu Nu'aim at Tarsus, and it led to Abu Ḥamza being mobbed.¹ But a mob could plead excuses which were not open to Muḥāsibī, and his attitude was not warranted, for his own

روى أبو نعيم في الحلية بإسناد له: أن أبا حمزة تكلم في جامع طرسوس فقبلوه فبينما هو يتكلم إذ صاح غراب على سطح الجامع فزعق أبو حمزة وقال: لبيك لبيك. فنسبوه إلى الزندقة وقالوا: حلولى. فشهدوا عليه وأخرج وتبع فرسه وتودى عليه: هذا فرس الزنديق. قلت: إذا كان هذه الكلمة التي تحتل على بعد الحلول قد نكحوا على مثل أبي حمزة بالزندقة فكيف حالنا مع من هجرنا؟ التصريح بالحلول والاتحاد فقد عرّف من ينصف أو ينصر الحق فلا يتكلم في المشايخ إلّا بعلم وفترق بين صوفية هذه الأمة وبين صوفية الفلاسفة في المشايخ إلّا بعلم وفترق بين صوفية هذه الأمة وبين صوفية الفلاسفة (Leyden, 1721, 104^a). وما اشتبه عليك وكل علمه إلى الله

doctrine was held unsound by so high an authority as Ibn Hanbal. Professor D. S. Margoliouth refers to this disapproval in his notice of the writings of Muḥāsibī at the Third International Congress for the History of Religions (*Transactions*, i, 292, 1908), as having been attributed to professional jealousy of his fame as a preacher. Here also Dhahabī goes on to quote Ahmad b. Ishāq al-Ṣibghī (d. A.H. 342, B.M.Or. 48*, 255*) for a story¹

قال أبو بكر بن اسحق الصبغى النخعي : سمعت اسمعيل بن اسحق السراج يقول : قال لي احمد بن حنبل : بلغني ان الحرث هذا انكر الكون عندك فلو احضرت منزلك واحتمسني من حيث لا يرى واسمع كلامه وحضر الحرث واصحابه فاكلوا ثم صلوا الغنمة ولم يصلوا بعدها وقعدوا بين يدي الحرث لا ينطقون الي قريب نصف الليل ثم ابتدا رجل منهم فسأل عن مسئلة فاخذ الحرث في الكلام واصحابه يسمعون كأن على رؤوسهم الطير فمتمهم من يبلى ومنهم من يخش ومنهم من يزعج وهو في الكلام . فصعدت الغرفة لاعترف حال ابي عبد الله (يعنى ابن حنبل) فوجدته قد بكى حتى غشى عليه فانصرف اليهم ولم تزل تلك حالهم حتى اصبحوا وذهبوا . فصعدت الي ابي عبد الله فقال : ما اعلم اني رايت مثل هؤلاء القوم ولا سمعت في علم الحقائق مثل كلام هذا الرجل ومع هذا فلا اري لك صحبتهم . ثم قام وخرج . رواها المحاكم عن الصبغى . قال ابو القاسم النصارى : بلغني ان الحرث تكلم في شيء من الكلام هجره احمد بن حنبل فاخترني في دار ومات فيها قال الحسين بن عبد الله الخرقى : سألت المرودى عن ما انكر ابو عبد الله على المحاسبي فقال : قلت لابي عبد الله : قد خرج المحاسبي الي الكوفة وكتب الحديث وقال : انا اتوب من جميع ما انكر علي ابو عبد الله . فقال : ليس لحرث توبة يشهدون عليه بشيء ويحاجد انما التوبة لمن اعترف فاما من يشهد عليه وجمد فليس له توبة . ثم قال : حذروا عن الحارث ما افته الا حارث . وقال ايضا الذهبي : قد سمعت من تواليته كتاب الكف عما سحر وقال ايضا (Leyden, 1721, 23³).

how Ibn Hanbal induced a friend to conceal him within earshot of a meeting of Muḥāsibī and his followers. And on the termination of the proceedings, which are described, he told his host that, whilst highly admiring Muḥāsibī's powers, he advised him not to attend his teaching. Naṣrābādhi (159) relates, too, how Ibn Hanbal's disapproval drove Muḥāsibī into retirement at Kūfa, where he took up traditions. This act of his, coupled with the fact that he had recanted his errors, was urged in his favour, but the Imām replied that recantation without admission of guilt was unavailing, and he stigmatized him as "pernicious".

Again, the statement (p. 214) that Isfarā'īni held a saint to be ignorant of his saintship whilst Ibn Fūrak held that he was conscious of it, is not born out by what Dhahabī says in his notices of them (Or. 48, 55^b, and 104^a), for he says of the former that according to Kūshairī (p. 167) he denied the validity of *karāmāt*, "a grievous error," *zalla kabīra*, and of the latter that it was Sa'īd al-Maghribī (p. 158) who, in controversy with him, affirmed the consciousness, whilst Ibn Fūrak denied it. Isfarā'īni's view has the support of Abu-l-'Abbās al-Kankashī (d. A.H. 449), who quoted his master, Aḥmad al-Aswad, for the dictum that "to rely on miracles is deception".¹

Hallāj (p. 150) was somewhat of a stumbling-block to the Sūfis, and the case made for him in the *Kashf* amounts to this, that his feelings carried him away overmuch. The author, on p. 153, somewhat strangely considers the fact that he had himself found it necessary to compose a work to demonstrate the sublimity of Hallāj's sayings as evidence that those sayings should not command confidence. But, as Dr. Nicholson says in the Preface, p. xxiv, "the logic of a Persian Sūfi must sometimes appear to European readers curiously illogical."

¹ الكرامات مكر وخدعة (B.M. Or. 49, 223^a, penult.).

That many leading Sūfis accepted Hallāj is certain, and one of them, Aḥmad b. Sahl b. 'Aṭā al-Āmulī (p. 149 and Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 95), on being interrogated by the vizier Hāmid b. al-'Abbās on Hallāj's views, retorted that they were nothing beside his acts of speculation and cruelty. He was then tortured, and expressed the hope that Hāmid too might lose hands and feet. And Hāmid, we are told, was eventually so treated,¹ but this is the sole authority for the fact, for history states that he died at Basra, perhaps poisoned, and was buried there (cf. Hilāl al-Šābi, preface, 18-19). An estimate of Hallāj is given in the lately appeared *Farḡ bain al-Firaḡ*, a work half a century earlier than the *Kashf*.² Hallāj is dealt with in a chapter on the deification, *Hulūlī*, heresy, pp. 246-9, and in connexion with the *Hulmānī* sect (from whom he is distinguished in the *Kashf*, p. 260), and the author of the *Farḡ* sets out the line of reasoning by which he himself refuted a *Hulmānī* disputant. Of Hallāj he says that his form of Sufism was that termed ecstasy, *shath*, a state which may be laudable, or the reverse, and

قال السلمى : امتحن بسبب الحلاج حتى احضره حامد بن العباس فقال له : ما الذى يقول الحلاج . فقال : ما لك ولذاك عليك بما نُدبت له من اخذ المال وسفك الدماء . فامر به ان تُفك أسنانه ففعل به ذاك فقال : قطع الله يديك ورجليك ثم مات بعد اربعة عشر يوماً ثم بعد ذلك قطعت اربعة حامد الوزير قال السلمى : سمعت ابا عمرو بن حمدان يذكر هذا وكان ابن عطاء يفتنى الى المارستانى ابراهيم ويترجم انه شيخه فقيل انه فقد عقله ثمانية عشر عاماً ثم صح وذكر ابو الحسين بن خاقان انه (B.M. Or. 48*, 46*). Here is another instance of the working of *zuhd* on the intellect.

² The author of the *Farḡ*, Abu Mansūr 'Abd al-Kābir b. Tāhir, is noticed by Dhahabī under A.H. 426 and 429 (B.M. Or. 49, 139*, and 152*), where the *Farḡ* is not mentioned, only his *Takmilat al-Hisāb* (Hāji Kh., No. 3523). By Ibn Khall. (de Sl. Eng. iii, 149) his death is dated A.H. 429, followed Brock. i, 385).

that people accordingly differed about him. The scholastic theologians, *Mutakallimūn*, declared him an unbeliever, whereas the *Salīmī* sect (*Kashf*, 131 note) held him to be a true Ṣūfī. Ash'ari, again, in his refutation of the *Mutazila*, denounced him as a trickster (a view of him which Tanūkhī enforces by anecdote in the *Nishwār al-Muhādara*, as will be apparent in the forthcoming edition of this work by Professor D. S. Margoliouth). By the orthodox jurists he was declared worthy of death, but the leading Ṣūfīs differed in opinion, both Akṭa' and Makki holding him blameless,¹ whilst others pointed to his view, as shown by his writings, that the Ṣūfī's putting off all earthly weaknesses led to his putting on something heavenly, which was the case with himself (Ḥallāj); that it was the number and rank of his adherents that led to his being put to death;² and the passage concludes by saying that "his Ṣūfī partisans allege that miraculous states, *aḥwāl min al-karāma*, were disclosed to him, and that he revealed these to the public,³ and his punishment was being

قال السلمي في تاريخ الصوفية باسناده عن النخعي : حدثني¹
أبو يعقوب الأقطع وكان الحلاج تروّج بأبنته وعمرو المكي كانا
الحلاج كافر خبيث (B.M. Or. 48*, 47*).

² Dhahabī says, *sub* A.H. 344, on the subject of Ḥallāj's detection :
هرمون بن عبد العزيز أبو علي الأوارجي الكاتب عاش رسماً وستين
سنة وكان قد ولي أعماراً جليلة من الخراج وكتب الحديث وصحب
الصوفية وخالف الحلاج ولما وقت على اعتقاده أظهر أمره وأطلع عليه
أبا بكر بن مجاهد وعلي بن عيسى الوزير (B.M. Or. 48*, 266*).

³ In the Ṣūfī view concealment was meritorious; the arcana of Sufism are mentioned, *Kashf*, p. 157, and are born out by the following sayings of Murta'ish (p. 39, etc.) and Abu 'Amr (qy. 'Umar) al-Dimashki (p. 38); compare also the Shiite conception of *Taḥiyya* (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen u. d. Islam*, p. 215):—

قال أبو محمد المرتعش : الصوف الأشكال والتلبيس والكتمان
(B.M. Add. 18520, 80*).

قال محمد بن عبد الله الرازي : سمعت أبا عمر الدمشقي يقول :

given over to disbelievers in these miracles, in order that his own state, *ḥāl*, should continue to be obscure",¹ for the Sūfī attitude was one of outward uncertainty but of inward purity, some holding the latter to be the case of Ḥallāj, on the strength of an utterance by him at the time of his execution which was deemed to show his belief in the Unity.

The above-mentioned *Sālīmī* sect are described by Haarbrücker (trans. Shahrastāni, ii, 417, but, in fact, from a passage in the Berlin MS. of the *Farḥ bain al-Firak*) as a number of scholastic theologians of Baṣra (*Kashf*, 131 note). In the *Ansāb* of Sam'āni (Gibb Facsimile, 286*, l. 6 a.f.) the *nisba* *Sālīmī* is attributed to three named persons each of whom had a following, but all of them were to be reckoned as holding by (Abu-l-) Hasan b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālīm in respect of *uṣūl*, and to be followers of his son Abu 'Abd Allah in respect of Sūfī practice, their number including most of the jurists and traditionists of Baṣra and its neighbourhood. By Dhahabi the *kunya* of father and son are inverted, and correctly, for Ibn al-Athīr records the death of Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Sālīm in A.H. 297 (viii, 45), saying that he was *Ṣāḥib* of Tustari, and Dhahabi, in his notice of Abu-l-Hasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sālīm (d. A.H. 350-60), son of the founder of the sect, says the same of the father, who is called Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālīm, quoting the *Hilya* of Abu Nu'aim (d. A.H. 430, Brock. i, 362) and Sulamī's *Ta'rikh al-Sūfiyya*. And he concludes by admitting that he had been unable to get any precise information on the sect.²

كما فرض الله على الأنبياء إظهار المعجزات ليؤمنوا بها كذلك فرض على الأولياء كتمان الكرامات لئلا يقتتنوا بها (B.M. Add. 18520, 61^b, and Or. 48*, 125^b).

¹ This passage is translated, not quite correctly, by Haarbrücker, trans. Shahrastāni, ii, 417-18.

² أحمد بن محمد بن سالم أبو الحسن البصري الصوفي بن الصوفي المتكلم صاحب مقالة السالمية له احوال ومجاهدة واتباع ومحبيون

Professor Goldziher has been more fortunate. In his article "Die dogmatische Partei der Sālimijja" (ZDMG. lxi, p. 73) he fully describes their tenets, saying that they were not to be supposed followers of Hishām b. Sālim, mentioned *Shahrastāni*, 41, l. ult., who was a Shiite fanatic. And after quoting Muḥaddasi's experience of them (*Bibl. Geogr. Ar.*, iii, 126), he gives their tenets from the *Ghunya* of Abd al-Kādir al-Ghilāni, i, 83. In a note he quotes Dhahabi's *Huffāz* for the story how 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Manda (d. A.H. 470, *Wüst. Gesch.*, 214) had occasion to complain that dogmatic discussion, which in all ages and climes seems to have proceeded on much the same lines, had exposed him, whenever he hesitated to accept a proposition, to being dubbed by some sectarian name which he in no way deserved, e.g., that if he quoted any tradition on the sight, *Ru'ya*, of Allah he was promptly called a *Sālimi*.¹ And, indeed, in a later passage in the

وهو شيخ أهل البصرة في زمانه عَمَرُ دَهْرًا وَأَدْرَكَ سَهْلَ بْنَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ التَّسْتَرِيَّ وَأَخَذَ عَنْهُ لَأَنَّ وَالِدَهُ كَانَ مِنْ تَلَامِذَةِ سَهْلٍ وَبَقِيَ إِلَى قَرِيبِ التَّسْعِينَ وَثَلَاثِينَ وَكَانَ مِنْ أَبْنَاءِ التَّسْعِينَ قَالَ أَبُو سَعِيدٍ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ النِّقَاشُ الْمُحَافِظُ : رَأَيْتُهُ وَسَمِعْتُ كَلَامَهُ فَلَمْ أَكُتِبْ عَنْهُ شَيْئًا . قُلْتُ : وَكَانَ دُخُولُ النِّقَاشِ الْبَصْرَةَ سَنَةَ نِيفٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَثَلَاثِينَ . . . وَذَكَرَهُ أَبُو نَعِيمٍ فِي الْحَمَلِيَّةِ فَقَالَ : وَمِنْهُمْ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ سَالِمٍ الْبَصْرِيُّ صَاحِبُ سَهْلٍ التَّسْتَرِيَّ وَحَافِظُ كَلَامِهِ أَدْرَكَنَاهُ وَلَهُ أَصْحَابٌ يُنَسَبُونَ إِلَيْهِ . قُلْتُ : هَكَذَا سَمِعَا وَكَتَبَا فِي الْحَمَلِيَّةِ وَقَالَ السُّلَمِيُّ فِي تَارِيخِ الصُّوفِيَّةِ : مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ سَالِمٍ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْبَصْرِيُّ وَالِدُ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ ابْنِ سَالِمٍ رَوَى كَلَامَ سَهْلٍ مِنْ كِبَارِ أَصْحَابِهِ أَقَامَ بِالْبَصْرَةِ وَلَهُ بِهَا أَصْحَابٌ يُسَمُّونَ السَّالِمِيَّةَ هَجَرَهُمُ النَّاسُ لِلْفُتَايَا هَجِيمَةً أَطْلَقُوهَا وَذَكَرُوهَا . . . قُلْتُ : السَّالِمِيَّةَ لَهُمْ مُجَلَّةٌ لَا أَحَقَّ قَهَا (B.M. Or. 48, 70^b; Al-Nakkaṣh, Muh. b. 'Alī b. 'Amr b. Mahdī al-Isbahānī, ob. A.H. 414, B.M. Or. 49, 90^b).

¹ The story occurs also in Dhahabi's notice of Ibn Manda in the *Ta'rikh al-Islām* (B.M. Or. 50, 124^b).

Fark, p. 324, this sect is accused of holding the erroneous view that infidels might behold Allah, the tenet which heads Professor Goldziher's list. The Professor reverts also to this sect in a note to his recent review of the *Fark* (ZDMG, lxx, 356), where he refers to their mention by Ibn Taimiyya (Brock. ii, 100), *Majmā'āt-al-Rasā'il*, Cairo, 1323, i, 102, ll. 9, 121 n., and ib. 36, l. 10, under the name of "Sābiliyya", and to Suyūṭī's *Bughyat-al-Wu'āt*, Cairo, 1326, p. 113, for further particulars of their tenets.

It may be assumed that the qualities creditable to Ṣūfis were adequately set forth in the *Kashf*, for its author was one of them, and his work is wholly sympathetic in tone. It may, however, be surmised that a very probable result of the Ṣūfi's real, or fancied, superiority over his fellow-men would be to produce in him what in theological circles is termed "spiritual pride". Some of them came to think that the rules of religion existed rather for the vulgar than for themselves. This view the *Kashf* combats (p. 218), where Bistāmī (p. 106) is made to say that a saint (i.e. one who has succeeded in annihilating self, which is the Eastern equivalent of the Western mystic's union with the absolute life) must keep the religious law, in order that God may keep him in his spiritual state. A short way of dealing with an offender in this respect was to deny that he had attained saintship, for the denial was as conclusive as the assertion. And this was, in fact, Bistāmī's method in the case of the Ṣūfi whose conduct in the mosque he disapproved (p. 218), for in the notice of him in Or. 4618 he is made to say: "This man's behaviour is unsound, for he has outraged religion: his saintship must be no better."¹ Another Ṣūfi, Abu-l-Ḥasan ('Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sahl) al-Būshanjī (p. 44) neglected to attend the mosque, on the plea that retirement,

فهدا غير مأمون على ادب تناكا بالشريعة فكيف يكون مأمونا¹
على ما يدعيه من الولاية (B.M. Or. 4618, 206^b, l. 5 a.f.).

'*uzla*, was more profitable to him. For this he was blamed, and Dhahabi declares that he was claiming an inadmissible indulgence, *rukhsa*.¹ And Rūdhbārī (p. 157), hearing of a Sūfī asserting that in his case music for the purpose of diversion, *malāhi*, was allowable as he had attained a grade in which differences in states, *aḥwāl*, were of no moment, said that what he had attained was hell fire.²

Simplicity in dress was a badge of the Sūfī, being indeed implied in the name, and when Ibn Sam'ūn (p. 21), who was wont to inculcate *zuhd*, was found to be well dressed and living in luxury, it excited comment. His explanation was, that once your state was a sound one you should do whatever fitted you for God³—the soundness being necessarily a point on which the speaker was the sole judge. An instance of a well-kept wardrobe is found, too, in the account given by Duḳḳī (p. 408, n. 2) of his Sūfī tutor Farghānī (d. A.H. 331, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 303) and how he managed to preserve a neat appearance

وفي ابى الحسن البوشنجي قال الحاكم : سمعته غير مرة يعاتب¹ في ترك الجماعة فيقول : ان كانت الفضيلة في الجماعة فان السلامة في العزلة . قلت : هذا عذر غير مقبول منه ولا رخصة في ترك الجماعة لاجل سلامة العزلة وهذا بالاجماع (B.M. Or. 48ⁿ, 279ⁿ).

سئل ابو علي الروذباري ممن يسمع الملاهي ويقول : هي لي حلال لاني قد وصلت الى درجة لا يؤثر في اختلاف الاحوال . فقال : نعم قد وصل لعمرى ولكن وصل الى سقر (B.M. Add. 18520, 81ⁿ, and Or. 48ⁿ, 157ⁿ).

قال البرقاني : قلت له [يعني لمحمد بن احمد بن اسماعيل بن عيسى الامام ابى الحسين ابن سمعون البغدادي الواعظ] يومئذ : تدعو الناس الى الزهد وتلبس احسن الثياب وتأكل أطيب الطعام فكيف هذا . فقال : كل ما يصلحك لله فأفعله اذا صلح حالك مع الله (B.M. Or. 48, 204ⁿ⁻⁵).

during his religious wanderings, *siyāhāt*.¹ He likewise took pride in his saintliness, for he relates a visit he paid to a very austere monastery, whose inmates boasted of their powers of fasting. Having learned that their utmost effort covered thirty days, he accomplished forty, and was prepared to extend them to sixty, when he was asked to depart as his presence was not beneficial to the inmates. It may be that his powers impressed them overmuch, for failing any means of appraising the real value of such like feats, it seems to be assumed that the power of evading physical restrictions lends some sort of colour to dogmatic assertions on subjects which lie beyond the range of the physical. It may be, therefore, that to outlast members of another faith in fasting is evidence of the superior truth of one's own.

But polemical matters are out of place in these impartial pages, and the foregoing string of stories must find their

محمد بن اسمعيل أبو بكر الفرغاني الصوفي استاذ أبي بكر الدقي¹
كان من المجتهدين في العبادة قال الدقي : ما رأيت أحسن منه
من يظهر الغنى في الفقر كان يلبس قميصين أبيضين ورداء وسراويل
ونعلا نظيفا وعمامة وفي يده مفتاح وليس له بيت ينطرح ويسطوى
الخمس والست . وقال احمد بن علي الرستمى : كان يسبح ومعه
كوز فيه قميص نظيف رقيق فاذا انتهى دخول بلده تنظف ولبس
القميص ومعه مفتاح منقوش فيصلى ويطرحة بين يديه يوما انه
تاجر . وقال عبد الواحد بن بكر : سمعت الدقي : سمعت الفرغاني
يقول : دخلت الدير الذى بطور سينا فانانى مطرانهم باقوام
كانهم نشروا من القبور فقال : هؤلاء يأكل احدهم في الاسبوع اكله
يفخرون بذلك . فقلت لهم : كم صبر سيديكم هذا . قالوا ثلثين
يوما . وكنت قاعدا في وسط الدير فلم ازل جالسا اربعين يوما لم أكل
ولم اشرب فخرج اليّ مطرانهم قال : يا هذا قم فقد افسدت قلوب
كل من في الدير . فقلت : حتى اتم ستين يوما . فالتجوا عني فخرجت
(B. M. Or. 48*, 215^b).

justification, if at all, in a dictum I have found attributed to one of the highest of the Sūfis, Junaid (p. 128), that anecdotes should be numbered in Allah's hosts, for they vivify the minds of those who have attained to knowledge, and cleanse the minds of those on the way to attainment.¹

A word in conclusion on mysticism as an ideal. Its literature throughout assumes that, however great the obstacles, the end outweighs them all, and that to attain is to be happy. But is this inevitably the case? The "dullness of entire felicity" has formed a poet's theme.² May it not be that the mystic's aloofness from all that makes up a life which, on the current acceptance of values, is to be held worth living, is calculated to induce dullness likewise, or something worse than dullness? Let the poet again answer, for, if we are to leave the world of visible and tangible reality for one which, to all appearance, is much akin to dreamland, then as against the mystic's legend may fairly be set the poet's dream—³

"To the eye and the ear of the dreamer
This dream out of darkness flew,"

a dream that man, by persistent effort, had shaken off every earthly shackle, even to death itself, and the result to him was misery—

"The torment of all-things-compassed,
The plague of nought-to-desire"

—until, in very pity, he was remitted to his earlier and less exalted lot. The mystic's progress is indeed accompanied by doubt and despondency, but they hover around the

والى هذا اشار الامام ابو القاسم الجنيد فقال : الحكايات جنود
من جنود الله سبحانه يحيى بها قلوب العارفين ويصفوا بها اسرار
المريدين. The passage occurs in the introduction to a MS.,
Khulāṣa Ta'rikh al-Bahā, in my possession and destined by its owner,
Mr. G. L. M. Clauson, for the Library of the British Museum.

² *The Eloping Angels*, a Caprice by William Watson, 1893.

³ *The Dream of Man*, by William Watson, 1892.

quest only, they never settle at the goal. That to no single mystic should any glimpse of disillusion have ever been vouchsafed may, in some minds, induce a suspicion that, in fact and in truth, their quest has been unavailing and their goal unattained.

TABLE OF DATES AND LIVES OF SUFIS MENTIONED IN
THE "KASHF AL-MAHJUB"

LIST OF REFERENCES

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Ibn Khallikān, trans. de Slane. = Khall.

Ibn al-Jauzi, *Muntazam* (A.H. 228-89). B.M. Or. 3004. = Ibn J.

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LIST OF SUFIS

b. Adham, Ibrāhīm (Kashf, 103), d. A.H. 161. S. 3^b; A. vi, 38.

Aḳṭa', Abu-l-Khair al-Tināti (304), d. 349. A. viii, 397; Or. 48*, 298^a; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, i, 910.

'Alawī, Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd al-Ḥasani (374), d. 250-60. Leyden, 1721, 54^a.

b. 'Ammār Abu-l-Sarī Maṣṣūr (126), d. 225. Sibt J. 46^a.

Āmulī, b. Sahl b. 'Aṭā (149, and 21, 3, etc.), d. 309. S. 59^a; A. viii, 95; Leyden, 1721, 194-5; Or. 48*, 46^b.

Anṭāki, Aḥmad b. 'Āṣim (127). S. 29^a.

Aṣamm, Ḥatīm (115), d. 237. S. 18^a; Ibn J. 54^b; Sibt J. 102^a.

'Askar, Abu Turāb = Nakhshabī.

b. 'Aṭā = Āmulī.

Azdi = Shaḳṭī.

Baghdādī, Abu Ḥamza b. Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm al-Bazzāz (154), d. 269 or 289. S. 66^a; A. vii, 391; Ibn J. 203^a; Leyden, 1721, 103^a.

Balkhī, Muḥ. b. al-Faḍl (140), d. 317. S. 47^a; Or. 48*, 110^a.

Bishr al-Ḥafī (105), d. 227. S. 8^b; A. vi, 377; Khall. i, 257; Sibt J. 51^a; Dhahabī, Bodl. No. 659, 188^a; Ansāb, 151^b, 9 a.f.

Biṣṭāmī, Ṭaifār (106), d. 261. S. 14^a; Ibn J. 177^b; Sibṭ J. 206^a-9^a; Leyden, 1721, 98^a.

Bundār, b. al-Ḥusain al-Ṣairafī (249), d. 353. S. 107^b; Or. 48, 35^a.

— 'Alī b. (16), d. 357 or 359. A. viii, 435; Or. 48, 55^b, 62^a.

Būshanjī (Fūshanja), Abu-l-Ḥusain [*sic*] 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sahl (44 and 299), d. 347. S. 105^b; A. viii, 392; Or. 48*, 279^b.

Daḡḡāk (162), d. 406 or 412. A. ix, 230; Khall. ii, 155; Or. 49, 54^a.

Dārānī (112), d. 205 or 215. Leyden, 1721, 180^a; Ansāb, 216^b, 3 a.f.

Darrāj, Sa'īd b. al-Ḥusain (408), d. 310-20. Or. 48*, 198^b; Ansāb, 224^a, 13.

Dhu-l-Nūn (100), d. 245-6. S. 6^b; A. vii, 59; Khall. i, 291; Ibn J. 94^b; Sibṭ J. 138^a-44^b; Leyden, 1721, 28^a.

Dimashkī, Abu 'Umar (38), d. 320. S. 61^b; Or. 48*, 125^a.

Duḡḡī, Muḥ. b. Da'ūd (408), d. 360. S. 103^a; A. viii, 451 (called Raḡḡī, *sub* 359); Or. 48, 68^a; Ansāb, 227^b, 8 a.f.

Fārmadhī, Faḍl (169), d. 457. Ansāb, 416^a, 4 a.f.

Fuḍail b. 'Iyād (97), d. 187. S. 2^a; A. vi, 129; Ibn J. B.M. Add. 7320, 142^b.

b. Furaḡ (214), d. 406. Khall. ii, 673; Or. 49, 55^b.

Ghulām Khalīl (137), d. 275. Leyden, 1721, 119^b.

Haddādi Abu Ḥafs (123), d. 265 or 271. S. 23^a; Ibn J. 193^a; Sibṭ J. 240^b; Leyden, 1721, 96^a; Ansāb, 158^a, 8.

— Abu Ja'far (249), d. 290-300. Leyden, 1721, 178^b.

Hallāj (150), d. 309. S. 69^b; 'Arīb (Ṭab. cont.), 86-108; A. viii, 92; Khall. i, 423; Or. 48*, 47^b; Ansāb, 181^b, 3.

Ḥamdūn al-Ḳaṣṣār (125), d. 271. S. 25^b; Leyden, 1721, 123^a; Ansāb, 454^b, 9 a.f.

Abu Ḥamza = Baghdādi and Khurāsāni.

b. Ḥanbal, Aḥmad (117), d. 241. A. vii, 53; Khall. i, 44; Ibn J. 68^a; Sibṭ J. 113^b; Leyden, 1721, 7^a-19^a; Ansāb, 178^b, 2 a.f.

Harawī = Shaikh al-Islām.

b. Ḥarb, Aḥmad (365), d. 234. Ibn J. 35^b; Sibṭ J. 90^b.

b. abī-l-Ḥawārī (118), d. 246. S. 19^b; Sibṭ J. 133^b-5^b.

— his wife, Rabi'a, a Zāhida, d. 229. Ibn J. 5^b.

Ḥirī, Sa'īd (132), d. 298. S. 36^a; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 50^b; Leyden, 1721, 166^a; Ansāb, 182^b, 4 a.f.

Hiri, Sa'īd, his son Muḥ., d. 325. Or. 48*, 170^b.

— his grandson Aḥmad, d. 353. Or. 48, 34^a.

Ḥuṣrī (160), d. 371. S. 113^b; A. ix, 12; Or. 48, 126^b; Ansāb, 169^b, 21.

Iṣfahānī 'Alī b. Sahl (143). S. 52^a.

Isfarā'īni Abu Ishāq (214), d. 418. Khall. i, 8; Or. 49, 104^b.

Jallā, Aḥmad b. Yaḥya (134), d. 306. S. 37^b; Or. 48*, 35^a.

— his father, Yaḥya, d. 258. Ibn J. 170^a; Sibṭ J. 201^a.

Jarīri [*sic*] Aḥmad (148), d. 311 or 313. A. viii, 106 (called Jurairi); Leyden, 1721, 194-5; Or. 48*, 78^a, 87^b.

Junaid (128), d. 298. S. 32^a; A. viii, 47; Khall. i, 338; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 43^b-6^b; Leyden, 1721, 163^a; Ansāb, 464^b, 3.

Jūzajānī (147). S. 55^a.

Kaṣṣār = Ḥamdūn and Raḳḳī.

Kattānī, Muḥ. b. 'Alī b. Ja'far (325), d. 322, 328. S. 85^b; A. viii, 222 (called Kinānī). Or. 48*, 156^a; Ansāb, 475^a, 16.

Kazwīnī Abu 'Amr (166), ? Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar, d. 442. A. ix, 391; Or. 49, 198^a; Ansāb, 451^b, 17.

b. Khadrūya (119), d. 240. S. 21^a; Ibn J. 63^b; Sibṭ J. 108^a.

b. Khafīf b. Isfakshādh, Muḥ. al-Shīrāzī (158), d. 371. S. 106^b; A. ix, 12; Or. 48, 127^b; Ansāb, 344^a, 15.

Kharḳānī [*sic*] 'Alī b. Aḥmad (163), d. 425. Or. 49, 135^a; Ansāb, 194^b, 9.

Kharrāz, Aḥmad (143), d. 277. S. 51^a; A. vii, 306; Ibn J. 224^a; Leyden, 1721, 137^a; Ansāb, 191^a, 2 a.f.

Khawwāṣ Ibrāhīm (153), d. 291. S. 63^b; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 27^b-32^a.

Khayr al-Nassāj (144), d. 322. S. 73^a; A. viii, 222; Khall. i, 513, n¹; Or. 48*, 153^a.

b. Khubaiḳ b. Sābiḳ Abd Allah al-Anṭāki (128), d. 260. S. 30^a; Leyden, 1721, 60^b.

Khuldi, Ja'far b. Nuṣair (156), d. 348. S. 100^a; A. viii, 393; Or. 48*, 282^a; Ansāb, 205^a, 13.

Khurāsānī, Abu Ḥamza (146), d. 295. S. 74^a; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 41^a.

Khuttālī Muḥ. b. al-Ḥasan (166), ? son of al-Ḥasan b. Abi Ṭāhir, pupil of Mihānī (Or. 49, 188^a), d. 460. Or. 50, 72^a.

Kirmānī = Shāh Shujā'.

Kirmīstīnī, Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Shaibān, Shaikh al-Jabal (147, 246), d. 337. S. 92^b; Leyden, 1721, 232-3; Or. 48*, 233^a; Ansāb, 448^b, 16.

Kushairi (167), d. 465. Khall. ii, 152; Or. 50, 100^a; Ansāb, 453^a, 11 a.f.

Ibn al-Kūṭī (408), ? Kūṭī (as in n¹) Muḥ. b. Kāsim b. Shu'bān, d. 365. Or. 48, 45^b; Ansāb, 447^b, 2.

Maghribi (147), d. 279 or 299. S. 54^a; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 54^a.

Makki, 'Amr b. 'Uthmān (138), d. 297 or 301. S. 44^a; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 46; Or. 48^a, 14^b.

Mālik b. Dīnār (89), d. 123-31. Tabari, iii, 2501; Khall. ii, 549; Ibn J. B.M. Add. 7320, 90^b; Sibṭ J. B.M. Add. 23277, 239^b-241^a.

Ma'rūf al-Karkhi (113), d. 200-4. A. vi, 225; Khall. iii, 384.

b. Masrūk Aḥmad b. Muḥ. (146), d. 298. S. 53^a; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 48^b; Leyden, 1721, 160^b.

Mihani, Faḍl b. Aḥmad (164), d. 440. Or. 49, 183^a; Ansāb, 550^a, 14 (for Avicenna's *Waṣiyya* to him, Or. 49, 145^b).

b. Mu'adh al-Rāzi, Yaḥya (122), d. 258. S. 22^a; A. vii, 178; Sibṭ J. 200^a; Leyden, 1721, 79^a.

b. Mubārak al-Marwazi (95), d. 181. A. vi, 109.

Muḥāsibi (108), d. 243. S. 11^b; A. vii, 55; Khall. i, 365; Ibn J. 78^a; Sibṭ J. 121^a; Leyden, 1721, 22^b; Ansāb, 509^b, 9 a.f.

Muḥaddasi (260), ? Tāhir, contemp. of Shibli. S. 61^a.

Muḥri, Muḥ. b. Aḥmad (41), d. 365. S. 117^b; Or. 48, 91^b.

— Ja'far, his brother, d. 378. Or. 48, 154^b.

Murta'ish, Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. Ja'far (39), d. 328. A. viii, 273; Leyden, 1721, 217^b; Or. 48^a, 187^b.

Muzaffar b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān (170), his father Aḥmad, d. 311. Or. 48^a, 77^b.

Muzayyin Kabīr, Abu Ja'far (257). S. 87^b; Ansāb, 527^b, 2 a.f.; is in the company of Nakhshabi, d. 245, Ibn J. 90^b, 8.

— Ṣaghīr, Abu-l-Hasan 'Alī b. Muḥ., d. 328. Leyden, 1721, 217^b; Or. 48^a, 187^a.

Nahrajūri, Iṣḥāq b. Muḥ. (245), d. 330. S. 86^b; Or. 48^a, 193^b.

Nakhshabi, 'Askar (121), d. 245. S. 31^a; A. vii, 59; Ibn J. 90^a; Sibṭ J. 130^b; Leyden, 1721, 34^b; Ansāb, 556^b, 5 a.f.

Naṣrābādhi b. Mahmawaih [*sic*] Ibrāhīm b. Muḥ. (159), d. 367. S. 112^b; Or. 48, 97^a; Ansāb, 561^a, 3.

Nisābūri = Haddādi.

b. Nujaid Ismā'il (298), d. 365. S. 104^b; Or. 48, 89^a.

Nûri Abu-l-Husain (130), d. 295. S. 34^b; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 37^b; Leyden, 1721, 159^a.

b. Nuṣair = Khuldi and Ṭā'i.

Raḳḳī Ibrāhīm al-Kaṣṣār (233), d. 326. S. 72^b; Or. 48*, 172^a.

Rāzi, Yūsuf (136), d. 304. S. 40^a; A. viii, 79; Or. 48*, 29^a.

Rāzi = b. Mu'adh.

Rūdhbāri Abu 'Alī (157), d. 322. S. 81^a; A. viii, 222; Khall. i, 86, n. 4; Leyden, 1721, 212^a; Or. 48*, 156^b.

— Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā (318), d. 369. S. 115^a; A. viii, 522; Or. 48, 108^b.

Ruwaim (135), d. 303. S. 38^b; Khall. ii, 172, n. 3; Or. 48*, 24^b.

Sahlaki, Abu-l-Faḍl Muḥ. b. 'Alī (164), d. 477. Or. 50, 153^b.

Ṣairafī = Bundār.

Ṣaḳaṭī, Sarī (110), d. 253. S. 10^a; A. vii, 111; Khall. i, 555; Ibn J. 135^a; Sibṭ J. 173^b-7^b; Leyden, 1721, 58^b.

b. Sam'un Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'il (Sam'un) (21), d. 387. Khall. iii, 21; Or. 48, 203^b.

Sarrāj 'Abd Allah b. 'Alī, author of *Kitāb al-Luma'* (323), d. 378. Or. 48, 155^b.

Sayyārī (157), d. 342. S. 101^b; Or. 48*, 257^b; Ansāb, 320^b, 3 a.f.

Shāh b. Shujā' Abu-l-Fawāris al-Kirmānī (138), d. c. 290. S. 42^a; Leyden, 1721, 166^b.

Shaibānī = Kirmistnī.

Shaikh al-Islām 'Abd Allah b. Muḥ. al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (26), d. 481. A. x, 111; Or. 50, 176^a.

Shakīk al-Azdi al-Balkhī (111), d. 194. S. 12^b; A. vi, 164.

Shakḳānī Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad (168), d. 479. Or. 50, 166^a.

— his son Abu-l-Faḍl al-'Abbās, d. 506. Ansāb, 336^a, 16.

Shibli (155), d. 334. S. 76^b; Khall. i, 511; Or. 48*, 227^a; Ansāb, 329^a, 11.

Sulami, author of *Ṭab. Ṣāfiyya* (81), d. 412. A. ix, 230; Or. 49, 79^a; Ansāb, 303^a, 2 a.f.

Ṣu'lūkī, Muḥ. b. Sulaimān (272), d. 369. Khall. ii, 609; Or. 48, 111.

Sumnūn b. Ḥamza Abu-l-Kāsim al-Khawwās (136), d. 298. S. 42^b; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 51^b; Leyden, 1721, 166^a.

Ṭā'i, Da'ud b. Nuṣair (109), d. 160 or 165. A. vi, 33; Khall. i, 355, n. 18; Ansāb, 364^b, 6 a.f.

Thakafī, Muḥ. b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (16), d. 328. S. 82^b; Khall. ii, 610, n. 6; Leyden, 1721, 215^b; Or. 48*, 183^a.

Tirmidhi, Muḥ. b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥakīm (141), d. 285.¹ S. 48^a; Leyden, 1721, 147^b.

¹ Cf. Ḥāji Khalīfa, Index, No. 313; in the entries his death is dated A.H. 255. Brockelmann mentions two writers of this name, vol. i, pp. 164 and 199: one died 255; the other, whom he calls al-Ḥakīm, died 320, and to him he attributes the *Kitāb al-Furūḡ* (H. Kh. No. 9040), besides some of the works mentioned in the *Kashf*, p. 141, and which appear in H. Kh. under rather different titles; cf. Nos. 76, 8608, 9040, 10085, and 13252. The confusion between the two writers is indicated in Berlin Cat. Ahlwardt, No. 8504, 5^a (vol. viii, 486); and that there is something to justify it appears from Dhahabī's statement that Ibn al-Najjār (d. A.H. 643, Brock. i, 360), in his notice of Tirmidhi, omits his date of death, but says that someone was studying under him in A.H. 318, which was impossible. Dhahabī quotes Sulamī for his having to quit his native city for Balkh owing to the disapproval aroused by two of his works (mentioned H. Kh. No. 76), and by his regarding saints as superior to prophets (see pp. 235-9). Sulamī holds that he was wronged, and that his critics' intelligence was at fault, but Dhahabī deplors the works; heretics and philosophers had imposed on the vulgar with Sufic explanations. And he deplors also a work Sulamī had written, *Ḥaḡa'iq al-Tafsīr*, as Karmathian in spirit.* The path he preferred was no doubt that he had indicated in a saying he had quoted from Naṣrābādī—

“Prophets begin, know this, where Saintship ends.”†

Ibn Sam'ūn, above mentioned, had a narrow escape at the hands of 'Aḡud al-Daula. When that monarch reached Baghdād and found it distracted by conflicts of rival sects he considered the mischief to arise

قال السلمى: الحكيم أصله من ترمذ أخرجوه منها وشهدوا عليه*
بالكفر وذلك بسبب تصنيفه كتاب ختم الأولياء وكتب علل
الشريعة وقال انه يقول للأولياء خاتم كما ان للأنبياء خاتم وأنه فضل
الأولياء على النبوة فقدم بلخ فقبِلوه بسبب موافقته لهم في المذهب.
قال السلمى: قيل ان هجر ترمذ في آخر عمره لاجل كتاب ختم
الولايه وليس فيه ما يوجب ذلك ولكن لبعد فهمهم عنه. قلت:
لو لم يصنفه لكان خيرا له وقد مؤهت الزنادقة وصوفه الفلاسفة على
عوام الأمة بالعبارات الصوفية والسلمى قد عمل كتابا سمّاه حقائق
التفسير هي تأويلات القرامطة والباطنية بعينها فلايته لم يصنفه فنعود
(Leyden, 1721, 148^c). بالله من الضلال وترك الصراط المستقيم

قال التصرايدى: نجايات الأولياء بدايات الأنبياء† (B.M. Or. 48, 97^b, l. 2 a.f.).

Tustari, Sahl b. 'Abd Allah b. Yūnus (189), d. 278 or 283. S. 45^b; A. vii, 334 (called "Surri"); Khall. i, 602; Ibn J. 262^a; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 6^a-8^b; Leyden, 1721, 142^b.

from the preacher's exhortations: let all such not touch on the Prophet's Companions, but stick to the Qurān, or else they should suffer for it. Soon came a report that Ibn Sam'un was preaching; he was sent for, and the messenger, impressed by his dignity and confidence, advised caution on him when before the monarch. But he entered unperturbed, made apposite Qurān quotations on his predecessor 'Izz al-Daula, and went on to exhort him with such eloquence as to draw tears from him, which was not 'Aḍud al-Daula's habit. But in his view Sufism was to be judged, and strictly, by its fruits, and he sent a slave after Ibn Sam'un with an offer of money and clothes, either to keep or to give to friends, and he instructed him that, if they were retained, he was to return to him with Ibn Sam'un's head. Ibn Sam'un, however, told the envoy that his clothes had lasted him, with care, for forty years, and would outlast him; that he had the rent of a house, left by his father, for his support; and that none of his friends were destitute. On hearing this 'Aḍud al-Daula gave thanks that each of them had escaped the other.* This way of stating his own share in the matter is akin to the

قال ابو الشنا' شكر العضى : لما دخل عضد الدولة بغداد فقد هلك اهلها قتلاً وجوعاً للفتن التي اتصلت فيها بين الشيعة والسنة فقال : آفة هؤلاء القصاص . قنادي " لا يقص احدٌ في لجامع ولا في الطريق ولا يتوسل مُتوسل باحد من الصحابة ومن احب التوسل قرأ القرآن فمن خالف فقد اباح دمه " فوقع في الخبر ان ابن سمعون جلس على كرسيه بجامع المنصور فامرني ان اطلبه فاحضر فدخل عليّ رجلٌ له هيفة وعليه نور فلم امسك ان قمْتُ له واجلسته الى جنبى فجلس غير مكترث فقلت : ان هذا الملك جبار عظيم وما اوثر لك مخالفة امره وانى موصيك اليه فتقبل الارض وتلقف له واستعن بالله عليه . فقال : الخلق والامر لله تعالى . فمضيت به الى حجرة قد جلس فيها وحده فوقفته ثم دخلت لاستاذن فاذا هو الى جانبي قد حوّل وجهه الى دار عز الدولة ثم استفتح وقرأ : وكذلك اخذ ربك اذا اخذ القرى وهى ظالمة ان اخذ اليم شديد (xi, 104) قال : ثم حوّل وجهه اليه وقرأ : ثم جعلناكم خلائف في الارض من بعدهم لمنظر كيف تعلمون (x, 15) واخذ في وعظه فاتى بالعجب فدمعت عينا الملك وما رايت ذلك منه

Uwais al-Karāni (83), d. 32. Ṭabari, iii, 2475; Ansāb, 449^a, 4. Warraḳ Muḥ. b. 'Umar b. Muḥ. b. Ḥaḥṣ al-Balkhi (142), d. 290. S. 49^a; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 26^b. 'Umar, a son, d. 313, Or. 48^a, 90^a.

b. Wāsi', Muḥ. (91), d. 127. A. v, 259, d. 120; Ibn J. B.M. Add. 7320, 82^a; Sibṭ. J. B.M. Add. 23277, 189^a-190^a.

French marshal's telling his visitor how highly he valued a picture, as it had been the means of saving a man's life, which his aide-de-camp explained to mean that its owner had surrendered it on threat of being shot if he refused. But the story depicts 'Aḍud al-Daula as statesman-like and resolute, and his action may not have been without effect on Ibn Sam'un and the Ṣāfi brotherhood.

قط وترك كفه على وجهه : فلما اجتمع ابو الحسين قال الملك :
آذهب اليه بثلاثة الاف درهم وعشرة اثنان من الخزانة فان امتنع
فقل له : فترقبنا في اصحابك . فان قبلها فجيئني براسه . ففعلت
فقال : ان ثيابي هذه فصلت من نحو اربعين سنة ألمسها يوم خروجي
الى الناس والطوبى عند رجوعي وفيها متعة وبقية ما بقيت ونفقتي
من اجرة دار خلعت بها ابي فما اصنع بهذا . فقلت : فترقبنا في
اصحابك . فقال : ما في اصحابي فقير . فعدت فاخبرته فقال : الحمد
لله الذي سلمه وسكننا منه (B. M. Or. 48, 204^b).

NOTE

M. L. Massignon, now engaged on a work on Ḥallāj, has furnished me from the Berlin MS. of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Sūfiyya* (Cat. Ahlwardt No. 9972) with a material emendation of the passage given *ante*, p. 562, n. 2. The last word appears there as *مستجديات*, and M. Massignon interprets the passage thus : "Tongues, by being induced to utterance, are led to their destruction, whereas souls, by being induced to action, are led to salvation," the inducement proceeding in each case from above, and a contrast being implied between the *Zāhir* of the tongue and the *Bāṭin* of the soul.

M. Massignon points out, too, that the *Ash'ari* mentioned in connexion with Ḥallāj, *ante*, p. 572, l. 4, is not the celebrated Abu-l-Ḥasan, d. 324 (Khall. ii, 227), but the Kāḍi Abu Bakr al-Bākilāni, d. 403 (ib. 671), often called *Ash'ari* as being an adherent of Abu-l-Ḥasan—cf. *Ansāb*, 62^a, l. And he inclines to hold the passage to be in praise of Ḥallāj.

XVIII

CATALOGUE OF THE STEIN COLLECTION OF SANSKRIT MSS. FROM KASHMIR

COMPILED BY GERARD L. M. CLAUSON, SCHOLAR OF CORPUS
CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND BODEN SANSKRIT SCHOLAR.

WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY PROFESSOR A. A. MACDONELL,
KEEPER OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE.

THE subjoined catalogue describes a collection comprising 368 separate texts mainly in Sanskrit, which were collected by Dr. M. A. Stein and acquired at his expense chiefly at Śrinagar during his visits to Kashmir between 1888 and 1905. Apart from texts needed by Dr. Stein for his labours, during 1888-99, on his critical edition and annotated translation of Kāṇva's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, numerous MSS. were purchased by him either to assist the work of fellow-scholars in Europe or on account of their philological or palæographical interest.¹

In May, 1911, this collection was formally handed over by Dr. Stein to the Curators of the Indian Institute, Oxford, as a deposit during his lifetime. The Curators had gratefully accepted Dr. Stein's benefaction under the following conditions:—

(1) The MSS. are to be kept as a separate collection in a suitable place in the Indian Institute Library, on the understanding that they remain Dr. Stein's personal property during his lifetime, and that they are bequeathed to the Indian Institute under his will.

¹ Selections from his collection of Sanskrit MSS. were handed over by Dr. Stein in 1894-5 to the late Professors Bühler and Roth for the Vienna Imperial Library and the Tübingen University Library respectively. A smaller selection subsequently passed, through M. Émile Senart, Membre de l'Institut, to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

(2) The MSS. are to be held available for Dr. Stein's use during his lifetime wherever and whenever he may require any of them, arrangements for their transmission being made by the Librarian.

(3) No MS. is to be allowed to pass outside the Library except with Dr. Stein's written consent.

(4) Dr. Stein's permission for the use of MSS. of hitherto unpublished texts must be obtained by intending students in each case as long as the MSS. remain his property.

(5) A brief but exact catalogue of the MSS. is to be prepared for the Curators by a competent Sanskrit scholar selected with Dr. Stein's approval, and to be published within three years of the date on which the MSS. have been deposited at the Institute; the publication to be made, if possible, in the Journal of some Oriental Society.

The last condition has already been fulfilled by the compilation of the catalogue, with Dr. Stein's approval, by Mr. Clauson, and its publication in this Journal. The catalogue is based on one which was prepared in slips and written in Sanskrit by the late Paṇḍit Govind Kaul,¹ and which was revised and copied, with reference to the original MSS., in December, 1905, and January, 1906, by Paṇḍit Sahajabhaṭṭa² under Dr. Stein's supervision.

The MSS. are classified according to subjects in the usual way. The original manuscript numbers are given in the first column printed as Arabic numerals in thick type, while the serial numbers appear in the last column as Roman figures. This distinction is made in order to prevent confusion in identifying the MS. wanted when application is made to the Librarian to transmit it to a distance.

¹ See regarding this eminent Kashmir scholar (died 1899), Stein, *Rājatarāṅgīnī* edition, p. xvii; Translation, vol. i, p. xxii.

² Compare for Paṇḍit Sahajabhaṭṭa's scholarly experience and valuable assistance, Stein, *Catalogue of Jammu Sanskrit MSS.*, p. xi. This highly deserving scholar died in November, 1911.

Records made by Dr. Stein on the fly-leaves of MSS. have as far as possible been reproduced in the column of Notes.

Where not otherwise noted, the MSS. are written in Śāradā characters and on Kashmir paper. The note "old paper" is intended to convey that in Dr. Stein's opinion the MS. cannot date later than from the eighteenth century, but may be earlier.¹

¹ The following abbreviations are used in the Catalogue: Śār. = Śāradā; Dev. = Devanāgarī; Rāj. = Rājānaka; Mā^a = Māhātmya; Sañ^a = Sañhitāyām. The size of the MSS. is given in inches.

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
I. VEDA, VEDĀṄGA, ETC.					
208	Rgvedasya Āśvalāyanaśākhā	—	176	16	22
224	Asyavāmasūkta (R. V. I, 164) satika	—	12	12	15
29	Kāthakasūktāni	—	196	15	16
222	"	—	60	12	17
228	"	—	18	12	16
228 ^a	"	—	—	—	—
30	Some Kāthakasūktāni with Brāhmaṇa	—	117	12	40
243	Mantras from the Kāthaka Recension with Karma- kāṇḍakrama	—	310	24	25
287	Kāthaka Rcaaka Ekacakra- grahastībrāhmaṇarūpa	—	11	14	20
280	Kaivalyopaniṣaddīpikā	Śaṅkarācārya	11	17	19
278	Gopālatāpanyupaniṣattīkā	Viśveśvarācārya	43	14	15
279	Nārāyaṇopaniṣaddīpikā	Śaṅkarācārya	8	15	15
282	Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad	—	3	17	22
281	Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣaddīpikā	Śaṅkarācārya	4	16	22

* For Rājānaka Ratnakāṇṭha and his pupil or fellow-scholar, Bhaṭṭa Haraka (A²), work, pp. 45-9.

+ Probably from Rājānaka Ratnakāṇṭha's library.

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
Old paper	Śār.	7½ × 5½	Fols. 114, 133-7, 149-52, and all after 186 are missing. Contains RV. I, i-III, lx; RV. I, i-cxii, accented. The introduction to the Sarvānukramaṇī is inserted at the beginning, and the appropriate section before each adhyāya. Bought in 1896.	i
Birch-bark	..	6½ × 5½	Fols. 5-16 only, bought in 1896.	ii
Old paper	..	10 × 7	Fols. 1-199 except 28, 39, and 131. "Bought from Pt. Devakāka in 1894" [M. A. S.].	iii
..	..	..	Fols. 1-44, 139-150, 20-2, and one other. Four or five hands can be distinguished. Some annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka. "Bought from Pt. Devakāka in 1894-5" [M. A. S.].	iv +
..	..	..	Fols. 1-18 (?). Some annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka.	v +
Birch-bark	..	..	Mere fragments.	vi
19th century paper	Dev.	8 × 14	Complete; copied in 1894 from Dayārām Jotsi's MSS. at Śrīnagar.	vii
Old paper	Śār.	12 × 8½	In a contemporary leather binding. Fols. 2, 8 blank, 1-10, 1-21, 1-19, 1-32, 1-8, 1-10, 1-10, 1-32, 1-43, 1-16, 1-72, 1-3, 3 blank, 1-25, 1-9, 1 blank, 1-18, 7 blank. Also known as Reaka and Kaśmīrakakarmakāṇḍapaddhati.	viii
19th century paper	Dev.	10½ × 9½	"Copied by Pt. Sahajabhaṭṭa in 1892" [M. A. S.].	ix
17th century paper	Śār.	7½ × 6	Complete. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha. c. cxxxv.	x +
..	..	..	Fols. 1-6, 12-21, 23-49. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha. c. cxxxv.	xi +
..	..	..	Complete. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha. c. cxxxv.	xii +
..	..	..		xiii +
..	..	..		xiv +

cf. Stein's edition of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, pp. vii-xi, and his Translation of the same

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
248	Mārtāṇḍabrahmaṇa	—	3	11	20
225	Udyāpanavidhayaḥ	—	88	15	20
62	Cārāyaṇyaśikṣā	—	98	8	12
141	Laṅkāṣāśikṣā	—	47	8	12
4	Anvayakalikā	—	4	20	31
5	Abhidhānaviveka	Ratnadhara	7	17	27
198	Aṣṭādhyāyisūtrāṇi	Pāṇini	30	10	18
227	Kalāpavyākaraṇa	Śarvavarman	244	25	22
32	Kātantrapāṇcikā	Trilocanadāsa	7	14	55
297	A Kātantrapathavartini Comm. on Pāṇini	—	1	25	26
33	Kātantravivaranaṇapāṇcikā	Trilocanadāsa	67	15	57
74	Dhātumīmāṃsāsārasaṅgraha	—	7	16	22
202	Dhātuvatāra	—	18	15	20
232	Nipātasūtrāṇi	—	4	13	19
261c	A Commentary on Pāṇini	—	?	22	30
295	Prakriyākaumudī	—	9	17	20
6	Amarakośaṭīkā Paṇcikā Pada- candrikā vā	Rāyamukuta	III. 219	16	45

II. GRAMMAR

III. LEXICOGRAPHY

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
Old paper	Śār.	4 × 5½	Fols. 3-5 (end). Bought in 1898.	xv
Birch-bark	"	7 × 8	Much injured.	xvi
19th century paper	"	9½ × 6¾	Complete. Copied in 1894.	xvii
"	"	"	" "	xviii
New paper	Śār.	9¼ × 7½	Complete.	xix
Birch-bark	"	6¼ × 6¾	Fols. 4-10 (end). Bought in 1894.	xx
"	"	7½ × 6½	Fols. 24-37 (?) and 63-78 mutilated. Bought in 1894 from Devapaṇḍit. With annotations.	xxi
"	"	8 × 8	pp. 1-254 with some missing. Bad condition. Some annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka.	xxii †
17th century paper	"	6½ × 12½	Fols. 1, 2, 66-9, and another in Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha's hand. "Bought from Pt. Devakāka in Śrīnagar in 1892" [M. A. S.].	xxiii †
"	"	9½ × 6½	Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha. Fragment only. v. xxxvii.	xxiv †
"	"	6¾ × 12¾	Fols. 1-65, 3 and another. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha "Sake 1595". Bought at Śrīnagar, 1891.	xxv †
Birch-bark	"	6¼ × 6¾	Fols. 11 (beginning)-17. Same codex as No. xx. Annotated by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha.	xxvi †
Old paper	"	9 × 6½	Fols. 3-20 (end). Bought at Śrīnagar, 1891.	xxvii
"	"	6 × 4	Fols. 61-4. Bought in 1896 from Rājya Kaul.	xxviii
Birch-bark	"	5 × 6½	Much injured.	xxix
17th century paper	"	9 × 6	A few leaves only, with many annotations. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha. v. xxxvii.	xxx †
17th century paper	Śār.	6½ × 12½	Fols. 2-55 1st kāṇḍa [end part only (?)]; fols. 1-58 2nd kāṇḍa, 5th and 6th vargas; fols. 1-60 2nd kāṇḍa, vargas 7-10, and 47 other leaves, some <i>manu secunda</i> , which I cannot identify. "One has a backing containing apparently part of Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha's Comm. on the Statikūsumāñjali. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha 'Sake 1599' in the Kaṣṭavāṭa country. Bought in 1891 at Śrīnagar" [M. A. S.].	xxxi †

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
9	Amaravidyā	—	4	13	46
226	Ekākṣarakośa	—	4	11	13
254	Mañkhakośa with a Vyākhyā	Mañkha	85	26	27
102	" "	"	127	16	22
103	Mañkhakośa	"	92	12	18
289	Viśvakośa	Maheśvara son of Śrībrahma	58	20	23
157	"	"	58	25	23
290	Śāśvatakośa	Śāśvata	31	18	19
164	"	"	25	24	19
11	Arthālaṅkārah	—	14	IV. RHETORIC	
197	Alaṅkārasarvasva with Comm. called Alaṅkāravimarśinī	Jayadratha Rājānaka	107	19	21
				24	26
12	Alaṅkārodāharāṇa	Jayadratha	41	13	16
13	Alaṅkārodāharāṇanibandha	—	12	18	28

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	* NOTES.	SERIAL No.
17th century paper	Śār.	6 × 12	Fols. 1-4. Written by Rāj. Ratnakāṇṭha.	xxxii +
Old paper	..	8 × 6	Complete. Purchased from Rājya Kaul in 1896.	xxxiii
"	..	10 × 6½	Fols. 4-11, 16-64, 66-93 only. "This MS. was purchased in Oct. 1892 at Srinagar from Prasāda Paṇḍit, son of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍit and grandson of Sāhib Paṇḍit, through Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Kācharī, Kārkun, his Yajamāna. The same Cod. contained also the Viśvakōśa and Sāsvatakośa, of which portions were purchased at the same time" [M. A. S.].	xxxiv +
19th century paper	..	9 × 7½	Copy of No. xxxiv made in 1892.	xxxv
..	Dev.	10 × 8	"Copy made under Pt. Mukund Rām's supervision in 1892 of a Śāradā paper MS. of the 17th cent., brought from Srinagar. Only 28 of its original 49 fols. were extant" [M. A. S.].	xxxvi
Birch-bark	Śār.	10½ × 7½	Bound in an old cloth cover with Nos. xxiv, xxx, xxxix, xcvi, cxviii, cxxx, cxxxiv, cxl, which are in Rāj. Ratnakāṇṭha's handwriting. "It was secured from Bhadravāh in 1899, where Rāj. Ratnak. prob. left it on his visit there, c. 1660 A.D." [M. A. S.]. Fols. 4-59 only, fols. 1-3 supplied in paper.	xxxvii +
Old paper	..	10 × 6½	Fols. 2-15, 17-60 only. c. xxxiv. Some annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka.	xxxviii +
17th century paper	..	9½ × 6½	? Copy of unfinished MS. Written by Rāj. Ratnakāṇṭha. c. xxxvii.	xxxix +
Old paper	..	10 × 6½	Complete. c. xxxiv. Annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka.	xl +
Old paper	Śār.	7½ × 5½	Fols. 1-14 only.	xli
19th century paper	..	10 × 6½	Fols. 38-144. "In Pt. Sāhibrām's handwriting. Purchased in 1894 from Saṅkara Rājānaka" [M. A. S.].	xlii
..	..	7½ × 5½	Fols. 1-41 only.	xliii
..	..	9½ × 7½	Complete.	xliv

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
244	Kāvya prakāśa	Mammata and Alaṭa	107	12	19
38	Kāvya prakāśaṭkāśārasamuccayo Jayantimukhyaṭī-kodhṛtaḥ	Ratnakānṭha	16	15	27
261d	Kāvya prakāśasaṅketa	—	?	?	?
47	Kuvalayananda	Appayya Dikṣita	79	21	22
117	Rasataraṅgiṇī	Bhānudatta	16	25	26
118	Rasamañjarī	"	9	18	35
145	Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra	Vāgbhaṭa	3	17	61
12a	Śabdālaṅkāraprakaraṇa	—	10	13	16
V. KĀVYA					
10	Amarukaśataka saṭika	Amaruka ; Arjunavarman	49	16	22
46	Kumārasambhavaṭikā	Kālidāsa : Vallabhadeva	116	12	24
51	Khaḍgaśataka	—	49	12	15
52	Khaḍgaśatakaṭikā	—	101	12	15
59	Ghaṭakarparavivṛti	Ghaṭakarpara	4	16	31
63	Jahangīrakāvya	—	19	5	16
276	Dinakrandana	—	6	14	17
71	Dr̥ṣṭāntaśataka	Kusumadeva	6	10	38
231	Nidhanacarita	Sundarabhaṭṭa biḍāla	14	23	24
263	Nītipaddhati	Kṣemendra	37	15	23
81	"	"	19	27	23
305	Comm. on Naisadhacarita called Tattvavivṛti	Rājānaka Ananda	11	20	16

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
Birch-bark	Śār.	8½ × 7	Fols. 1-119 except 2-3, 22, 40, 60-1, 78, 80-2, 100, and 103, and some fragments. Bought in 1898.	xliv
17th century paper	"	6½ × 9	Incomplete (?).	xlvi
Birch-bark	"	5 × 6½	Much injured.	xlvii
19th century paper	"	7½ × 5½	Complete.	xlvi
Old paper	"	9½ × 6½	Fols. 1-16 only.	xliv
"	Dev.	4½ × 9½	Fols. 1-9; ślokaśl-130. Poṭhi-shape.	i
"	"	"	1st pariccheda complete; ślokaśl 1-25 of 2nd; 126-end of 4th; 5th complete. Same codex as l.	li
19th century paper	Śār.	7½ × 5½	Complete. Same codex as xliii.	lii
Old paper	Śār.	6½ × 4½	Fols. 1-16, 18-31, 49-62, 79-83 injured in parts.	liii
Birch-bark and old paper	"	8 × 8	Fols. 3-108 (2 pp. missing) birch-bark and 4-15 paper. Bought from Pt. Sahajabhaṭṭa. Old leather binding.	liv
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 6½	Copied from the incomplete Jammu MS. Cf. Stein's Catalogue, pp. 67 and 279.	lv
"	"	"	" "	lva
Birch-bark	Śār.	8 × 8	Complete. Fols. 158-61 of same codex as liv.	lvi
Old paper	"	3 × 4½	Fols. 2-9, 11-21; śl. 2-18, 20-41.	lvii
17th century paper	"	7½ × 6	Fols. 1-6 written by Rāj. Ratna-kaṇṭha. v. cxxxv.	lviii
"	"	6 × 10½	Complete.	lix
"	"	7½ × 5½	Complete. v. cxxxv. Purchased from Pt. Devakāka, 1894.	lx
16/17th century paper	"	7 × 5½	Fols. 65-103 of cxxxiv. Complete.	lxi
19th century paper	"	11 × 6½	A copy of lxi.	lxii
"	Dev.	8 × 6	An extract containing the author's praśasti. Copy by Dr. Stein from "a paper MS. (6" × 3") of Pt. Sunakāka Rāzdan, Haba Kadal, Śrinagar" [M.A.S.].	lxiii

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
306	Comm. on Naisadhacarita called Tattvavivṛti	Rājānaka Ananda	13	13	20
258	Prabandhacarita	—	259	14	19
245	Bhārṭṣāsārasvatasūktāvali	Bhārṭṣāsārasvata	97	6	12
205	Yudhiṣṭhiravijayakāvya- Sisyaḥitātīkāśahita	Vāsudeva : Rāj. Ratnakarṇṭha	244	24	17
114	Raghuvamśaṭikā	Kālidāsa : Vallabhadeva	33	19	26
266	Rāghavapāṇḍaviya saṭika	Kavirāja : Śaśidhara	134	24	24
120	" "	"	51	41	41
121	Rājatarāṅgiṇī	Jonarāja	64	16	16
122-3	"	Śrīvara	67	20	22
124	"	"	10	19	17
125	"	Kalhana	6	21	22
126	Rājatarāṅgiṇī Pañcamī gadyapadyamayī	Pt. Dāmodar	60	12	19
127	" "	"	49	16	19
128	Rājatarāṅgiṇīpradeśavyākhyā	Pt. Govind Kaul	201	19	14
129	Rājatarāṅgiṇīsaṅgraha gadyarūpa	Pt. Sāhibrām	130	14	20
130	" "	"	77	14	21

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Dev.	10½ × 8½	Similar copy by Pt. Govind Kaul.	lxiv
"	"	9 × 9	Modern copy of an original containing small lacunæ.	lxv
Old paper	Śār.	4 × 6½	Fols. 2-58, 61-96, 2, 7, and two others (colophon on last page but one).	lxvi
19th century paper	"	9½ × 6¼	" Modern copy of the author's original MS. Bought from Pt. Devakāka, Śrinagar, 1892" [M. A. S.]. Complete. Comm. composed Śake 1593. Cf. Stein's <i>Rājatarāṅginī</i> . Preface, p. viii.	lxvii
Birch-bark	"	8 × 8	Fols. 125-57 (end).	lxviii
19th century paper	"	9½ × 6½	Complete.	lxix
"	"	"	Complete; "written by Pt. Dāmodar and bought from him in 1889" [M. A. S.].	lxx
"	Dev.	10 × 6½	" Apparently a modern transcript of the printed edition" [M. A. S.].	lxxi
Old paper	Śār.	10¼ × 7¼	Fols. 1, 20-4, and 74 (the last one) missing. Also called Jainarāj. Some annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka. "Bought in 1888 and 1891 from a paṇḍit, to whom books had been pawned by Pt. Keśavarām's father Saṅkaro-pādhyāya" [M. A. S.].	lxxii
"	"	10½ × 6½	Fols. 2-5, 7, 10, 12-15 only.	lxxiii
"	"	8½ × 5½	Fols. 2-7 only.	lxxiv
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 8	Copy of author's original unfinished MS.	lxxv
"	Śār.	9½ × 7½	" "	lxxvi
"	Dev.	9½ × 6	Complete. Notes regarding some places mentioned in the <i>Rājatarāṅginī</i> , in various hands.	lxxvii
"	"	9¼ × 8	" Copies of a Bombay Govt. MS. beginning at Sarga iv and Poona MS. 1875/6, No. 178 (?), which lacks the end" [M. A. S.].	lxxviii
"	"	9½ × 8½	" Copy of Pt. Sāhibrām's original notes for his continuation of the <i>Rājatarāṅginī</i> , containing an account of Kāśmīr, under Sikh rule, and a narrative of events in Ranbir Singh's time" [M. A. S.].	lxxix

MS. No.	TITLE	AUTHOR	FOLIOS	LINES	AKṢARAS
268	Rājatarāṅginīśaṅgraha gadyarūpa	Pt. Sāhībrām	100	24	25
267	Rājatarāṅginīsāra	"	79	21	18
271	Rājatarāṅginī Notes	M. A. Stein and Pt. Govind Kaul	—	—	—
131	Rājāvalī	—	2	15	23
157	Lekhaśikṣā	Pt. Sāhībrām	61	12	17
133	"	Pt. Dāmodar	27	17	18
243	Vairāgyaśataka	Bhartṛhari	16	13	18
303	Śrūgāratilaka	Rudrabhaṭṭa	16	18	21
301	Śrūgāramañjari	Bhānubhaṭṭa	22	16	20
166	Śrīkaṇṭhacaritatikā	Jonarāja	16	12	42
171	Samayamātrkā	Kṣemendra	31	12	13
253	Samayamātrkāvyākhyā	—	95	14	24
256	"	—	25	36	36
178	Suvṛttatilaka	Kṣemendra	15	15	26
187	Haravijaya	Rāj. Ratnākara	159	27	30
244 ⁵	"	—	12	12	19
188	Haravijayatīkā Laghupañcika	Rāj. Ratna- kaṇṭha	13	14	48
189	Haravijayatīkā viśama- doddhyotābhidhā	Rāj. Alaka	96	27	26
294	Haravijayasāravivarṇa	Utpala	14	22	30
2	Anargharāghavanātaka	Murāri	102	16	VI. DRAMA 21
105	"	"	33	15	62

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Śār.	10 × 7	First 100 fols. Script changes at fol. 32.	lxxx
"	"	9 × 6	Fols. 1-64, 66-80 (error in numeration only). "Received from Dr. Hultzsch, 1898. Author's autograph MS." [M. A. S.].	lxxxix
"	—	—	"Miscellaneous notes written 1890-92" [M. A. S.].	lxxxii
Old paper	Śār.	7½ × 6	Fols. 121-2 with a modern transcript in Dev.	lxxxiii
19th century paper	Dev.	9¼ × 7¼	"Copy made in 1892 of author's original incomplete MS.	lxxxiv
"	"	12 × 7	"Author's original MS. Specimens of letters, adapted from a Persian text" [M. A. S.].	lxxxv
"	Śār.	7 × 4½	v. cxxxvi.	lxxxvi
Old paper	"	6½ × 5¼	Fols. 18-31 (end) and two folios of notes. v. ccclix.	lxxxvii†
"	Dev.	"	Complete. Annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka. v. ccclix.	lxxxviii†
17th century paper	Śār.	5½ × 10½	Fols. 15-24 end of 2nd sarga; fols. 25-30 beginning of 3rd. Written by Rāj. Ratnakāṇṭha.	lxxxix†
19th century paper	Dev.	7 × 11	Complete copy of damaged MS.	xc
"	"	13 × 8	Complete. "Written by Pt. Govind Kaul for me in 1898" [M. A. S.].	xc
Foolscap	"	10 × 9	" "	xcii
Birch-bark	Śār.	8 × 7	Fols. 30-44 (end). A chandah-śāstra.	xciii
Old paper	"	9½ × 6¼	Complete.	xciv
Birch-bark	"	8½ × 7	Fols. 8 (beginning)-19, preceded by two leaves of Lokaparakāśa. Part of same (?) codex as xlv.	xcv
17th century paper	"	6 × 12½	Author's own MS. dated Śake 1603. Incomplete.	xcvi†
Old paper	"	9½ × 6¼	Fols. 1-96 only. Same codex as xciv.	xcvii
17th century paper	"	9½ × 6½	Written by Rāj. Ratnakāṇṭha. Fols. 1-14 only. v. xxxvii.	xcviii†
Old paper	Śār.	8½ × 6	Fols. 2-99, 101-4 with annotations.	xcix
"	Dev.	4¼ × 9¼	Pothi-form. Leaves much mutilated at the edge. Fols. 1-33; ends in middle of 7th act.	c

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
3	Anargharāghavaśaṅketa	Murāri	17	22	23
90	Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava	Rājasekhara	21	14	23
91	"	"	12	27	25
93	Prabodhacandrodayaṭṭkā	Rāj. Ratna- kaṇṭha	7	18	50
116	Ratnāvali	Harṣadeva	22	20	23
135	Laṭakamelanaprahasana	Śaṅkhaḍhara	51	12	13
284	Vidaḍḍhamādhava	Rūpa Gosvāmin	104	17	17
159	Śakuntalānāṭaka	Kālidāsa	52	14	23

VII. ROMANCES, ETC.

34	Kādambari	Bāṇabhaṭṭa	13	21	28
35	"	"	31	23	18
171b	Kādambarikathāśaṅkṣepa	Kṣemendra	2	18	28
171a	Kādambarikathāśāra	Abhinanda	17	18	28
264	Tantrākhyāyikā	Viṣṇuśarman	112	15	21
298	"	"	19	22	27
299	"	"	146	6	41
304	"	"	81	17	22
87	"	"	53	27	23

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
Birch-bark	Śār.	9 × 6½	Fols. 2-18. 2nd act ends on fol. 17.	ci
Old paper	..	9¼ × 6½	Fols. 4-16, 18-25 (end).	cii
"	..	..	Complete. Many annotations.	ciii
17th century paper	..	Various	Fols. 1-7 (?) only. Rough copy of the author. "Bought from Pt. Devakāka, Śrīnagar, 1892" [M. A. S.]	civ +
"	..	9¼ × 6½	Complete. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka. Dated Laukika (47) 69 (?).	cv +
19th century paper	Dev.	9¾ × 6½	"Copied in 1890 from a Jammu MS. with lacunas" [M. A. S.]	cvi
Birch-bark	Śār.	7¾ × 6¼	Fols. 1-54, 57-106. v. cxxxv.	cvii +
Old paper	..	9¼ × 6½	Same codex as cii. Fols. 26 (beginning)-29 (27 appears twice), 31-63, 65-78 (middle of the 6th act).	cviii
Old paper	Śār.	9¾ × 6¼	Fols. 112-23 and 144. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	cix +
"	..	9 × 6	Fols. 82-110, the Nos. 93 and 97 both used twice. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	cx +
19th century paper	..	6½ × 9½	Complete. Fols. 23-4 of next MS.	cxī
"	..	..	Fols. 1-3, 21, 22 (end) missing.	cxii
16/17th century paper	..	7 × 5½	Some codex as cxxxv, q.v. Fols. 1-112, the last 6 worn. Hertel's "codex z". Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	cxiii +
Old paper	..	9½ × 6¾	Fols. 54 (beginning)-72, pp. 1-49, 3 of Hertel's text. Hertel's "MS. q." On first page last 5 or 6 lines of the Bhojaprabandha. "Acquired through Pt. Sahajabhatta Feb. 1905" [M. A. S.].	cxiv
"	..	3¾ × 8¾	Fols. 1-14 missing. "Bought through Pt. Sahajabhatta in Śrīnagar, 1904" [M. A. S.]. Hertel's "MS. p".	cxv
16/17th century paper	..	6¾ × 5¼	Fols. 1-81. Contains first 3 books and 3 fols. of the fourth. v. ccclix. Hertel's "codex R".	cxvi +
19th century paper	..	11 × 6½	A copy of No. cxiii.	cxvii

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
291	Damayantikathā	Trivikrama-bhaṭṭa	17	23	24
99	Bhojaprabandha	Ballāla	40	20	21
100	"	"	45	25	28
107	Mādhavānalakāmakandalā-kathā	—	14	18	25
147	Vāsavadattā	Subandhu	19	25	32
148	"	"	15	10	19
149	"	"	49	13	19
150	"	"	40	17	20
236	Vetālapañcaviṃśikā	Somabhaṭṭadeva	75	15	21
273	Śaṅkṣiptahariścandrakathā	Bhaṭṭāśrupaka (?)	6	16	17
173	Siṅghāsanadvātrīṃśikā	—	84	19	16
260	Harṣacarita	Bāṇabhaṭṭa	135	15	20
296	"	"	2	24	30
191	"	"	157	15	21
193	"	"	65	18	22
80	Nirṇayāmṛta	VIII. PHILOSOPHY AND DHARMAŚĀSTRA Alādanātha, son of Siddhalakṣ- maṇa	337	17	16

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
17th century paper	Śār.	10 × 7	Copy by Rāj. Ratnakantha of an unfinished MS. Same codex as xxxvii.	cxviii †
Old paper	..	9½ × 6½	Fols. 14-53 (end).	cxix
19th century paper	..	7½ × 5½	Complete. Dated Laukika (49) 20.	cxx
Old paper	..	6½ × 5	Last 14 fols. (?). Annotations by Bhatta Haraka. "Bought from Pt. Viṣṇujīva, 1892" [M. A. S.].	cxxi †
..	..	9¼ × 6½	Complete. Dated (47) 47 (?). Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	cxixii †
Birch-bark	..	6½ × 6	Fols. 47-61. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka. "Bought from Pt. Mahānandajīva, 1892" [M. A. S.].	cxixiii †
Old paper	..	7½ × 6	Complete. Some pages injured. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka. "Bought from Pt. Gopāla Kōkila's library, 1892" [M. A. S.].	cxixiv †
..	..	9½ × 6½	Complete. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	cxixv †
Birch-bark	..	7¼ × 7	Much damaged.	cxixvi
17th century paper	..	7½ × 6	Damaged. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. r. cxxxv.	cxixvii †
19th century paper	..	8 × 5½	Complete. Dated (49) 43.	cxixviii
17th century paper	..	10 × 7	Fols. 267-401. The 5th ucchvāsa ends on fol. 400. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. "Obtained from Bhadravāh in 1899" [M. A. S.].	cxixix †
..	..	9½ × 6½	Fragment only. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. r. cxxxvii.	cxixx †
Old paper	..	6 × 6	Fols. 1-150, 152-8. "Bought through Pt. Devakāka, Srinagar, 1891" [M. A. S.].	cxixxi
..	..	10 × 7	Fols. 18-32, 35-51. Annotations Bhatta Haraka. Begins with 2nd ucchvāsa; also in other hands 49-64, 63-73, and 75-80. Bought at Srinagar, 1891.	cxixxii †
Birch-bark	Śār.	7 × 5	Nearly complete. First and last few leaves injured. Old leather binding. "Laukika 4300" mentioned in colophon. "Bought from Pt. Dāmodar, 1889" [M. A. S.]. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	cxixxiii †

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
292	Nyāyasāra	—	8	17	23
272	Bhagavadgītāsāra	—	8	14	20
246	Bhavānibhujāṅgastotra	Śaṅkara	2	18	20
199	Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra	—	49	6	21
234	"	Kaṇḍīrācārya-sarasvatī	7	6	24
246	"	—	18	12	17
293	Saṅkhyasaptatiṭikā	Vīrarāja Bhaṭṭa	24	22	21
246	Hastāmālakastotra	Saṅkarācārya	3	18	20
IX. SCIENCE					
(a) ASTRONOMY					
261	Adhimāsodāharāṇa	Ratnakāṇṭha	5	10	23
286	Kālakalanā	—	2	24	30
261	Gaṇakaprakāśa	Ekanātha	2½	9	21
261	Candragatisaraṇi	—	c. 12	—	—
76	Dhruvabhramāṇayantrā-dhikāra Yantrarātnāvalyām	Padmanābha, son of Nārmada	32	7	19
307	Nakṣatrapāṭṭrikā Kāśmīrikī	Pt. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa	14	—	—
98	Bhāsvatīṭikā Bhāsvatīdyota	Śatānanda, son of Śaṅkara	26	15	23
(b) ARCHITECTURE					
151	Vāstuvidyā	Maya	83	18	16
257	"	"	120	various	

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
17th century paper	Śar.	10 × 7	Fols. 1-8. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha. v. xxxvii.	cxxxiv +
Birch-bark	„	7½ × 6	Vedānta. Much injured. "This codex, bound in old leather, was procured from Bhadravāh in 1899" [M. A. S.]. It also contains x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, lviii, cvii, cxxvii, cxliii, cliv, cccxxxvi, ccclxvi, ccclxviii.	cxxxv
19th century paper	„	7 × 4½	Complete. Vedānta. This codex (159 fols. in all) contains also lxxxvi, cxxxix, cxli, ccxxxvi, cccxxxix, cccxxxii, ccclviii, ccclxx.	cxxxvi
„ „	Dev.	3¼ × 5½	Fols. 2-45, 116-18, 145, 148.	cxxxvii
Old paper	Śar.	3 × 7	Fols. 1-3, 6-9. In Kāśmīri. Bought in 1896.	cxxxviii
19th century paper	„	7 × 4½	Complete. Vedānta. With annotations. v. cxxxvi.	cxxxix
17th century paper	„	10 × 7	Complete. Sāṅkhya. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha. v. xxxvii.	cxl +
19th century paper	„	7 × 4½	Complete. Vedānta. v. cxxxvi.	cxli
19th century paper	Śar.	6 × 7	Fols. 4-8 (end).	cxlii
17th century paper	„	7½ × 6	Incomplete. v. cxxxv.	cxliii +
Birch-bark	„	6 × 7	Fols. 4b, 5, 6.	cxliv
„	„	6½ × 5½	Tables of calculations, mutilated.	cxlv
19th century paper	Dev.	5 × 7½	Complete. "Received from Sirdar Sir Attar Singh Bhadaurwalla 1890" [M. A. S.].	cxlvi
„	Śar.	6¾ × 11¼	"A calendar for the Laukika year 4969 (A.D. 189½). The author was a brother of Pt. Sahaja-bhaṭṭa" [M. A. S.].	cxlvii
„	„	4½ × 5½	Complete. "Copied from a Śrinagar MS. by Pt. Deva Bhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa" [M.A.S.]. (Cf. cxlvii.)	cxlviii
Birch-bark	Śar.	6 × 8½	Fols. 1-118, some missing, all defective.	cxlix
19th century paper	Dev.	10 × 9	"Copy of cxlix by Pt. Govind Kaul" [M. A. S.].	c

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
(c) MEDICINE					
209	Vaidyakalpataru	Mallinātha, son of Śeṣganātha	186	15	17
X. EPIC					
247	Mahābhārata	Vyāsa	79	27	36
132	Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra	Kṣemendra	187	17	22
283	Sanatsujātyatikā	—	33	16	27
XI. PURĀṆA, MĀHĀTMYA, ETU.					
7	Amaranāthamāhātmya	—	9	12	27
8	"	—	21	19	15
269	"	—	—	—	—
214	Amareśvarakalpa Vāthula- tantranirgata	—	8	15	24
251	Ardhanārīśvaramā° Ādipurāṇe	—	1	159	15
269	Aśvataramā°	—	—	—	—
269	Aśvavaramā°	—	—	—	—
269	Ākulagrāmamā°	—	—	—	—
269	Āṅgagrāmamā°	—	—	—	—
269	Indramunimā°	—	—	—	—
212	Indrāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
253	Īśalayagrāmamā° Bhṛāgīśa- samhitāyām	—	6	8	43
43	" "	—	—	—	—
212	" "	—	—	—	—
269	Kanyālavaramā°	—	—	—	—
43	Kapātamunimā°	—	—	—	—
43	Kapateśvaramā° Haracarita- cintāmaṇau	Jayadratha	—	—	—
19	Kapālamocanamā°	—	8	10	26
20	"	—	10	10	22

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
Old paper	Śār.	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5	"Bought from Sarvānanda Kaul in 1895" [M. A. S.].	cli
16/17th century paper	Śār.	14 × 10	Fols. 60-4, end of Gadāparvan; fols. 64-78, beginning of Saup-tikaparvan; fols. 74-84, end of Strīparvan; fols. 1-50 (exc. 11), Āśvamedhikaparvan. For some account of this MS. v. Dr. Stein's article in JRAS., 1900, pp. 187-94.	clii†(?)
Old paper	"	7 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 1, 2, 19 (?), and 191 ff. missing.	cliii
Birch-bark	"	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6	Mahābhārata Udyogaparvan, ch. 40-5, with Comm. fols. 1-20, 24, 26-37. Part written by Rāj. Ratnakarṇṭha. r. cxxxv.	cliv†
Old paper	Śār.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	The end wanting in archetype.	clv
19th century paper	"	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	Complete.	clvi
—	—	—	r. No. clxxxi.	clvii
19th century paper.	Dev.	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	"Copied in 1895 by Kāśī Rām from Poona MS. 49" [M. A. S.].	clviii
" (?)	Śār.	61 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Complete, a roll.	clix
—	—	—	r. No. clxxxi.	clx
—	—	—	"	clxi
—	—	—	"	clxii
—	—	—	"	clxiii
—	—	—	"	clxiv
—	—	—	"	clxv
—	—	—	Fols. 17-18. r. cexl.	clxvi
Old paper	Śār.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 11	Complete.	clxvii
—	—	—	Fols. 49-50. r. clxxxv.	clxviii
—	—	—	Fols. 1-3. r. cexl.	clxix
—	—	—	r. clxxxi.	clxx
—	—	—	Fols. 11-14. r. clxxxv.	clxxi
—	—	—	Fols. 53-5. r. clxxxv.	clxxii
Old paper	Śār.	4 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Complete.	clxxiii
19th century paper	"	5 × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	clxxiiii

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
21	Kapālamocanamā ^c	—	5	25	18
22	"	—	6	15	16
43	"	—	—	—	—
269	Karaṇḍagrāmamā ^c	—	—	—	—
242	Kalpītamā ^c Anantanāgagrā- mānām	—	17	13	32
39	Kāśmā ^c Brahmapaivarta- purāṇe	—	68	12	46
40	Kāśmīratīrthasaṅgraha	Pt. Dāmodar	33	20	18
269	"	Sāhibrām	38	33	28
25	Kāśmīradeśatīrthasaṅgraha	"	54	7	18
41	Kāśmīrikapuraganānām grā- mānām ca vyākhyā	Pt. Kāśī Rām	17	15	18
42	Kāśmīrikapradeśānām mathānām Ghaṭṭādīnām ca saṅgraha	"	43	18	10
43	Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nānāvidhāni	—	108	54	42
269	Kedāratuṅgamā ^c	—	—	—	—
48, 49	Kedāratīrthamā ^c	—	4	11	26
215	Kedārapurāṇa	—	17	15	24

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
Old paper	Śār.	9½ × 6	Complete.	clxxiv
"	"	9 × 6	"	clxxv
—	—	—	Fols. 55-6. c. clxxxv.	clxxvi
—	—	—	c. clxxxi.	clxxvii
19th century paper	Śār.	4½ × 7½	" Compiled by order of Śrī Mahārāja Ranavīrasīnha. Bought in 1898 " [M. A. S.].	clxxviii
17th century paper	"	6 × 12	Fols. 1-36, 38-69 only. " Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha and bought from Pt. Devakāka, son of Pt. Dayārām, and said to come from same source as other MSS. of Ratnakantha in the collection " [M. A. S.].	clxxix†
"	"	9 × 6	In author's handwriting. Many blank pages; † unfinished. " List of tirthas arranged according to Parganas, with legendary accounts of some sites. Received from author 1890 " [M. A. S.].	clxxx
"	"	10 × 7	Contents are catalogued alphabetically. " Received from Dr. Hultzsch 1898 " [M. A. S.].	clxxxi
"	"	9½ × 8½	Complete. " Copy of Poona MS., 1875-6, No. 61, made by Sant Rām " [M. A. S.].	clxxxii
19th century paper	Dev.	8½ × 24	" Topographical and Archaeological Notes collected on preliminary tour in Kram'rāj and Maravarāj, 1891 " [M. A. S.].	clxxxiii
"	"	10½ × 7½	" Topographical Notes collected during my tours in Kram'rāj, Kāśmīr, and at Srinagar, 1892. Also transliterated list of Mahallas of Srinagar " [M. A. S.].	clxxxiv
"	Śār.	14 × 9	Contents catalogued in alphabetical order. Many blank leaves, but complete. " Written by Pt. Dāmodar and his copyist for his father Sāhibrām, who was collecting materials for his Tirthasaṅgraha about 1866 " [M. A. S.].	clxxxv
—	—	—	c. No. clxxxi.	clxxxvi
Old paper	Śār.	6½ × 4½	Complete. Written in two hands.	clxxxvii
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 8½	" Copied in 1895 from Poona MS. 54, by Kāśī Rām " [M. A. S.].	clxxxviii

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
50	Koṭitīrthamā°	—	15	12	15
269	Kṣīragaṅgāmā°	—	—	—	—
212	Kṣemarājasañjñakagrāmamā°	—	—	—	—
269	Khilyāyanamā°	—	—	—	—
216	Gaṅgodbbhedamā° Ādipurāṇe	—	7	15	24
54	Gayāpañcasthalimā°	—	2	27	18
53	Gayāpaddhati	—	6	13	16
55	Gayāmā° paurāṇika	—	12	12	15
58	Godāvarimā°	—	12	12	16
43	„	—	—	—	—
269	Gomūtragaṅgā Prayonaḍvale	—	—	—	—
212	Golābhopavana	—	—	—	—
269	Ghañṭhālipuramā°	—	—	—	—
269	Ghañṭipuramā°	—	—	—	—
212	Carāpuramā°	—	—	—	—
43	Citrakūtācalamā° Ādipurāṇe Haracaritacintāmaṇau	—	—	—	—
212	Chatresāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
43	Jaṭāgaṅgāmā°	—	—	—	—
64	Jālandharapīṭhādīpikā or Jālandharamā°	Prabhādānand- ācārya Kulāvadhūta	155	12	13
65	Jālandharamā°	—	208	12	17
207	„ Brahmanāḍapurāṇe	—	77	9	24
43	Jyesthādevīmā° Bhṛūgīkasañ- hitāyām	—	—	—	—
212	Tilaprasṭhagrāmamā°	—	—	—	—
44	Tirthasaṅgraha	Sāhibrām	19	12	16
43	Tripuraprādurbbhāva	—	—	—	—
68	Dakṣiṇamānasa yātrā, Pañca- krośiyātrā, Nītyayātrā, and Antargṛhyayātrā	—	3	13	17
269	Dandakāraṇyamā°	—	—	—	—
212	Dronāśramamā°	—	—	—	—

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Dev.	10 × 6½	Complete. "Copy of MS. belonging to Pt. Janardhan, Srinagar, 1892" [M. A. S.].	clxxxix
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	exc
—	—	—	Fols. 16-17. v. cexl.	exci
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	excii
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 8½	"Copy made by Kāśī Rām in 1895 of Poona MS. 56" [M. A. S.]. With notes by Dr. Stein.	exciii
Old paper	Śār.	9½ × 6	Complete. Same codex as clxxiv.	exciv
"	"	6½ × 5	End of archetype missing. Bought 1892.	excv
19th century paper	Dev.	10 × 6½	Complete. With notes by Dr. Stein.	excvi
Old paper	Śār.	7 × 5½	Complete.	excvii
—	—	—	Fols. 53-4. v. clxxxv.	excviii
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	excix
—	—	—	Fol. 19. v. cexl.	ec
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	eci
—	—	—	"	ecii
—	—	—	Fols. 6-8. v. cexl.	eciii
—	—	—	Fol. 25. v. clxxxv.	eciv
—	—	—	Fols. 22-3. v. cexl.	ecv
—	—	—	Fol. 51. v. clxxxv.	ecvi
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 8½	Complete.	ecvii
"	"	9 × 8	"	ecviii
"	"	6 × 12½	"Copied A.D. 1894 from a MS. belonging to Pt. Sivadatta" [M. A. S.]. Complete.	ecix
—	—	—	Fols. 79-80. v. clxxxv.	ecx
—	—	—	Fol. 5. v. cexl.	ecxi
19th century paper	Dev.	10 × 6½	"Copied from Poona MS. 61, prob. an abstract of this work" [M. A. S.].	ecxii
—	—	—	Fols. 95-6. v. clxxxv.	ecxiii
17th century paper	Śār.	7 × 5	Complete in each case. ? in Rāj. Ratnakantha's handwriting.	ecxiv†
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	ecxv
—	—	—	Fols. 11-13. v. cexl.	ecxvi

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
212	Dhanyāśrame Śivatīrthamā°	—	—	—	—
269	Dhīrāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
75	Dhyāneśvaramā°	—	5	12	15
77	Nandikṣetramā° Śarvāvatāre	—	16	11	17
212	Navadurgāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
269	Nāgāripuramā°	—	—	—	—
43	Nāgārcanavidhi	—	—	—	—
269	Nārāyaṇasthalamā°	—	—	—	—
262	Nilamatapurāṇa	—	64	18	23
82	"	—	42	25	22
83	"	—	215	12	19
84	"	—	192	12	19
270	"	—	181	16	various
85	Naubandhanatīrthamā° Ādi- purāṇe	—	15	16	16
86	" "	—	16	10	32
43	" "	—	—	—	—
212	Pañceśvaramā°	—	—	—	—
288	Pāṭaliputramā°	Śaṅkaraśarman	14	12	32
88	Piṅgaleśvaramā° Haricarita- cintāmaṇaṇ	Jayadratha	4	12	15
43	" "	—	—	—	—
89	Purāṇanamandirasāṅgraha	Pt. Govind Kaul	42	22	26
43	Puṣkaramā° Bhṛṅgtāsaṇḍ°	—	—	—	—
269	Puṣpākarīmā°	—	—	—	—

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
—	—	—	Fols. 21-2. v. cexl.	cexvii
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	cexviii
19th century paper	Dev.	10 × 6½	Complete. "Copy of a Jammu MS." [M. A. S.].	cexix
"	Śār.	6 × 5	Complete. Bought in 1894.	cexx
—	—	—	Fols. 19-20. v. cexl.	cexxi
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	cexxii
—	—	—	Fols. 8-11. v. clxxxv.	cexxiii
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	cexxiv
16/17th century paper	Śār.	7 × 5½	Bound in leather with lxi and cxiii. "Bought from Kaṇṭhabhaṭṭa in 1905. Many annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka. This MS. has been known to me since 1891, when I had it copied. This text of the Nil. is the best known to me, and should serve as a basis for a future edition" [M. A. S.].	cexxv†
19th century paper	"	10 × 7	Complete (?).	cexxvi
"	Dev.	9½ × 8	Complete. "Copy of Poona MS. 64" [M. A. S.].	cexxvii
"	"	"	Complete. "Copy made in 1889 of cexxv" [M. A. S.].	cexxviii
Foolscap	"	13½ × 8½	Complete. Carefully prepared text with various readings. Written by Pt. Govind Kaul, under Dr. Stein's supervision.	cexxix
17th century paper	Śār.	7 × 5	Fols. 1-38, 49-52 missing. In Rāj. Ratnakāṇṭha's handwriting (?).	cexxx†
19th century paper	"	5 × 9½	Complete.	cexxxi
—	—	—	Fols. 105-8. v. clxxxv.	cexxxii
—	—	—	Fols. 8-9. v. cexl.	cexxxiii
19th century paper	Dev.	9 × 5	Complete. "Presented at Patna 1899" [M. A. S.].	cexxxiv
"	"	10 × 6½	Complete.	cexxxv
—	—	—	Fol. 88. v. clxxxv.	cexxxvi
19th century paper	Dev.	8½ × 6½	Composed and written by order of Dr. Stein.	cexxxvii
—	—	—	Fols. 57-8. v. clxxxv.	cexxxviii
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	cexxxix

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
212	Phāḥpuraganasthatirthamā- hātmyāni	—	23	17	19
212	Badarikāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
269	Balihāramā°	—	—	—	—
95	Bahurūpakalpa	—	3	13	17
96	"	—	3	16	42
43	Brāhmaṇādijātiyakamā°	—	—	—	—
269	Bhaṭṭapurikāmā°	—	—	—	—
97	Bhadrakālīprādurbhāva Mahābhārata Vanaparvaṇi	Vyāsa	6	12	14
269	Bhadrakaṇḍābrahmasaromā°	—	—	—	—
269	Bhāvagaṇḍikāmā°	—	—	—	—
269	Bhṛgutirthanīlagangāmā°	—	—	—	—
269	Maḍavāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
104	Māhādevagirimā° Bhṛṅgi- śasani°	—	10	24	19
43	Maheśvarakaṇḍamā° Bhṛṅgi- śasani°	—	—	—	—
269	Māmalesvaramā°	—	—	—	—
212	Mārasūlāmā°	—	—	—	—
109	Mārtāṇḍamā° Bhaviṣyatpu- rāṇe	—	2	16	30
110	Mārtāṇḍamā°	—	6	16	16
217	" Brahmaṇḍapūrāṇe	—	13	15	24
43	Kaśmīrakaṇḍe	—	—	—	—
218	Mārtāṇḍamahātmye Cākāvi- malakamalamā°	—	—	—	—
218	Mitrapathādīyavārthaprasāna Adipurāṇe	—	5	15	24
43	Yogyalaṅkaraṇamā°	—	—	—	—
212	Raṇasthānamā°	—	—	—	—
269	Ratnasāikharagarbhayātrāma- rāvatīmā	—	—	—	—
211	Rājñīprādurbhāva Bhṛṅgi- śasani°	—	11	26	24
43	" "	—	—	—	—
43	Rājñīmā° Bhṛṅgiśasani°	—	—	—	—
269	Rāmapuramā°	—	—	—	—

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Dev. and Sār.	9½ × 6½	A collection of Māhātmyas in various hands. Fols. 14-37, fol. 24 missing.	cexl
—	—	—	Fol. 18. v. cexl.	cexli
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	cexlii
17th century paper	Sār.	7 × 5	Beginning only. In Rāj. Ratna-kantha's handwriting (?). Same codex as cexxx.	cexliii†
19th century paper	„	7 × 11	Ends on 2a.	cexliv
—	—	—	Fol. 11. v. clxxxv.	cexlv
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	cexlvi
19th century paper	Dev.	10 × 6½	Complete.	cexlvii
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	cexlviii
—	—	—	„	cexlix
—	—	—	„	cel
—	—	—	„	celi
19th century paper	Sār.	10 × 6½	Complete. Copy made by Mukund Rām in 1891.	celii
—	—	—	Fol. 23. v. clxxxv.	celiii
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	celiv
—	—	—	Fols. 3-4. v. cexl.	celv
19th century paper	Sār.	11 × 7	Complete.	celvi
Old paper	„	6½ × 4½	Fols. 2-7 only.	celvii
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 8½	“Copy of Poona MS. 78, the middle of which is lost” [M. A. S.].	celviii
—	—	—	Fols. 1-5. v. clxxxv.	celix
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 8½	Complete. “Copy of Poona MS. 80, made by Kāśī Rām in 1895” [M. A. S.].	celx
—	—	—	Fols. 85-7. v. clxxxv.	celxi
—	—	—	Fols. 20-1. v. cexl.	celxii
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	celxiii
19th century paper	Sār.	9½ × 6½	Bought in 1895 from Pt. Rājya Kaul. Copy of unfinished MS.	celxiv
—	—	—	Unfinished fols. 27-9. v. clxxxv.	celxv
—	—	—	Fol. 31. v. clxxxv.	celxvi
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	celxvii

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
43	Lakṣmīprādurbhāva	—	—	—	—
203	Lakṣmīprādurbhāvapūjā-phala, etc.	—	4½	14	48
269	Lambodarīmā°	—	—	—	—
212	Batapuramā°	—	—	—	—
155	Varāhakṣetramā°	—	2	20	48
143	„ Varāhapurāṇe	—	6	12	14
219	„ „	—	11	15	24
142	Vardhamānasvāmimā°	—	7	10	17
269	Vāgāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
212	Vāṇyāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
269	Vānarapuramā°	—	—	—	—
269	Vāyuvārjanapañcātaraṅgi- ṇīmā°	—	—	—	—
152	Vijayēśvaramā°	—	23	19	21
220	„	—	49	15	24
153	Vitastāmā° Ādipurāṇe	—	2	13	34
154	„ „	—	69	vari- ous	
155	„ Bhṛṅgīśasatī°	—	34	21	42
156	„ „	—	31	20	40
252	„ Ādipurāṇe	—	8	15	23
43	Viranāgopapattyādi	—	—	—	—
212	Śatadhārātīrtha	—	—	—	—
213	Śarvavatāra	—	27	15	24
212	Śāṇḍilyāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
160	Śāradāpuramā° Vitastāmāhāt- myānniṣkṛṣṭa	—	27	13	11

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
—	—	—	Fol. 80. v. clxxxv.	celxviii
Old paper	Śār.	5 × 9	Written in red ink. Incomplete.	celxix
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	celxx
—	—	—	Fol. 18. v. cexl.	celxxi
19th century paper	Śār.	7 × 10	Incomplete.	celxxii
„	Dev.	10 × 6½	Complete.	celxxiii
„	„	9½ × 8½	Complete. "Copy of Poona MS. 85, by Kāśī Rām" [M. A. S.].	celxxiv
„	„	6 × 7½	Complete. "Written by Pt. Totakāka and given to me in 1894" [M. A. S.].	celxxv
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	celxxvi
—	—	—	Fols. 14-15. v. cexl.	celxxvii
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	celxxviii
—	—	—	„	celxxix
Old paper	Śār.	8½ × 6½	Complete. Annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka. "Bought at Bij-Brūr in 1893 from Vāsudeva Bhoyā" [M. A. S.].	celxxx†
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 8½	"Copy of Poona MS. 87, which is incomplete, by Kāśī Rām, in 1895" [M. A. S.].	celxxxi
„	Śār.	7 × 11	Complete.	celxxxii
Old paper	„	Various	Incomplete (end missing). An old MS. supplemented <i>secunda manu</i> .	celxxxiii
19th century paper	„	7 × 10	Complete.	celxxxiv
„	„	„	„	celxxxv
„	Dev.	10 × 8½	Complete. "Copy of Poona MS. 88, by Pt. Govind Kaul" [M. A. S.].	celxxxvi
—	—	—	Fols. 7-8. v. clxxxv.	celxxxvii
—	—	—	Fols. 4-5. v. cexl.	celxxxviii
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 8½	"Copy of Poona MS. 94, made by Kāśī Rām in 1895" [M. A. S.]. Incomplete pages numbered 1-24 and 1-3.	celxxxix
—	—	—	Fol. 16. v. cexl.	cexx
Old paper	Śār.	6½ × 5	Lacks fol. 1. Many annotations.	cexxi

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
161	Śāradāmā° Bhr̥ṅgīśasaṁ°	—	13	12	15
43	" "	—	—	—	—
162	Śārikāpariccheda or Śārikāmā°	—	14	9	16
163	" "	—	23	17	15
204	Śārikāmā° Bhr̥ṅgīśasaṁ°	—	20	17	16
269	Śivāguhāmā°	—	—	—	—
212	Śvetagaṅgāmā° Bhr̥ṅgīśasaṁ°	—	—	—	—
67	Sandhyāmā° Ādipurāṇe	Śrī Śivasvāmin	15	24	19
212	Siddhāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
176	Sureśvarimā°	—	16	20	14
177	" Bhr̥ṅgīśasaṁ°	—	4	21	17
43	" "	—	—	—	—
269	Sūryāśramamā°	—	—	—	—
269	Seraṇagrāmamā°	—	—	—	—
180	Saindhavāraṇyattīrthamā° Padmapurāṇe	—	24	13	16
269	Sthalavāṭikāmā°	—	—	—	—
269	Sthānvāśramapiśagirisūśra- manāgamā° (?)	—	—	—	—
183	Svayambhuvasaṁhitā	—	9	18	15
43	"	—	—	—	—
184	Svayambhuvagnimā°	—	5	14	15
269	Hayagrīvābhāramā°	—	—	—	—
206	Haracaritacintāmaṇi	Jayadratha Rājānaka	195	15	21
210	Haramukūṭagaṅgāmā°	"	23	13	23
186	" Bhr̥ṅgīśasaṁ°	—	20	14	17
185	" "	—	12	16	32

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Dev.	10 × 6½	Complete, with topographical notes by Dr. Stein. Dated 1894.	cexxi
—	—	—	Fols. 61-6. v. clxxxv.	cexxiii
Old paper	Śār.	5½ × 4	Fols. 2-15 only.	cexxiv
19th century paper	..	9½ × 6½	Lacks end.	cexxv
..	..	7½ × 5½	Complete. Bought from Pt. Mahānanda.	cexxvi
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	cexxvii
—	—	—	Fols. 39-40. v. cexl.	cexxviii
19th century paper	Śār.	10 × 6½	Complete. Written by Pt. Mukund Rām.	cexxix
—	—	—	Fol. 19. v. cexl.	ccc
Old paper	Śār.	7 × 3½	Fols. 1-16 only.	ccci
..	..	7 × 4½	Fols. 33-6 only.	cccii
—	—	—	Fols. 73-7. v. clxxxv.	ccci
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	ccciv
—	—	—	..	ccciv
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 6½	Complete. Dated Saṃ. 1920. Written by Pt. Gaṅgāviṣṇu	cccvi
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	cccvii
—	—	—	..	cccviii
19th century paper (?)	Śār.	6½ × 4½	Fols. 2-10 only.	cccix
—	—	—	Fols. 97-100. v. clxxxv.	cccx
19th century paper (?)	Dev.	10 × 6½	Complete.	cccx
—	—	—	v. clxxxi.	cccxii
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 8	“Copy of an old paper MS. belonging to Pt. Śrīdhara, son of Rāmechandra; made by Pt. Mukund Rām in 1892, and collated with a good new paper MS. belonging to Pt. Rājānaka Lasakāka” [M. A. S.].	cccxiii
Old paper	Śār.	5 × 6½	Incomplete. Fols. 1-20 prima, 21-3 secunda manu. “Copied from Mukund Rām’s MS. 1892” [M. A. S.].	cccxiv
19th century paper	Śār. and Dev.	9½ × 6½	Fols. 1-14, Dev. 15-29 Śār. Unfinished.	cccxv
..	Śār.	6½ × 10	Complete.	cccxvi

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
221	Haramukutaṅgāmā ^c Bhṛūgīśasatṁ ^c	—	23	15	24
43	Haridrāgaṇeśamā ^c	—	—	—	—
212	Harodyānamā ^c	—	—	—	—
194	Harṣeśvaramā ^c	—	13	10	24
195	"	—	7	11	31
196	"	—	14	13	15
XII. BHAKTI					
199	Aṣṭāvakragitā	—	—	—	—
199	Īśvarapratyabhijñā	Utpaladeva	38	16	19
233	Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtī- māṣiṇī	—	39	13	20
246	Utpalastotrāvalī	Utpaladeva	36	15	18
24	Kalyāṇamandirastotra	—	5	13	18
200	Citsphārādvayaprabandha	Sāhib Kaul	24	6	19
246	Janmacarita	"	20	19	21
250	"	"	1	12	24
200	Paramārthasāra	Abhinavaguptā- cārya	—	—	—
246	"	"	8	18	18
261 ^a	"	"	6	10	18
200	"	Śeṣabhaṭṭāraka	—	—	—

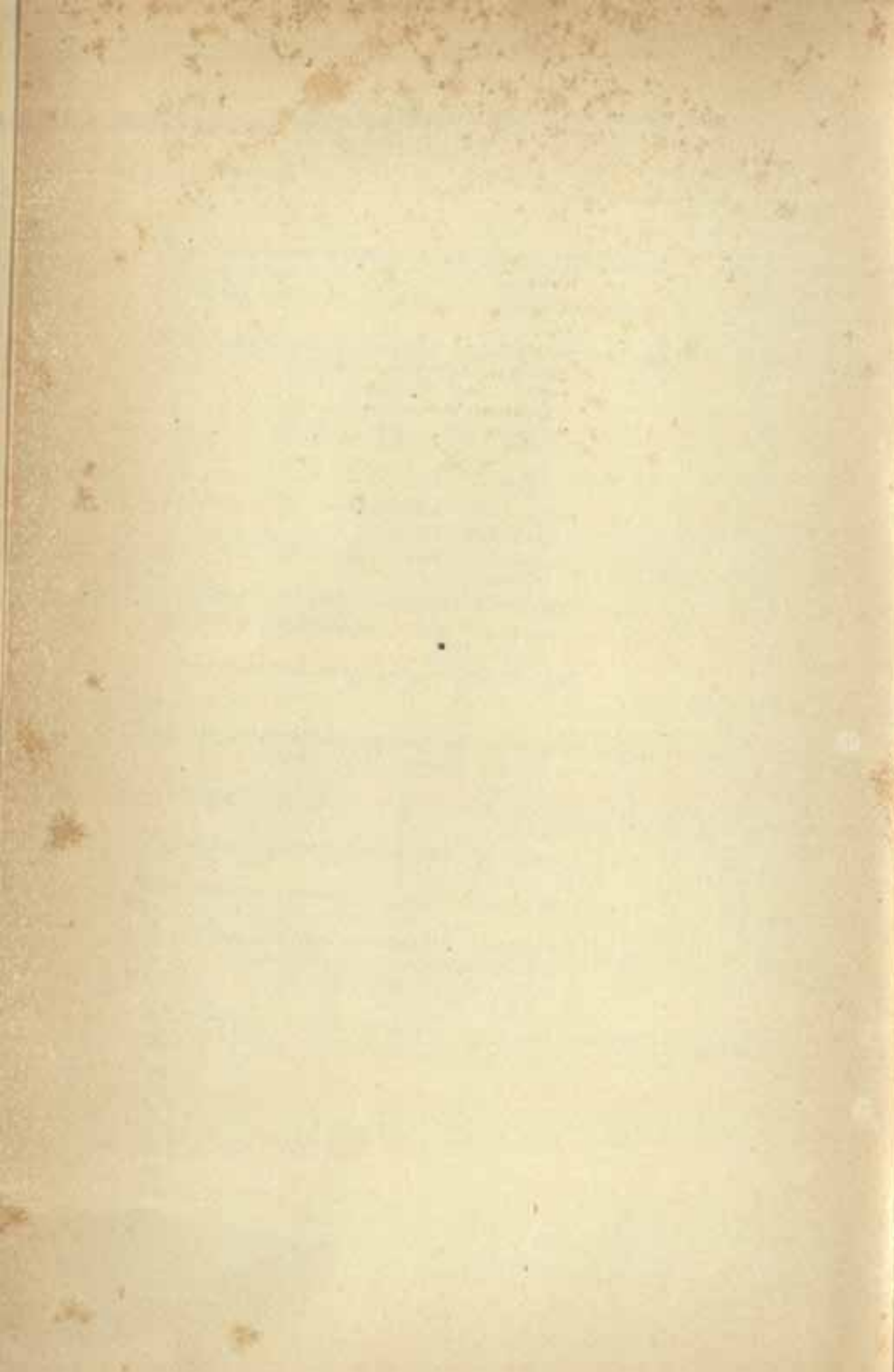
MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Dev.	9½ × 8½	"Copy of a MS. of Pt. Sahaja-bhatta, made by Kāśī Rām in 1895" [M. A. S.].	cccxcvii
—	—	—	Fol. 93. v. clxxxv.	cccxcviii
—	—	—	Fol. 8. v. cexl.	cccxcix
19th century paper	Sār.	6 × 9¼	Complete. "Bought from a purohita of Khun'moh 1889" [M. A. S.].	cccxxx
"	"	5½ × 9¼	Complete.	cccxxxi
17th century paper	"	6½ × 4½	Complete. Written by Rāj. Ratnakarṇṭha (?).	cccxxxii
—	—	—	Fols. 108-9. Incomplete. v. cccxxiv.	cccxxxiii
19th century paper	Sār.	6½ × 3¾	Fols. 2-39 (end) Śaiva. Codex contains also cccxxiii, cccxxv, cccxxvii, cccxi, cccxlvii, cccxlii.	cccxxxiv
Birch-bark	"	7 × 8	Much injured. Śaiva.	cccxxxv
19th century paper	"	7 × 4¾	Complete. Fols. 32-68 of same codex as cccxxvi, etc. Śaiva.	cccxxxvi
Old paper	"	6 × 5½	Fols. 8, 9, 11-13 (end) Jaina. "Bought from Pt. Viṣṇujīva 1892. Legend localised at Avantipārśvanātha at Ujjain. Ascribed to Siddhasenadīva Kavi (Kumudacandrāhārya) and well known among Jains. A legend regarding the origin of the Stotra is in several Paṭṭāvalis" [M. A. S.].	cccxxxvii
"	"	3½ × 5	Complete. Fols. 1-24 of the codex, which contains also cccxxxi, cccxxiv, cccxxviii, cccxlv, cccxlviii, cccliii, ccccliv, cccclvi, cccclxiv. Śaiva, composed when the author was 16. Saṁvat 1700.	cccxxxviii
19th century paper	"	7 × 4¾	Complete. Śaiva. v. cccxxvi. In Kāśmīrī.	cccxxxix
—	—	—	First six śloka only. v. ccccl.	cccxxx
—	—	—	Fols. 22-41. 105 śloka. Śaiva. v. cccxxviii.	cccxxxii
—	—	—	Complete. Fols. 69-76 of same codex as cccxxvi, etc.	cccxxxii
Birch-bark	Sār.	6 × 5	Injured.	cccxxxiii
—	—	—	Fols. 8-21. 82 śloka. Śaiva. v. cccxxviii.	cccxxxiv

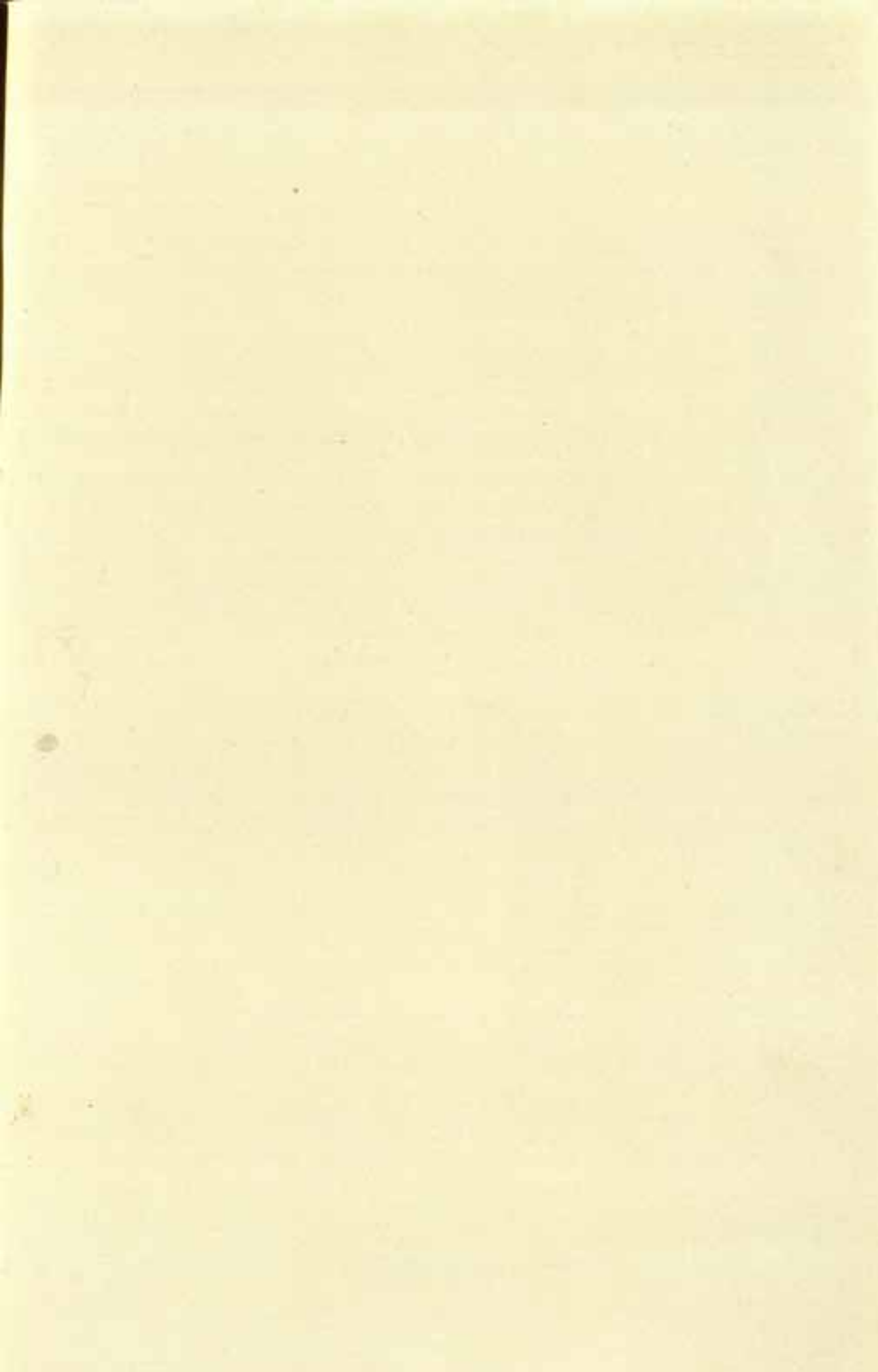
MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
199	Pratyabhijñāhrdaya	Rāj. Kṣemarāja	—	—	—
277	Premāmṛtarasāyanastotra	Caitanyacandra	3	17	16
199	Bahurūpagarbhastotra	—	—	—	—
200	Brahmavidyā	—	6	—	—
261A	Bhagavadgītāvivarāṇa Sarva- tobhadra	Rāj. Rāmakaṇṭha	(?)	22	30
199	Mahāmañjarī	Maheśvarānanda	—	—	—
261B	Mṛtyujit	—	(?)	10	8
115	Ratnaśataka	Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha	13	17	20
285	Rāmamantroddhārayantrādi- vidhāna	—	1	28	32
133	Rūpabhavānisiddhāvākyaṇi	Rūpabhavāni- siddhā	32	10	11
200	Lallāsiddhāvākyaṇi	Lallāsiddhā	32	10	11
249	"	"	15	6	22
199	Vijñānabhairava	—	19	16	19
200	Virūpākṣapañcāśikā	Virūpākṣa	8	6	19
302	Viṣṇor nāmnāḥ śatārdha, Mahādevastotra, Sahṛdayalīlā	—	6	17	26
250	Śivarātrirahasya	—	11	24	22
239	Saccidānandakandālī	Bhaṭṭācārya	19	6	24
240	Sahajārcaṇaśaṣṭikā	Sāhib Kaul	11	6	24
200	"	"	15	6	19
200	Sāhibakaulavākyaṇi	"	—	—	—
259	"	"	15	14	44
200	Sudarśanakaulakṛti, etc.	—	—	—	—

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
—	—	—	Fols. 52-78. Complete. Śaiva. v. cccxxiv.	cccxxv
17th century paper	Śār.	7½ × 6	Complete. Written by Rāj. Ratnakāṇṭha. Vaiṣṇava. v. cccxxv.	cccxxvi†
—	—	—	Fols. 107-8. Complete (?). Śaiva. v. cccxxiv.	cccxxvii
—	—	—	Complete. v. cccxxviii.	cccxxviii
Birch-bark	Śār.	6½ × 7	Much injured.	cccxxix
—	—	—	Fols. 19-28. Complete. v. cccxxiv.	cccxl
Birch-bark	Śār.	6 × 5	Śaiva. Much injured.	cccxli
17th century paper	..	7 × 6	Complete. Written by Rāj. Ratnakāṇṭha (?).	cccxlii†
Birch-bark	..	7½ × 6½	Incomplete. v. cccxxv.	cccxliii†
Old (?) paper	..	5¼ × 3½	In Kāśmīrī. Complete.	cccxliv
..	..	3½ × 5½	In Kāśmīrī. Complete. Same codex as cccxxviii.	cccxlv
..	..	3 × 6	Fols. 3-17 only. In Kāśmīrī, with Sanskrit translation.	cccxlvi
—	—	—	Fols. 1-19 (79-97). A yogaśāstra. v. cccxxiv.	cccxlvii
—	—	—	Complete. Yoga. v. cccxxviii.	cccxlviii
17th century paper	Śār.	6½ × 5½	Complete in each case. They begin on fol. 1b, 3b, and 6a respectively. In Rāj. Ratnakāṇṭha's handwriting. v. ccclix.	cccxlix†
Old paper	..	7½ × 5	Complete. 100 ślokas in Kāśmīrī. Bought 1898.	cccl
..	..	3 × 7	Fols. 32 (beginning)-50. First 139 ślokas only. Bought 1896. v. ccclii.	cccli
..	..	..	Fols. 22-32. Ślokas 10-63 (end). "Bought in 1896 from Rājya Kaul" [M. A. S.].	ccclii
—	—	—	Fols. 16-29, 32, 62 ślokas. v. cccxxviii.	cccliii
—	—	—	Fols. 41-60, 3 unnumbered, and 1-11 seem to be described by this. In Kāśmīrī. v. cccxxviii.	cccliv
Foolscap	Dev.	11½ × 9	Complete. "Copied by Pt. Govind Kaul in 1898" [M.A.S.].	ccclv
—	—	—	Seems to describe 11 fols. with various sentences, chiefly in Kāśmīrī on them. v. cccxxviii.	ccclvi

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	FOLIOS.	LINES.	AKṢARAS.
179	Sūryastutirahasya	Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha	4	17	20
246	Saundaryalaharīṭikā	Rāmacandra	37	19	21
300	Stutikusumāñjali	Jagaddhara- bhaṭṭa	180	12	18
181	"	"	(?)	10	13
182	"	"	17	10	13
199	Spandavṛtti	Śrikallaṭa	—	—	—
241	Spandaśāstra	"	12	6	13
200	Svātmabodha	Sāhib Kaul	—	—	—
XIII. TANTRA					
208	Karmakriyākāṇḍa	Somaśambhu	116	16	17
275	Kavīndrakalpadruma	Kavīndrācārya- sarasvatī	5	16	17
230	Gopradānavidhi Śaivānām- rityā	—	28	13	14
274	Trailokyamaṅgalastotra Sanatkumāratantre	—	1	21	24
207	Nityādisaṅgrahābhidhāna- paddhati	Takṣakavarta Rājānaka	149	15	25
246	Prāṇāyāmanirṇaya	—	3	19	21

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	SIZE.	NOTES.	SERIAL No.
17th century paper	Śār.	7×6	In author's handwriting. Complete.	ccclviii†
19th century paper	„	7×4½	Complete. v. cxxxvi.	ccclviii
16/17th century paper	„	6¾×5¼	“In original leather binding. Purchased through Pt. Sahajabhatta at Śrinagar 1904. Numerous annotations by Rāj. Ratnakantha and Bhatta Haraka” [M. A. S.]. Contains also lxxxvii, lxxxviii, cxvi, ccclix.	ccclix†
Birch-bark	„	4×5	Sargas 7-18. Much injured. In old leather binding.	ccclx
„	„	7¼×6	Sargas 28-31; fols. 103-19. Some injured.	ccclxi
—	—	—	Fols. 39-52. Complete. v. ccclxxiv.	ccclxii
19th century paper	Śār.	5¾×6	Complete, with annotations. Bought 1896.	ccclxiii
—	—	—	Fols. 31-42. Complete. v. ccclxxviii.	ccclxiv
Old paper	Śār.	9¼×6	Complete, the first page in a later hand. Bought 1895. Dated (48) 11.	ccclxv
17th century paper	„	7½×6	Middle lost. v. cxxxv.	ccclxvi†
19th century paper	„	5½×5	Complete. Bought from Mādha-vahunda in 1896.	ccclxvii
Birch-bark	„	7½×6	Injured. v. cxxxv.	ccclxviii†
19th century paper	„	9½×82	Complete. “Copied in 1895 by Pt. Sahajabhatta from a Poona MS., which lacked 2 fols. after fol. 16” [M. A. S.].	ccclxix
„	„	7×4½	Complete. v. cxxxvi.	ccclxx





[illegible]

XIX

FRAGMENT FINAL DE LA NILAKANTHADHARANI, EN BRAHMI ET EN TRANSCRIPTION SOGDIENTE

PAR L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN ET R. GAUTHIOT

LE fragment de *dhāraṇī* publié ici provient de Tounen-houang, d'où il a été rapporté par M. M. A. Stein à son second voyage d'exploration en Asie centrale. Il est écrit sur un morceau de rouleau, en double, d'abord en brāhmī, puis en écriture sogdienne. Le texte en brāhmī a été lu, transcrit, et annoté par M. de la Vallée Poussin, la transcription sogdienne a été étudiée par M. Gauthiot. On a disposé en tête de l'article les notes qui ont paru nécessaires; à la suite on a donné le texte entier en transcription littérale; en dernier lieu figure la reproduction intégrale de l'original.

NOTE SUR LE TEXTE EN BRĀHMĪ

Il n'est pas impossible que la brāhmī et la transcription sogdienne soient de la même main. En tout cas, la correspondance est presque parfaite; et nous confesserons que le sogdien, lu par M. R. Gauthiot, nous a plusieurs fois rendu service.

Par exemple, nous avons lu *e* dans *he, ehy, ehi* (ll. 5 et 7). Le sens impose cette lecture, et le sogdien représente à sa façon la voyelle *e*. La graphie brāhmī laissait des doutes. Le scribe marque *e* après consonne, tantôt par l'accent

¹ Il se peut que la *dhāraṇī* du "dieu à la gorge bleue", Siva-Avalokiteśvara (v. A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, II, p. 37), conservée dans notre manuscrit, soit la *dhāraṇī* ou *mahāvidyā* que signale Rājendralāl Mitra, NBL, p. 292, sous la graphie transparente Śilakanthā, et qui se trouve peut-être dans les collections Hodgson d'Europe. Nilakantha est invoqué dans un fragment Macartney, sur palm-leaf, "early Gupta period," Hoernle, JASB. LXVI, p. 220.

(ll. 8 et 26), tantôt par le trait horizontal prolongé à gauche et appuyé d'un point (ll. 2 et 27); mais ce prolongement et ce point sont peu visibles dans *ehy ehi* (l. 7). Pour le dire en passant, nous remarquons la même variété dans la notation de *o*: marqué soit par l'accent portant sur un point ou un trait à droite, soit par deux traits à droite et à gauche. Sous ce rapport, *yajño* (ll. 7 et 31) est assez curieux.

C'est le sogdien qui autorise les lectures *valam̐mba*, *pralamban̐* (l. 3), car les deux *mba* diffèrent sensiblement; qui impose la lecture *vācem̐* (au lieu de *vāco*, possible) (l. 15); qui permet d'identifier les deux symboles différents de *ā* dans le *tā* de *makuṭā* (l. 3) et de *mahāṭṭāṭṭahāsa* (l. 14).

Je ne donne *trya* dans *mahātryapura* (l. 7) qu'à titre d'hypothèse (= *tri*); à la l. 23, je ne peux lire que *śavya*, moins bon que le *śava* (?) de la transcription sogdienne; le groupe *tt* de *cakrattāni* (l. 30) est au moins douteux.

Les fautes sont assez nombreuses: *nārāyana*, *nīlakaṇṭha*, *haṇa* (= *hana*, l. 15), *yajñopavīta*; *nīlakaṇḍa*, avec la sonore pour la sourde, et, inversement, *thāraṇi* et *thāraṇam* pour *dhāraṇi*. On a *aṭṭa*° pour *aṭṭā*° (l. 14). Le mantra final est particulièrement négligé au point de vue des graphies: *kriṣṇa*, *kaṁṇṭa*. Il est possible que *e* soit pour *i* dans *trenitya* (l. 33). On remarquera *siṁgha* (l. 20) à côté de *siṁha* (l. 13), *kriṣṇa* (l. 31) à côté de *kr̥ṣṇa* (l. 5).

Je me borne à signaler des erreurs plus profondes, par exemple *ajīji* . . . pour *ajājīkr̥ṣṇajāṭāmukūṭā*° (ou *ma*°); je ne suis pas à même de les redresser toutes.

NOTE SUR LA TRANSCRIPTION SOGDienne

Le fragment de *dhāraṇi* publié ici est noté d'une part en sanscrit, langue de l'original, et en écriture brāhmī, d'autre part, en sanscrit toujours (puisque une *dhāraṇi* est en principe intraduisible), mais en graphie sogdienne.

M. F. W. K. Müller, sous les yeux de qui le texte a passé, n'a pas eu de peine à le reconnaître; cela est manifeste d'ailleurs pour tout "sogdisant". Le document ne présente donc d'intérêt ni pour le vocabulaire sogdien, ni pour la grammaire; en revanche il apporte un témoignage intéressant en faveur de la lecture et de la transcription de l'alphabet sogdien, qui ont été proposées dans le *Journal Asiatique* de janvier-février, 1911 (p. 81 et suiv.).

La notation sogdienne des sons sanscrits a été visiblement faite avec un grand souci d'exactitude; les détails que l'on relèvera dans la suite de cette note rendront cette application sensible. Dès maintenant on notera que le copiste (ou auteur) de la double graphie s'est attaché à ce que la notation sogdienne suivit d'aussi près que possible le texte sanskrit et lui fût, pour ainsi dire, juxtalinéaire. Parallèlement à chaque ligne de brāhmī il s'est efforcé de disposer la ligne correspondante de sogdien. Comme d'une part la brāhmī s'écrit horizontalement de gauche à droite et le sogdien, au moins à l'époque où a été écrite notre *dhāraṇī*, en colonnes verticales, comme d'autre part la notation en sogdien prend sensiblement plus de place que celle en écriture indienne, la disposition adoptée était assez difficile à observer de façon rigoureuse: en cinq endroits, 1. 2 et 2^{bis}, 10 et 10^{bis}, 13 et 13^{bis}, 15 et 15^{bis}, 25 et 25^{bis}, on a deux lignes sogdiennes pour une ligne en brāhmī. Comme ces doubles lignes qui semblent au premier abord rompre le parallélisme extérieur, ne sont évidemment ni écrasées ni insérées après coup, mais qu'elles occupent la place qui leur revient normalement, il faut admettre que l'auteur sinon de notre manuscrit, au moins de l'original sur lequel il a été copié, a réglé à la fois la répartition du texte sanscrit et de la notation sogdienne, c'est-à-dire que sans doute il a écrit l'une et l'autre. L'hypothèse émise par M. de la Vallée Poussin dans la note qui précède, qu'il n'est pas impossible que la brāhmī

et la transcription sogdienne soient de la même main, semble très probable. En effet, on s'explique sans peine comment le scribe après avoir écrit une ligne de brāhmī horizontalement, de gauche à droite, a retourné son rouleau d'un quart de cercle sur la droite, tracé la partie à peu près correspondante en écriture sogdienne sur une ligne et, lorsque celle-ci était par trop en retard sur le sanscrit, sur deux lignes, pour revenir ensuite à la brāhmī. Car la relation entre l'original en écriture indienne et sa notation dans l'alphabet sémitique qu'est le sogdien, est beaucoup moins simple qu'elle ne le paraît dans la transcription qui figure à la fin de cette note et où le sanscrit en brāhmī et sa notation en sogdien sont tous deux reproduits en lettres latines. Pour se faire une idée exacte de la disposition dans l'original il faut se reporter au spécimen suivant où le sanscrit est noté en devanāgarī qui se dispose comme la brāhmī et le sogdien en estranghelo qui s'écrit comme lui. Il s'agit de la ligne 1 du texte—

सिद्धयोगीश्वरः ध्रुवविचित्रमहाविचित्रः धरः

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première n'est pas exempte d'erreurs, la seconde est très soignée et que certaines fautes d'orthographe du sanscrit sont précisément de celles qu'un sogdien devait être porté à commettre. Si l'on examine celles que M. de la Vallée Poussin a relevées dans la *Note* qui précède, et si l'on laisse de côté des erreurs de quantité comme *nīlakaṇṭha*, *yajñopavīta*, des prākritisismes possibles comme *kṛiṣṇa* à côté de *kṛṣṇa*, *siṃha* à côté de *siṃgha*¹ (v. Pischel, *Gr. d. Prakrit-Spr.*, p. 184), *nīlakaṇḍa* pour *nīlakaṇṭha*, il est singulièrement séduisant de voir dans *tre nitya* (avec *e* pour *i*), dans *mantra* pour *mantra* (l. 34), dans *hana* pour *hana*, *nārāyana* pour *nārāyaṇa*, enfin dans *thāraṇī* et *thāraṇam* pour *dhāraṇī*, des "sogdisismes"; de même pour *mahātryapura* pour *mahātripura* (l. 7), comme me le fait remarquer M. de la Vallée Poussin. C'est une des graves imperfections de l'écriture sogdienne, ainsi qu'on aura l'occasion de le constater dans la suite, que l'impossibilité de distinguer entre *i*, *ī*, et *e*; c'est un caractère du sogdien de n'avoir que la seule nasale dentale *n* et de rendre par cette *n* l'anuvāra *m̐* du sanscrit; enfin et surtout, c'est un des traits propres de la graphie sogdienne de noter également les occlusives sourde et sonore par le signe de la sourde. Comme on peut le voir par la transcription qui suit, le mot *dhāraṇī* est régulièrement noté en sogdien avec un *t* initial: le scribe qui a écrit à la ligne 29 *thāraṇī samāpta* en brāhmī a dû être celui qui avait dans l'idée le *t'rny pty'mty*² sogdien de la ligne 29^{bis}, et le *thāraṇam* sanscrit semble bien être inséparable du *t'r'n* sogdien à la ligne 33.

Au point de vue de la valeur des lettres sogdiennes, et particulièrement des consonnes, la transcription suivante confirme, comme on l'a déjà indiqué, l'interprétation donnée

¹ Celui-ci est d'ailleurs fidèlement reproduit dans la transcription sogdienne, qui a *syny*- d'une part, *synk*- de l'autre.

² Le sogdien est transcrit au cours de cet article de la façon exposée au *Journal Asiatique* de janvier-février, 1911, p. 81 et suiv. (v. surtout planche i). Cf. aussi, *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 349 et suiv.

JA., janv.-févr., 1911, p. 81 et suiv. Les occlusives sanscrites, sourdes ou sonores, sont également rendues par les signes qui servent à noter en sogdien les occlusives sonores ou sourdes surtout après nasales, sourdes par ailleurs. Il y a d'abord une exception purement apparente: à la ligne 29 on lit "ry'β_z'wkδ'yšβr au lieu de la forme *ṛwkytyšβr*, "(āryāva)lokiteśvara," avec le signe de la spirante sonore là où le sanscrit a l'occlusive sourde dentale; c'est qu'il ne s'agit plus du mot sanscrit en transcription, mais bien d'un emprunt. Cet "ry'β_z'wkδ'yšβr ne fait pas partie du texte de la *dhāraṇī*, mais d'un des trois passages en langue sogdienne de notre texte, en l'espèce de la traduction, d'ailleurs libre, des mots sanscrits: *nīlakanṭha nāma thāraṇī samāpta*; son -δ- s'explique donc bien comme il a été dit JA., janv.-févr., 1911, pp. 93-4, note. D'autre part on lit β_z pour *bala*^o, l. 9.

D'autre part le β sogdien, spirante bilabiale sonore rend régulièrement le *v* sanskrit (cf. JA., janv.-févr., 1911, p. 91), le γ, spirante gutturale sourde ou sonore l'*h* (cf. JA., *ibid.*, p. 95), le š chuintant la palatale *ś* aussi bien que la cérébrale *ṣ* (cf. JA., *ibid.*, p. 94) et l'*ṛ*, c'est-à-dire l'*r* munie d'un signe diacritique, l'*l* (cf. JA., *ibid.*, p. 86).¹ Les exemples de ces équivalences sont trop nombreux et trop réguliers pour qu'il soit nécessaire de les énumérer ici: il suffit de se reporter à la transcription de la *dhāraṇī* pour les retrouver immédiatement. Ce qui est plus intéressant ce sont les raffinements que le scribe préoccupé d'indiquer avec la plus grande exactitude possible la prononciation correcte et par conséquent d'assurer l'efficacité des paroles magiques pour le lecteur sogdien, a introduits dans sa transcription. Il s'est bien rendu compte que le γ sogdien, qu'il fût interprété comme spirante sourde *x*, ou comme sonore γ, ne rendait en aucun cas le *h* sanscrit:

¹ Le signe diacritique manque à l'occasion, ainsi lignes 9 (γr = *hala*), 13 (nγr = *nīla*). Dans des textes sogdiens d'allure populaire il fait défaut régulièrement, et il semble bien que l'on ait alors prononcé *r* pour *l*.

et il a muni le γ d'un signe diacritique pour montrer qu'il ne devait pas être articulé à la sogdienne; ainsi aux lignes 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 par exemple. Cette indication, qui n'est d'ailleurs pas systématique, n'est pas sans intérêt. Beaucoup plus stricte est la distinction qui est faite entre les cérébrales et les dentales. Tandis que ces dernières répondent bien au sentiment de notre scribe et, ainsi que la phonétique des dialectes iraniens le fait attendre, aux dentales sogdiennes, les cérébrales sont notées par lui au moyen du t sogdien marqué d'un signe diacritique; ainsi lignes 3 (deux fois), 9, 13, 14 (trois fois), 23, 33 (trois fois). Les seules exceptions se trouvent aux lignes 19, 29, et 30 et portent sur le nom propre *nīlakanṭha* que l'on était évidemment tenté d'adapter à la phonétique du sogdien, où il était, sans nul doute, entré dans l'usage; à la ligne 29, il figure d'ailleurs dans une phrase proprement sogdienne.

Enfin le c et le j sanscrits sont également rendus par \tilde{c} , faute d'une semi-occlusive sonore correspondante (cf. JA., janv.-févr., 1911, p. 94). Quant au groupe $-jñ-$ il n'est pas rendu par $-čny-$ comme on pourrait l'attendre, mais par $-tny-$ (v. lignes 7 et 31 et cf. JA., loc. cit.); ce groupe, impossible d'ailleurs en sogdien, semble avoir été résolu ligne 22, où l'on a $y't'ny'w$ au lieu de $*y'tny'w$, c'est-à-dire $*yad'nyo$ au lieu de $*yadnyo$.

La notation des voyelles présentait naturellement des difficultés particulières dans une écriture sémitique, telle que la sogdienne, qui ne disposait que des deux sonantes y et w et de l'esprit doux '. Le sogdien même n'a pas un jeu de voyelles très considérable, mais il dépasse cependant ses ressources graphiques: à l'intérieur il ne note généralement pas l' \tilde{a} , ce qui fait qu'un simple consonne peut être lue, *a priori*, avec ou sans \tilde{a} suivant; ' sert à marquer l' \tilde{a} dans les mêmes conditions. A l'initiale, on emploie ' pour \tilde{a} , " pour \tilde{a} . Mais il y a des cas où des ' intérieurs sont de simples *matres lectionis* et doivent être lus \tilde{a} . L' i et l' \tilde{a} sont notés ou non par y et w , selon que le scribe

croit ou ne croit pas que la forme qu'il écrit sera lue correctement sans secours; mais ces mêmes *y* et *w* représentent aussi *ī* et *ū* souvent, *e* et *o* de façon exceptionnelle. Pour marquer ceux-ci, on emploie de préférence les combinaisons de signes '*y* et '*w*. On trouve par endroits aussi '*y* et '*w* pour *e* et *o*, très rarement pour *ī* et *ū*, qui, en revanche, sont parfois représentés eux aussi par '*y* et '*w*. A l'initiale *y* et *w* sont normalement des consonnes, et il y est tout à fait exceptionnel qu'ils soient pour *i* ou *u*. Car, il faut ajouter, en sogdien, aux voyelles pleines déjà citées, la série des voyelles furtives de timbre plus ou moins nettement défini et qui tantôt ne sont pas notées du tout, et tantôt le sont par *y*, *w*, ou '. Ces dernières ne jouent presque aucun rôle dans le cas présent: le sanscrit noté en sogdien ne comporte guère de sons pareils; mais il présente lui aussi des *ā* et des *ā*, des *ī* et des *ī*, des *ū* et des *ū*, des *e* et des *o*, et possède en plus des *ai* et des *au*. C'est là évidemment une difficulté nouvelle devant laquelle les scribes sogdiens étaient désarmés.

En fait, la transcription des voyelles est très imparfaite, et les règles d'orthographe du sogdien, telles qu'elles viennent d'être indiquées de façon sommaire, ont été suivies tant bien que mal. L'*ā* sanscrit n'est généralement pas noté; mais on a ' pour *a* dans le voisinage des sonantes dont la valeur était douteuse en elle-même: ainsi le ' dans *y'tny'w* = *yajño* (l. 7, 3), *syty'ntw* = *sidhyāntu* (l. 28) indique que le *y* précédent note une consonne; de façon analogue -*a* est transcrit dans les finales sanscrites en consonne + *ya*, tandis qu'il ne l'est jamais par ailleurs et l'on a *puty'* = *budhya* (l. 12) contre *put'y* = *bodhaya* (l. 13) et *s't'y* = *sādhaya* (l. 15 et 15^{bis}), *k'msy'* = *kāmasya* (l. 17), *nyty'* = *nitya* (l. 33). Sans doute est-ce par erreur que l'on lit *pr'ṛ'ty'* au lieu de **pr'ṛ't'y* pour scr. *prahlādaya* à la ligne 17. La présence d'un *ā* est encore indiquée par la *mater lectionis* ', dans les finales

en *-nañ*, qui, sans cela, seraient devenues en notation sogdienne *-nn*, *n* étant régulièrement rendu par *n* : on a ainsi *tršn'n* = *darśanañ*, *myn'n* = *menañ* (l. 17), et *t'rn'n* = *thāraṇañ* (l. 33). Enfin, la coupe des mots n'étant pas toujours correcte au point de vue grammatical, mais conforme à des habitudes graphiques locales, certains *-a-* intérieurs se trouvent placés en position initiale et sont alors, correctement au point de vue de l'écriture sogdienne, notés par ' ; c'est le cas pour le *-n* final de *prmp'n* = *pralambañ* qui se trouve figurer au début de la ligne 4 par suite de la coupe du mot ; c'est aussi celui du premier *ā* de *vāmaskandha* parce que le mot est divisé en *β'm'sk'nt* (l. 24). D'autres *a* enfin sont notés par ' sans que la raison en soit apparente ; ainsi dans *βym'r'* = *vimalā* (l. 2^{bis}), *β'm'styt* = *vāmaṣṭhita* (l. 13^{bis}), *mγ' t' t' γ's* = *mahātātāhāsa* (l. 14), *pkβ'ntn* = *bhagavantañ* (l. 15^{bis}), *pr'γ'ty'* = *prahlādaya* (l. 17), *munt' t' t'* = *mundaṭaṭe* (l. 33).

Il faut mettre sans doute à part le cas du ' de *βy'nty* = *viyañnti* (l. 2) et de *βrγ'mp* = *valammba* (l. 3), *nm'sk'nt* = *namas kaññta* (l. 32), où il est possible que l'on ait une notation approximative de la longue *-a-*. Quant à ' , c'est bien la graphie normale de la longue *ā* à l'intérieur, comme " à l'initiale. Ce signe n'apparaît pour un *-ā-* intérieur que par suite d'une fausse coupe de mot (comme plus haut ' au lieu de rien) dans *kr'yšn' ēyn'y* = *kṛṣṇājīnāya* (l. 25) et par accident dans *mγ' γ' t' γ'* = *mahāhālāhala* (l. 9), et à la finale de *nyr'ēw t'* = *nirjjautā* (l. 10). Une orthographe toute spéciale est celle de *nārāyana*, qui est transcrit *n'ry'n*, c'est-à-dire **nārayāna* les deux fois où il se rencontre (lignes 8 et 32).

Comme l'ī est généralement noté, il n'est pas distingué de l'i : l'un et l'autre sont écrits *y*. L'ī manque bien dans *βy'nty* = *viyañnti* ; mais on aperçoit de suite que c'est là un cas spécial ; le groupe *-iy-* prête à l'erreur, et l'omission de l'ī de *viyañnti* a sa contre-partie dans

l'insertion d'un *i* entre l'*h* et le *y* issu de *i* en sandhi dans "y ṛ'y y'y ṛy'y = *ehy ehi*, soit, son pour son, et avec une fausse coupe de mot, *ē hī yē hī* (ligne 7). A la ligne 13 on a, sans doute avec suppression des effets du sandhi, "y ṛyy "y ṛyy, qui est pour *ehy ehi*. Le double *y* final pour *-i* se retrouve à la ligne 16 dans *tt'ṛyy* = *dadāhi*. Ces notations nous écartent tout à fait de l'orthographe sogdienne proprement dite; ce sont des traits propres aux transcriptions et tout à fait parallèles à la notation ṛy'y du second *-hi* de la ligne 7, aux formes *tw w rww* = *dhuru* de la ligne 1, *ṛww ṛww* = *hulu* des lignes 10^{bis} et 11, *ṛwrrw* = *hulu* de la ligne 11, *ywrt'y* = *yudhāya* (l. 23), et, en quelque mesure aussi, du *mwrt'y* = *mārtte* de la ligne 2^{bis}. Le redoublement du yod ou du wāw pour noter la voyelle brève ou même longue est anomal. Ce qui est attendu c'est *ē'y ēy* = *jiji* (l. 3) avec 'y pour *i*; mais on a de façon exceptionnelle dans cette dhāraṇī 'y pour *i* dans "y'y = *ehi* (l. 7; cf. l. 13 d'une part et ll. 14-15 de l'autre). Mais, en somme, il n'y a pas de moyen sûr de distinguer *i*, *ī*, *e*, et *ai*, *u*, *ū*, *o*, et *au* dans la transcription dont il est question ici: le 'w initial de 'wy = *uya* signifie *u*, mais il serait loisible *a priori* de le lire tout aussi bien *ū*, *o*, ou *au*; le *au* de *nirjjantā* est noté par 'w (l. 9) exactement comme le second *o* de *lokitavilokita*, tandis que le premier est rendu simplement par *w*: *ṛwkyt* *Byr'wkyt* (l. 16).

Il faut noter, en finissant, que l'*r* voyelle est transcrite le plus souvent par *r'y*, c'est à dire par *r* plus une voyelle longue de timbre *i*; *ry*, qui est ambigu et peut se lire *ri* ou *rī* ne se trouve guère que deux fois, dans *kryt* = *kṛta* (l. 7) et dans *ṛryt'y* = *hrdaya* à l'avant-dernière ligne. L'anunāsika est distingué de l'anuvāra et transcrit par *m* au lieu de *n*, ainsi dans *ṛwm* = *hūṃ* et dans 'wm = *uṃ* (*in fine*), d'où il a passé abusivement, à ce qu'il semble, dans *tr'wm* = *drum* (ibid.).¹

¹ Cf. aussi ligne 15^{bis}, *Byty'm* = *vidyāṃ*.

Des particularités orthographiques qui viennent d'être relevées, il faut séparer les faits suivants qui révèlent des divergences plus ou moins sérieuses et profondes entre le texte sacré sanscrit et sa transcription en écriture sogdienne. D'abord il y a des fautes dans la forme : à la ligne 3 on lit *Brē'mp*, c'est-à-dire **varlaṇmba* ou **vralaṇmba* au lieu de *valaṇmba*, avec une altération suggérée évidemment par l'initiale du *prēmp'n* = *pralamban* suivant; des voyelles furtives, notées ' ont été introduites dans la transcription de *dharendreśvara*, qui a été coupé en *tr'y 'ntr'yśBr* soit **dhare'ndreśvara*, dans celles de *yajñyo* : *y'tny'w* (l. 22), *nirjjautā* : *nyr'ē'w t'* (l. 10) pour résoudre des groupes de consonnes insolites et pour ainsi dire imprononçables en sogdien. Conformément encore à la phonétique sogdienne les doubles consonnes ne sont généralement pas marquées : il n'y a d'exception, semble-t-il, que pour *mahātātṭahāsa* noté *mγ' t' t' γ's* (l. 14); il y s'agit, ce qui n'est sans doute pas indifférent, de cérébrales, c'est-à-dire de consonnes pareilles à celles qui sont répétées indûment dans *ētt'y mkwt't'* = **jate makutā* (l. 3). Le cas est tout autre pour le mot *ēkkr* = *cakra* (ll. 23 et 30); le sogdien, en effet, écrit régulièrement le mot avec *kk*, conformément à la prononciation réelle, telle que les grammairiens de l'Inde nous la font connaître (cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, pp. 113-14).

Notons, pour finir, qu'à la ligne 15^{bis} *smr* = *smara* n'est pas répété, qu'aux lignes 23-4 on lit au lieu du sanscrit *śaṁkhaśavyanibodhanāya*, *śnk s' Btny pwt'n'y*, dont l'origine reste obscure; de même, à la ligne 35, *βym'* pour *vipā'*. Le *t'* pour scr. -*te* à la ligne 33 est lui une pure faute.

Outre la transcription qui vient d'être examinée, le fragment de dhāraṇī ci-joint contient trois petites notes en sogdien. La ligne isolée du début (l. 0) et les 28 qui suivent ne sont que du sanscrit en lettres sogdiennes; les lignes 29 et 29^{bis} au contraire ne présentent pas la

transcription de la ligne 29 mais sa traduction : à côté de *nilakanṭha nāma dhāraṇī samāpta*, "la *dhāraṇī* du nom de Nilakanṭha est achevée," on a 1 LPw *ḍsty "ry'ṣṭ'wkd'yṣṭr nyṣknt n'm l'ny pty'mty*, "la *dhāraṇī* du nom de Nilakanṭha Āryāvalokiteśvara aux mille mains est achevée," traduction que M. F. W. K. Müller a donnée dès qu'il a pu examiner le document dont il est traité ici. Nous nous contenterons donc de renvoyer du JRAS., 1912, p. 363, pour la lecture et l'interprétation de 1 LPw.

La transcription sogdienne reprend avec la ligne 30 et se continue normalement jusqu'à la fin. Là seulement il y a une anomalie : la partie qui répond au *hrdaya mantra* qui clôt le texte (la dernière ligne de brāhmī n'en fait pas partie, en effet) ne figure pas à gauche (resp. au-dessous) de la ligne sanscrite, mais à droite (resp. au-dessus), et est précédée d'une ligne en sogdien *wyspw znl'n mntzprty' zp'rt ṣwt*, "les impuretés de toute sorte sont (deviennent) pures." Enfin, à la fin de la ligne 34 en brāhmī figure, serrée en trois petites lignes, une glose sogdienne : *wyspw "γδ'k δṣr'yn'k ḍrzy'wr pṭsrwm γēy*; ce qui veut dire que "ceci est le *hrdaya mantra* qui accorde tous les souhaits", ainsi que M. F. W. K. Müller l'a indiqué. Le sens de la note est d'ailleurs clair et les fragments sogdiens chrétiens et manichéens jusqu'ici publiés par M. F. W. K. Müller fournissent le sens de la plupart des mots. On n'ajoutera donc qu'une remarque en passant sur *ḍrzy'wr* qui traduit en l'espèce *hrdaya* et doit avoir le sens de "cœur". C'est un composé dont le second terme est *zy'wr*, "cœur," qui nous est connu par le fragment de Berlin B 38, publié par M. F. W. K. Müller dans les *Sitzungsberichte* de l'Académie de Berlin (1907, p. 266); le premier élément n'est autre que *ḍrz*, "cœur," métathèse de *zrδ* (à lire **zarδ*), représentant correct en sogdien de l'iranien **zrd-*, gāth. *zrδd-*, pers. دل. Cette forme se rencontre par ailleurs en sogdien bouddhique (p. ex. Manuscrits de la mission Pelliot, Inventaire no. 3516,

l. 99); d'autre part les signes pour z et pour $ẓ$ n'étant pas distingués ne sont normalement pas écrits l'un à côté de l'autre quand ils sont en contact; l'assimilation de z et de $ẓ$, qui se faisait *peut-être* dans la prononciation, était régulièrement réalisée dans l'écriture en sogdien bouddhique; comme on écrit ici $\delta rzy'wr$ pour $*\delta rz-z'y'wr$, on écrit ailleurs $\beta rzw'n'y$, "qui a une longue vie," pour $*\beta rz-zw'n'y$, c'est-à-dire $*\beta arz-ziwān$ - (p. ex. Manuscrits de la mission Pelliot, Inventaire no. 3516, l. 107 et 503).

Il est à noter que les gloses que l'on vient de lire sont dans une langue moins archaïque que le sogdien bouddhique proprement dit: elles sont écrites dans une forme qui rappelle immédiatement les dialectes plus populaires et plus récemment employés en littérature des documents chrétiens et manichéens. D'autre part le ductus de l'écriture sogdienne, d'ailleurs soignée et très claire, n'a rien non plus d'archaïque et semble dater de l'époque des T'ang. Enfin la brāhmī paraît être de date assez basse; si l'on compare les formes que présentant le य et le ह à celles que Bühler a relevées sur le tableau iv de son *Indische Palaeographie*, on est frappé de leur ressemblance avec le य et le ह de documents aussi récents que les inscriptions de Lakkhamāṇḍal et d'Aphssād. Mais si le document est tardif, la valeur des lettres est, sauf en ce qui touche la notation de ḥ , conforme à la tradition la plus ancienne (v. JA., janv.-févr., 1911, p. 82 et suiv. et p. 86 en particulier). Et l'on est amené à conclure, en fin de compte que le fragment ci-joint de la *Nīlakaṇṭhādharāṇī* et sa transcription fournissent un argument de plus en faveur de l'existence de la forte et longue tradition littéraire sogdienne que l'on a essayé d'établir dans ce *Journal* même (1912, p. 342 et suiv.).

Un autre fait, d'ordre historique celui-là, ressort de l'existence de cette dhāraṇī si soigneusement notée et transcrite; c'est la popularité, en Asie centrale, à la date récente signalée à l'instant (entre le 7^e et le 9^e siècles de

notre ère sans doute) du texte qui nous occupe. On a dû attacher à ce moment un prix particulier à cette *Nilakanthadhārāṇī*, dont un fragment nous été conservé à Touen-houang et rapporté par M. M. A. Stein, pour l'éditer avec tant de précaution ; et il est à supposer qu'elle est entrée à la même époque dans les autres littératures bouddhiques qui relèvent de l'Asie centrale.

TRANSCRIPTION

0. *vy[ty'm?] t'y hyy t'y hyy m' ?? β'n k'm'ukm'n*
1. *siddhayogīśvara : dhuru 2 viyaṁnti mahāviyaṁnti dhara 2*
βyγ 'ukm'n βyr¹ syt ywkyśβr || tww rww tww rww
2. *dharendreśvara : cala vimalāmalamūrtte : āryāvalokite*
βy'nty mγ'βy'nty tr tr tr'y 'ntr'yśβr || cγ
βym'γ' mγ mawrt'y "ry'βγ'wkyt'yśβr'
3. *śvarājīkīkṛṣṇajāte makutāvalambha vā pralamban : mahā*
ēy ēy kr'yśn ēt'y mkuēt' βrγ'mp β' prγmp
4. *siddhavidyādhara : bala 2 mahābala : mala 2 mahāmala ;*
'n || mγ' syt βyty'tr βγ βγ mγ' βγ || mγ mγ mγ'mγ ||
5. *cala 2 mahācala kṛṣṇavarṇa kṛṣṇapakṣa : nirghātana : he*
ēγ ēγ nγ' ēγ kr'yśn βrn kr'yśn pkś || nyrk'tn
6. *padmahasta : cara 2 niśācareśvara : kṛṣṇasarpakṛtaya*
γ'y ptm γst || ēr ēr nyś'ēr'yśβr || kr'yśn
7. *jñopavita : ehy ehi mahāvarāhamukha : mahātryapura*
srp kryt y'tny'w pβyt "y γ'y y'y γy'y mγ'
8. *dahaneśvara : nārāyanarūpabalavegadharī : he nilaka*
βr'γ muck' mγ tryppwr tyn'yśβr || n'ry'n rup

¹ Le début est abimé et le sanskrit y fait défaut ; ce qu'on distingue sur la photographie répond à peu près à : *vidyāś dehi dehi mā. (?) -vāś kāmāṅgamāś vihāṅgamāś vira.*

9. ṇḍa he mahāhālāhalaviṣa : nirjjautā lokasya rāga
βr βyktry || γ'y nyr' kut || γ'y mγ' γ' γ' γ'
10. viṣavināśana : dveṣaviṣavināśana : mohaviṣavi
βyś || nyr' ē'w t' r'wksy' r'k βyś βyn'śn ||
tβyś βyś βyn'śn || mwy βyś βyn'śn || γww r'ww
11. nāśana : hulu 2 mālā huru : hara 2 mahāpadmanābha
γww r'ww || m'r' γ'wrrw γr γr mγ' ptm n'p ||
12. sara 2 siri 2 suru 2 budhya 2 bodhaya 2 bodhayāmi ti :
sr sr syry syry swrw swrw || pwt'y' pwt'y'
13. nilakaṇḍa ehy ehi : vāmasthitasimhamukha : hasa 2
pwt'y pwt'y pwt'y'myty nyr' kut || "y γyy "y
γγy || β'm'styt synγmuck || γs γs
14. muñca 2 mahāṭāṭṭahāsa : ehy ehi mahāsiddhaya
mwnē mwnē || mγ' t' tt' γ's "y γy y'y
15. gīśvara : haṇa 2 vāceṁ sādahaya 2 vidyāṁ smara 2
bhagava
γγ mγ' syt ywkyśβr || γn γn β'ēyn s't'y
s't'y βyty'm smr pkβ'ntn
16. ntaṁ : lokitavilokita : tathāgataṁ : dadāhi me da-
r'wkyt βyr'wkyt || tt'ktn || tt'γγy m'y
17. rśanaṁ : kāmasya darśanaṁ : prahlādaya me naṁ svāhā :
trśn'n || k'msy' trśn'n || pr'γr'ty' myn'n
18. siddhāya svāhā : mahāsiddhāya svāhā : siddhayogi
sβ'γ' || syt'y sβ'γ' mγ' syt'y sβ'γ' ||
19. śvarāya svāhā : nilakaṇṭhāya svāhā : varāhamukhā
syt ywkyśβr'y sβ'γ' || nyr'nt'y sβ'γ' ||
20. ya svāhā : mahāsimghamukhāya svāhā : siddhavidyādha
βr'γ mwk'y sβ'γ' || mγ' synkmuck'y sβ'γ' ||

21. rāya svāhā : padmahastāya svāhā : mahākṛṣṇasarpa
syṭṣyṭy' tr'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ ptm ṣst'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ
22. yajñopavitāya svāhā : mahālakṣṇadharāya svāhā :
mṣ'kr'yśn srp y'tny'w pṣyṭ'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ mṣ'
23. cakrāyudhāya svāhā : śaṁkhaśavyanibodhanāya svāhā :
ṛkwṭtr'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ ḥkkr ywṭ'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ ṣṅk
24. vāmaskandhaveśasthitakṛṣṇājīnāya svāhā : vyāghra
ś'ṣṭny pwt'n'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ ṣ'm 's'knt ṣ'yśsty
25. carmanivāsanāya svāhā : lokiteśvarāya svāhā
kr'yśn " ḥyn'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ ṣy'krērmny
ṣ'sn'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ ṛukyṭyṣṣ'r'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ
26. sarvasiddheśvarāya svāhā : namo bhagavate āryāva
srṣ syṭ'y ṣṣ'r'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ nm'w pkṣṭ'y
27. lokiteśvarāya : bodhisatvāya mahāsatvāya : mahā
"ry' ṣṛ'wkyṭ'y ṣṣ'r'y pwtystṣ'y mṣ'sṭṣ'y
28. kārūṇikāya : sidhyaṁtu mantrapadaya svāhā :
mṣ'k'rw nyk'y syṭy'ntw mnt'r pl'y sṣ'ṣ' ḥ
29. nīlakaṇṭha nāma thāraṇī samāpta : ḥ o ḥ
1 LPw ḥsty "ry'ṣṛ'wkyṭ'yṣṣ'r nyṛknt n'm
ṭ'ny pty'mty 1:1
30. namo : nīlā : kaṇḍā : śaṁkhā : cakra ttāni : di
nm'w nyṛ'knt' ṣṅk' ḥkkr tr'ny 1:1
31. [?] vasanāya : kṛṣṇo sadya divā yajño : vetyā :
tyṣṣn'y kr'yśn'w sty' tyṣ' y'tny'w
32. kaccharmo ya : namas kaṁṇṭa tri uya : nārāyanarūpa ~
ṣ'yṭy' ḥ kērm'wy' ḥ nm 'sk'nt try 'wy n'ry'n
33. thāraṇaṁ ḥ tre nitya muṇḍaṭe ḥ praviśa 2 vipāloki
rwptṭ ṭ'rn'n ḥ tr'y nyṭy' mwnt ṭ' ṭ' prṣyṣ

34. *teśvara:kurma hūṃ: || hr̥daya maṃtra: ḍḍr'yn'k ḍrzy'wr
 wyspw "ḡḍ'k
 prḥyṣ || ḥym' ḡ'wkytyṣḍr kwr̥m ḡwm 1:1
 ḡryt'y m̥tr wyspw znk'n m̥tzp'rt'y' zp'rt
 ḥwt 1:1 'wm tr'wm sm'nt sḥḡ' 1:1*

35. *ūṃ ḍruṃ samanta svāhā :*

• *namo bhagavatyai āryaprajñāpāra* ¹

¹ D'une autre main.

XX

THE USE OF THE ROMAN CHARACTER FOR ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

By R. GRANT BROWN, I.C.S.

"And here we must enter our protest, we fear an unavailing one, against the supineness which suffers those invaluable monuments, the unwritten languages of the earth, to perish with a rapidity yearly increasing, without one rational and well-directed effort to save them in the only mode in which it can be done effectually, viz., by reducing them to writing *according to their exact native pronunciation* through the medium of a thoroughly well-considered and digested phonetic alphabet. About sixty well chosen, easily written, and *unequivocal* characters, completely exemplified in their use by passages from good writers in the principal European and Eastern languages, would satisfy every want, without going into impracticable niceties; and we earnestly recommend the construction and promulgation of a manual of this kind for the use of travellers, voyagers, and colonists, as a matter of pressing urgency, to the consideration of philologists, ethnologists, and geographers, in their respective societies assembled."—*Edinburgh Review*, 1848, p. 226.

THE Roman character may be used for Oriental languages in two ways: first, to represent in writing the sounds of a spoken language; and secondly, to represent the characters of a written language by another set of characters. The first process is usually called phonetic writing, the second transliteration. The second process includes the first. As this may not be clear at first sight I will endeavour to explain what transliteration is.

In the languages which can be transliterated written characters are simply phonetic symbols. They have no meaning except with reference to the sounds which they represent. Chinese is largely written by means of symbols representing not sounds but ideas. Chinese, therefore, cannot be transliterated. All we can do is to choose some spoken word which represents the idea of the written character, and visualize that word by means of phonetic symbols. But most Oriental languages are written

phonetically: that is, the characters represent not ideas but sounds.

Transliteration may be understood to mean any one of three distinct processes. One of these is not what I should call transliteration, but as the word is used to describe it in a Government publication (*Tables for the Transliteration of Burmese into English*, ed. 1907) it must at least be noticed. It is the representation in Roman characters of the present standard pronunciation of a word written in other characters, such as the Burmese, without regard to the pronunciation of each individual character. For instance, the symbol ဓ is pronounced much like the French *sa*, but if က်, the symbol for *k*, be added the resultant ဓက် is pronounced, not *sak*, but *set*, nearly as in English: and the word is written *set* accordingly.

The second process may be called direct transliteration. In this the proper sound of each character is first decided on; a symbol is chosen to represent that sound; and the character is thereafter always represented by that symbol, without regard to the actual pronunciation of the word. For instance, ဓက် might be transliterated *sak*. If in any language there were a separate character, and only one, for each sound, and if the sound of that character never varied, transliteration would be a simple matter. It would only be necessary to see that the script into which the transliteration is made also has a separate symbol for each sound, and there would be no difference between transliteration and phonetic writing. As a matter of fact such a language does not exist, either because all the languages we know use alphabets more or less imperfectly adapted to their sound-system, or because the alphabet has failed to keep pace with the sound-changes in the language. Sanskrit is nearly such a language: its transliteration is therefore comparatively easy. Burmese is an instance of

the other extreme. It began by importing, with clumsy adaptation, an alphabet belonging to another sound-system; it has since undergone great changes in pronunciation, and these changes have not been uniform, but are the result of a multiplicity of tendencies. Its transliteration, therefore, is so hopeless a task that, as we have seen, the Government of Burma has not attempted it, and has substituted phonetic writing. Between these extremes there are many degrees. But transliteration of a modern language always presents difficulties which do not exist in mere phonetic writing.¹ It is, moreover, only necessary for certain limited purposes.

The third process may be called indirect transliteration. This has to be resorted to, to take an extreme case, for a text which is written with a modified form of a known alphabet, but in an unknown language. Each character is first identified with the corresponding character in some language of which the pronunciation is known; and the sound given to it in that language is then assigned to it and represented by phonetic writing. For instance, in his article on "The Fourth Text of the Myazedi Inscriptions", published in the Journal of this Society for April, 1911, Mr. Blagden has taken a text in an unknown language, identified each character used in it with a Sanskrit character, and represented, more or less, the Sanskrit sound of that character in a phonetic script. The same process may be used, and is used, for an ancient text in a known language of which the former pronunciation is uncertain, such as Burmese or Talaing. For instance, in transliterating the text of the Myazedi inscription Mr. Blagden has used *ca*, not *sa*, to represent the sound of the character

¹ I hope to show elsewhere that the supposed obstacles to the use of phonetic spelling, as against transliteration, for educational and popular purposes have little or no existence in fact, or are easily surmounted; but the matter does not come within the scope of this article, nor is it of any particular interest to the ethnographers and others who are now being addressed.

ॐ. That is because this character is clearly another form of the Sanskrit character च, the pronunciation of which, at the time of the Sanskrit grammarians, is believed to have been *ca*.¹ The word ॐ would be transliterated by Mr. Blagden *ca*, and pronounced 'cak',² the sound *a* becoming 'a' in Sanskrit when followed by a final consonant. If such a text contains a character which has nothing corresponding to it in Sanskrit, this method of transliteration cannot, so far as that character is concerned, be used. The character itself may be copied, or some non-phonetic symbol, such as a number, may be employed; but the process is then, of course, not transliteration.

The object of these introductory remarks is to show that all transliteration involves a system of phonetic writing, a fact not always recognized; and to clear the ground of some vexed questions which have been unnecessarily confounded with that of the choice of a phonetic script, and have thus obscured the issues in many previous discussions. I propose now to leave all these questions aside, and to discuss only the choice of a phonetic script.

It is not necessary to devise a new system of phonetic writing for each language. The same system can be used for all languages, whether written or unwritten, so far as they have sounds in common. If a language has sounds peculiar to itself special symbols must, of course, be invented to represent those sounds. This, however, happens to a much smaller extent than is usually supposed. There are comparatively few spoken sounds in the world which do not exist in one or other of the principal European languages. It is obviously convenient that

¹ The *c* represents a single palatal sound, approaching that in the English *church*, and perhaps identical with the Magyar sound for which the International Phonetic Association also use the symbol *c*.

² Something like the English *chuck*.

one general system should be followed which, subject to these slight additions, is applicable to all languages.

I now suggest to you that the following qualifications are needed for any general system of phonetic writing.

1. It should be based on the Roman alphabet. This hardly needs demonstration.

2. It should be on the principle of "one sound, one symbol". That is to say, a different symbol must be employed for every distinct sound, so that there can never be any doubt as to what sound is meant. Moreover, a single sound should be represented by a single symbol, not by a combination of letters. For instance, the word *thaw* contains only two sounds, and should therefore be represented by only two letters, not by four.

3. It must be acceptable to civilized peoples generally, and should not therefore follow conventions merely because they are found in some particular European language. For instance, the letter *i* must not be used to represent the sound *ai* in *aisle*.

4. It should if possible be devised so that it can be used for any language, not merely for a particular group of languages. A new language may in exceptional cases have sounds peculiar to itself. In that case it may be necessary in recording it to make use of diacritical marks or new symbols. But this will rarely happen, and where it does it will be all the more necessary to use symbols already known for sounds already known.

5. The script should be such that it can be read easily and rapidly when once mastered, without unduly straining the eyes.

6. The system should be an elastic one. There should be a simple script for general purposes which is capable of being converted, by the mere addition of diacritical marks, into an accurate one for scientific purposes. In the script intended for general purposes diacritical marks should be avoided as much as possible, not only for the sake

of simplicity, but because they should be held in reserve for use when greater accuracy is needed. It follows from both this and the last principle that, where ordinary characters are inadequate for general purposes, special characters and not ordinary characters with diacritical marks should, as a rule, be used.

7. Economy in printing has to be considered. As to this it must be remembered that an ordinary type with a special diacritical mark attached to it is just as expensive as a special type. Both have to be specially cut.

8. In choosing a system for recording Oriental languages it would, of course, be a great advantage if one can be found which is already widely used in Europe for other purposes, and which is approved by leading phoneticians. It is useless suggesting a system unless it is likely to be generally adopted, at least in essentials.

9. It would also be a great advantage to have some body of phonetic experts to whom a reference could be made in case of doubt as to the best way to represent unfamiliar sounds, and who could give an authoritative decision on the point raised. It must be remembered that linguists are not always phonetic experts.

Now let us see how far the systems now used by Orientalists fulfil these requirements. In 1894, at a congress of Orientalists held at Geneva, the transliteration of Oriental languages was discussed. The congress decided to confine itself to Arabic and Sanskrit, languages which are, of course, of first-rate importance, but which represent only two out of many Asiatic families, and which happen to have an unusually simple system of vowel-sounds. On an attempt being made to apply the phonetic script prescribed by the congress to Mongolian languages, which are comparatively rich in vowel-sounds, it was found quite inadequate. This is patent to anyone who will study Dr. Grierson's great work, the *Linguistic Survey of India*. The survey relates mainly to Aryan

languages, but includes some others, and for these Dr. Grierson has been obliged to invent new symbols. As far as possible he has applied his system to all the languages dealt with, but in some cases the contributor has used a system of his own and has failed to explain adequately what sounds are intended by the symbols used by him. These symbols have perforce been allowed to stand, with a result which is so far unsatisfactory.

The Geneva system, therefore, does not meet the fourth or the sixth of our requirements. Still less does it fulfil the eighth, as it is not used for any other purposes at all; or the ninth, as there is no machinery for referring new or doubtful sounds to a body of phonetic experts.

Many other systems of writing are in use for Oriental languages. In fact, nearly every person who records a new language uses his own system for it, with the result that in many cases his readers cannot tell what sounds are meant. The ordinary man has not sufficient knowledge of the sounds of his own language to be able to give useful examples in it.

There are some schemes, however, which call for special notice. One is that explained by the Rev. Father Schmidt in *Anthropos* for 1907. As might be expected in so distinguished a philologist, it is scientifically constructed and fulfils the first four of our requirements. But it altogether fails to satisfy the other five. Father Schmidt is strongly opposed to special characters, and uses the ordinary Roman alphabet with an elaborate system of diacritical marks, which must be difficult to read even after long practice. I need only mention here his symbol for the vowel-sound in *not*. This consists of the letter *a* with two lines and a dot underneath it. The symbol for the first vowel-sound in *air* is *a* with three dots under it. And if the diacritical marks are dispensed with we have, including the vowel-sound in *far*, three very different sounds all represented by the same symbol.

The system of the Rev. Mr. Knowles is specially devised for certain Indian languages, the Tibeto-Mongolian group being excluded. If Father Schmidt dislikes special characters, Mr. Knowles goes to the other extreme. For those languages alone he uses no less than thirty-two, in addition to the ordinary Roman characters. Of these, however, seven are for the peculiar Indian cerebrals, for which it is usual to employ diacritical marks, while others are needed only for transliteration, not for a phonetic representation of the spoken language. There is much to be said for the system, but it hardly meets the fourth of our requirements, and certainly fails to meet the last two.

A system of quite a different class is that of the Royal Geographical Society, which may be called national as distinguished from international, and does not, of course, hold the third of the qualifications needed. It is a rough scheme intended to prevent geographical names from being grossly mispronounced by English readers of maps, and on the whole serves its purpose very well, though it might easily be improved. Its main principles are that the vowels are pronounced as in Italian unless followed by a double consonant, when they are given the values of the English short vowels; that the consonants are pronounced as in English; and that the fricatives, such as appear in *shoe, treasure, church, thin, khan, and ghazi*, are represented conventionally as in English by *h* following another letter. This is nearly the system prescribed by the Government of Burma for Burmese, the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated letters (in the true sense) being ignored. This system is, of course, unsuitable for scientific purposes, but the Society has done much towards getting English people to use the Roman vowel-symbols with their Continental values. No one now thinks of writing the name of the Fiji Isles "Feejee", or (I should hope) of reading the name as "Faijai" when he sees it in print.

What is usually called the Hunterian system, because it was used by Sir William Hunter for his *Imperial Gazetteer*, is also, in the main, a combination of Italian vowels and English consonants. Though it deals only with a very simple vowel-system, and cannot therefore be applied to such languages as Burmese, it uses a diacritical mark for the Italian *a*, and employs the plain letter *a* for the vowel-sound in *but*: an arrangement which commends itself neither to phoneticians nor to the public. It fails to satisfy the second, third, fourth, sixth, eighth, and ninth of our requirements.

The phonetic representation of Chinese, whether for scientific or for popular purposes, is even less satisfactory, the difficulties being considerably greater. The Wade system is commonly followed, though it is admitted on all sides to be unsatisfactory. It employs the fantastic combination *érh* to represent a single sound common in certain dialects of English, and, while using a diacritical mark for the first vowel in *Ssüch'uan*, also doubles the *s* "to fix the attention on the peculiar vowel *ä*". It does not satisfy a single one of our requirements except the first and fifth, for it cannot be said to be economical when it uses special types with so poor a result. The truth is that it is impossible for anyone, however distinguished he may be as a Chinese scholar, to devise a satisfactory system for Chinese without a knowledge of phonetics.

Probably few people realize how very poor the Roman alphabet is in vowel-symbols. There are, of course, five symbols, which we call *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*. Against these the English language has at least twelve distinct pure vowel-sounds, besides three used only in diphthongs; French has sixteen, including four nasals; German eighteen, including the same nasals; Swedish fourteen; and so on. Among Mongolian languages that most widely spoken in the British Empire, Burmese, has about a dozen vowel-sounds.

The Canton dialect of Chinese has about the same. The Naga and some other Tibeto-Burman languages have some vowel-sounds which do not appear in either of these.

Some of these sounds are no doubt but slight, though significant, variations from the sounds¹ *a, e, i, o, u* which the symbols we call *a, e, i, o, u* are usually taken to represent. Where this is the case there is something to be said for the use of diacritical marks with the existing symbols. But other sounds are altogether distinct from any of these. Such are the pure vowel-sounds in the English *pat, paw, sir, and but*, and the French *pu*, all of which occur in Mongolian languages. None of these can properly be treated as mere modifications of the sounds¹ *a, e, i, o, u*. They are cardinal points, just as the sounds¹ *a, e, i, o, u* are. Some of them have their own modifications. For instance, the vowel-sound in *pot* may fairly be treated as a modification of that in *paw*, and the first sound in *amiss* as a modification of that in *sir*. If diacritical marks are used for the cardinal vowels you have to use further marks for these modifications, and more again for nasalization and length. The inconvenience of piling diacritical marks one on the top of another is obvious. The only remedy is to have special symbols.

Until lately special symbols have been very little used. They are employed, however, in Anglo-Saxon and modern Icelandic to distinguish the *th* in *this* from the *th* in *thin*, and the same symbols can of course be used to distinguish both from the totally different sound of *th* in the Hindustani *tha*. At first sight they appear strange, stranger than ordinary types with diacritical marks; but this is really not a serious objection. It does not require much intelligence to learn their meaning, and once they are learnt they are much easier to use and to recognize than ordinary letters with diacritical marks are.

¹ As in Italian.

It will perhaps hardly be believed that there is a system in existence which fulfils all the requirements above mentioned. Such a system, however, there is. It has existed for twenty-five years, and has stood the test of experience, though it has never until very recently been applied to Oriental languages. It is in order to introduce this system to the readers of the *Journal* that this paper is written. It is the system of the International Phonetic Association.

The Association was founded in 1886 by a group of French professors, who had successfully used a phonetic script in teaching the pronunciation of English. Its system has been accepted in essentials by most of the leading phoneticians of Europe. Its Honorary President is our own Dr. Sweet, Reader in Phonetics at Oxford; its President, Professor Viëtor of Marburg; its Vice-Presidents, Professor Jespersen of Copenhagen and Dr. Edwards, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. Its Secretary in England is Mr. Daniel Jones, Lecturer on Phonetics at University College, London. Its aims and principles are explained in a pamphlet issued in French in 1898. A new pamphlet is about to be published in English, and will contain texts of Oriental languages in the Association's character. The script is used in at least four pronouncing dictionaries, and in several hundred textbooks and grammars. The special types are stocked by the Oxford, Cambridge, and London University Presses, by Messrs. Turnbull & Spears of Edinburgh, and by no less than four firms at Leipzig and one at Copenhagen.

Though formerly better known on the Continent, the science of phonetics has been made a compulsory subject in all training colleges in Scotland, and is advancing rapidly in England. In both countries the Association's system is very widely used.¹ Nearly all the universities

¹ See *The Means of Training in Phonetics available for Modern Language Teachers*, by L. H. Althaus, 1911.

and colleges in which phonetics are taught use that system, while most of the rest use a script invented by Sweet, which differs in some details, but can be read with ease by anyone who has learnt the Association's method.

I strongly advocate the use of the system for recording for scientific purposes languages not hitherto put into writing. But it has other and important uses. In the first place no better script can be devised for the use of tribes which have as yet invented no system of writing. The Roman alphabet has, in fact, been used with success among the Chins of Burma, who have no written language. The symbols which seem strange to us are, of course, no stranger to them than our ordinary alphabet; and it is easier to teach them a few extra symbols than, let us say, to make them remember when the letter *a* is pronounced 'a' as in *father*, 'ei' as in *ache*, 'è' as in *many*, 'æ' as in *pat*, 'ə' as in *all*, 'ò' as in *what*, or 'ə' as in *amiss*; or when the sound 'a' is spelt with the letter *r*, or with the letter *a*, or with an *a* and an *h*, or with an *a* and an *r*, or with an *a* and two *r*'s, or with an *a*, an *r*, and an *e*.

Even when the language has a written character of its own the script is of the greatest use, not only for dictionaries, but for teaching the language. Modern languages are being more and more taught with the aid of a phonetic script, without which it is almost impossible for the ordinary learner to acquire the correct pronunciation. It is gradually being recognized that accuracy of pronunciation is as much a test of good scholarship as a copious vocabulary or freedom from grammatical error. And the script can be used, not merely for teaching Europeans to speak an Oriental language, but for teaching English and other European languages to the native, especially if he has already used it for his own tongue. Again, there is no reason why a script based on the Roman character should not entirely supplant those of Oriental languages, as advocated just

a year ago by the Rev. Mr. Knowles before the East India Association, and by me, in the case of Burmese, in a recent correspondence in the *Rangoon Gazette*.¹ The case for a Roman script in Burma is peculiarly strong, the alphabet being an Indian importation utterly unsuited from the first to the language to which it was applied, and still less suitable now owing to changes in pronunciation.

Yet, if I am not misinformed, the teaching of the Roman character to the Chins mentioned above has been discontinued—probably for want of an authorized system—and instruction in written Burmese substituted. This means that the Chins will no longer be able to write to each other in their own language. Owing to the fact that the sound of so many characters is dependent on the adjacent letter, a new combination of letters is meaningless in Burmese, and the script cannot be applied to Chin. I need hardly say that the difficulty of learning to read Burmese in the Indian character is enormously greater than if a Roman script is used, even if the tribesman has not already learnt that script for his own language.

Lastly, the science of phonetics, as distinguished from the use of a phonetic script in teaching a particular language, is coming to the front. I will ask leave to make a digression on a subject of considerable practical importance—the course of studies for the Indian Civil Service. That course is intended to fit probationers for

¹ Before the script of the International Phonetic is used for this purpose it should be simplified and harmonized for the particular language (or group of languages) to which it is to be applied. The Association provides one universal set of symbols for scientific purposes, the chief of which is an accurate record of the sounds of each language, whether that language has or has not already been reduced to writing, and of each dialect. These symbols, however, will present a motley appearance, and will often contain diacritical marks which can be dispensed with under other conditions. For popular or educational purposes they should be modified, so as to be easier to read and write and to give the printed page a more pleasing appearance. This has already been done for some European languages, though in the case of English at least a further move might be made in these directions.

the work they have to do in India, and it can hardly be gainsaid that their first need is a knowledge of the principal spoken language of their province. A literary knowledge of the native language is useful and valuable, but when it is pursued, as it is sometimes pursued, to the exclusion of colloquial knowledge, so that a man who has passed difficult examinations is unable to carry on an ordinary conversation with a native, I think it will be agreed that there is something wrong with the system of examinations. Moreover, there is a large and growing body of opinion, especially among practical educationalists, in favour of imparting a knowledge of the spoken or living language first, and building up upon it a knowledge of the literary or dead language. To my mind there can be no question that this is the right order of things. The habit which we have acquired of beginning with the literary language has its origin in the fact that at one time only dead languages were thought worth teaching at all. This again led to more or less scientific methods being devised for teaching those languages, whereas scientific methods for teaching a spoken language did not exist until quite recently. They do exist now, however, and a thorough grounding in phonetics, together with the use of a phonetic script, are essential parts of the training. In the case of Indian Civil Service probationers it is not practicable to defer the acquisition of the literary or classical language entirely until a thorough knowledge of the colloquial has been attained; because, while the colloquial vocabulary and idioms are most easily learnt in India, the literary language is, for climatic and other reasons, best studied at home. Nevertheless, I venture to think that the foundation of a sound colloquial knowledge should be laid before the literary language is attacked, and that probationers should go out to India well equipped for learning to speak not only the principal language of their province but any other language which may be needed

for their work. They cannot be said to be so equipped unless they have had a training in phonetics.

The science of phonetics is so little known that it may be necessary to explain what it is. Dr. Sweet, in his *Practical Study of Languages*, says on p. 4—

“The main axiom of living philology is that all study of language must be based on phonetics.

“Phonetics is the science of speech-sounds, or, from a practical point of view, the art of pronunciation. Phonetics is to the science of language generally what mathematics is to astronomy and the physical sciences. Without it, we can neither observe nor record the simplest phenomena of language.”

He goes on to show the fallacy of supposing that pronunciation can be learnt by mere imitation. “This is as if fencing could be learnt by looking at other people fencing. The movements of the tongue in speaking are even quicker and more complicated than those of the foil in fencing, and are, besides, mostly concealed from sight.

“Even in the case of children learning the sounds of their own language the process is a slow and tedious one, and the nearer the approach to maturity the greater the difficulty of acquiring new sounds. Indeed, the untrained adult seems to be often absolutely incapable of imitating an unfamiliar sound or even an unfamiliar combination of sounds. . . . Even those who devote their lives to the study of languages generally fail to acquire a good pronunciation by imitation perhaps after living ten or twenty years in the country and learning to write the language with perfect ease and accuracy.”

He points out that there is an organic side of phonetics, in which the actions of the organs of speech are described, and an acoustic side, in which sounds are described and classified. “It is evident that both the organic and the acoustic sense must be cultivated: we must learn both to recognize each sound by ear and to recognize the organic positions by which it is produced, this recognition being

effected by means of the accompanying muscular sensations."

In India we are put to shame by our own children, who, if they are brought up in the country, learn to speak the native languages with perfect accuracy. That we are most of us quite unable to do so is due simply to defective education—to a neglect of one of the most important faculties that nature has given us.

My suggestion is, therefore, that the science of phonetics should be made a basis for the study of modern Indian languages. I do not suggest it as the only basis; I think a comparative study of the structure of languages, with special reference to those to be acquired, would also be well repaid. But a grounding of phonetics is more necessary than anything else, and for it a phonetic script of some kind is indispensable. If such a grounding is given it is obvious that the Association's script is the one likely to be used.

To sum up, the Association's script fulfils all the requirements which it is called upon to fulfil. That is, it is based on the Roman alphabet; it follows the principle of "one sound, one symbol"; it is acceptable to civilized peoples generally; it can be used for any language; it can be read easily and rapidly when once mastered; it is elastic, and, considering the results, economical; it is widely used already; and there is a body of phonetic experts, the Council of the Association, ready to give assistance in applying and enlarging it.

It will be useful to ethnologists for recording new languages; to natives who have no written language, or an unsatisfactory script, for communicating with each other; to dictionary-makers for giving exact pronunciation; to transliterators for phonetic transcriptions of ancient texts; to teachers of languages, Asiatic or European, for instructing their pupils in the art of correct pronunciation; to teachers of the science of phonetics;

and to philologists as a record of linguistic changes. As there now seems to be a reasonable probability of its coming into general use for all these purposes, I venture to suggest that the Royal Asiatic Society should not be behindhand in adopting it for its records, and in joining with the leaders of the Association in order to perfect and enlarge it with special reference to Asiatic languages.

The Association's system has been recently used by me in a paper on the Tamans of Upper Burma for the Royal Anthropological Institute. The name of the Tamans for themselves and the numerals are given below as a sample of the uses to which the script may be put—

Taman	хaptā (хaptə)
1	tə
2	nek
3	sūm (sum)
4	pəli
5	məŋə
6	kwa
7	sənə (səne)
8	pəsə (pəse)
9	təxā (təxə)
10	fi

KEY

Λ	as	vowel-sound	in	E. <i>but</i> .
ä	"	"	"	E. <i>sir</i> .
ɔ	"	"	"	E. <i>saw</i> .
e	"	"	"	F. <i>été</i> .
ù	"	"	"	E. <i>put</i> .
ə	as	first vowel-sound	in	E. <i>among</i> .
a	as	vowel-sound	in	F. <i>patte</i> .
è	"	"	"	E. <i>men</i> .
i	"	"	"	F. <i>si</i> .
x	as	ch	in	G. <i>ach</i> .
ŋ	as	ng	in	E. <i>sing</i> .
f	as	sh	in	E. <i>she</i> .

The English referred to is standard southern English.

THE SECRET OF KANISHKA

By J. KENNEDY

THE interest which attaches to Kanishka is manifold. Primarily it is Buddhist. Kanishka convoked the fourth great Buddhist Council, the Council held in Kashmir,¹ which gave consistency and official sanction to the doctrines of Northern Buddhism and led to its adoption by the Yue-che, who in their turn became ardent propagators of the faith, diffusing its light among the nomads of Central Asia and introducing it to the knowledge of the cultured Chinese. The Buddhists in the north-western corner of the Panjāb preserved the memory of their royal patron; they adorned his memory with miracle and legend; they placed him by the side of Aśoka, the first great foster-father of their religion; and vague reminiscences of Kanishka lingered in this region to the time of the learned Alberūnī and of Kalhāṇa, author of the metrical *Chronicles of Kashmir*.

With the extinction of Buddhism in India both Aśoka and Kanishka passed into oblivion. A series of accidents has restored them to the light of day. Aśoka's inscriptions occupy a first place among Indian historical documents. Kanishka and his successors left, indeed, no official inscriptions; but they are mentioned as reigning kings in many private ones, while the abundance and variety of their coins at once attract attention.

And when the students of epigraphy and numismatics have done with Kanishka, the interest passes to the historians. Greeks, Śakas, Indo-Parthians, and the Tochari (whom the Indians called Tushāras or Tukhāras, and the

¹ Or possibly at Jālandhar, which view has been favoured by Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 121.

Chinese Yue-che), all invaded Northern India during the centuries immediately preceding or following the Christian era. The labours of many savants have taught us much regarding them; but the enigma of Kanishka still remains unsolved. No less than eleven theories have been broached regarding his date, none of which have met with general acceptance.¹ The dates assigned to him have ranged from 58 B.C. to 278 A.D. Now the question of his date is one of first-rate importance, for the position we assign to Kanishka and his line will determine our view of the whole history of the times. Until it is determined we cannot understand the succession of events, or rightly interpret the historical notices of the Chinese and the chance allusions of classical writers.

To add to the complexity the problem of Kanishka is connected with another problem. The so-called Vikrama era is in universal use in Northern India at the present day; so far as we can tell, its use has always been very general—practically universal—and rival eras have been rare; it commences in 58 B.C.; we know that it has nothing to do with any king Vikrama or Vikramāditya, nor is it an astronomical era. How, then, did it originate? Dr. Fleet has always maintained that it originated with Kanishka, and this was at one time Cunningham's opinion.²

So far we have regarded Kanishka only as an Indian king. But he looms largely on a much wider historical background, though not, indeed, as reigning north of the Hindu Kush—a notion which has misled many eminent scholars. It will be part of my business to show that he never reigned outside India. But he is an important figure in the history of the silk trade between China and

¹ For a list of these theories see V. A. Smith, "The Kushān Period of Indian History," *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 1 ff.; and R. D. Banerji, "The Scythian Period of Indian History," *IA.*, 1903, pp. 27-8.

² Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 169 ff.

Syria which sprang up in the first century B.C.; he is the central link of a chain which extends from the Chinese province of Kan-su to the Nabatæan States at the head of the Persian Gulf. The secret of Kanishka is to be found in his coinage. I propose to show that the history of the silk trade explains every peculiarity of that coinage, and compels us to assign to him a very definite limit of time, the latter half of the century preceding the Christian era. But this is not the only clue to his date. The legends on Kanishka's coins are Greek; Greek must therefore have been understood by those that used them. Thus they have a close connexion with the history of the decadence of Hellenism in the Far East. Now it can be shown on general grounds that the use of Greek as the language of daily life ceased in the regions east of the Euphrates (except in Northern Mesopotamia) in some places before, and everywhere soon after, the end of the first century A.D.; and there is neither evidence nor reason to suppose that it lingered after that time in an enclave of the Panjāb. What evidence we have tells the other way. We have, therefore, a time-limit after which we cannot date Kanishka and his dynasty. There is yet a third and a more direct way of approaching the problem. We can definitely assign the other line of Kushan kings in Northern India, Kozoulo Kadphises and Wema Kadphises,¹ to the latter half of the first century A.D. The dynasty of Kanishka covers a space in round figures of one hundred years. We must therefore date Kanishka either a hundred years before 50 A.D. or after 100 A.D. (strictly speaking, after 120 A.D.). The disappearance of Greek in the second century of our era forbids the latter hypothesis. Thus all three lines of investigation converge in one and the same conclusion.

¹ The strict transliteration of the Greek form of the name of this king would be Ooëmo: the Kharoshthi form is Vima. I use for easy recognition a form which has been made familiar by previous writers.

The argument now to be presented has therefore a three-fold strand. I shall first try to show (1) that Kozoulo Kadphises conquered Kābul a little after 50 A.D.; and (2) that a Kushan kingdom existed in India prior to that time. The second part of my paper deals with the history of the silk trade from China in the first century B.C., showing that it went by way of Khotan, North-Western India, and Kābul to the head of the Persian Gulf and thence to Syria, and that all the peculiarities of Kanishka's coinage can be thus explained. The third part is devoted to a brief history of the disappearance of Hellenism in the Far East. I hope hereafter to treat at length of the history of the silk trade, and also of Hellenism beyond the Euphrates. Logically these studies should precede the present one; but Kanishka is an integral figure in both; and for various reasons I have put him in the forefront, merely giving so much of my ulterior studies as will suffice to explain his position. And now my argument proceeds to show that Kanishka lived in 58 B.C.; that he must have lived then; and that he cannot have lived at any other time.

I

Kanishka as an Indian King

When, in the year 128 B.C., Chang-k'ien, the first Chinese official to visit Western Asia, after encountering many hardships and escaping from captivity at the hands of the Hiung-nu, arrived in Bactria, he found the Tochāri, or as the Chinese called them the Yue-che, settled in a body on the north bank of the Oxus. Their numbers were considerable; they could turn out over 100,000 horse-archers, and the Chinese estimated the total population at 400,000. They were masters of Bactria, or rather of so much of it as was not in possession of the Parthians. Like their former neighbours the Wu-sun, they had five princely

families called by the Turkish title of *jab-gou*,¹ transliterated *hi-heou* by the Chinese.¹ Not very long after the Tochari had settled in their new location, perhaps about the commencement of the first century B.C.,² these five *jab-gou* divided the country between them (*partagèrent ce royaume*), and established five independent principalities in the mountains of the Karakorum and the Hindu Kush. The first has been identified³ with Wakhān, the second with Chitrāl, the third lay immediately to the north of Gandhāra, or was Gandhāra itself,⁴ the fourth was at Parwān on the Panjshir, an affluent of the Kābul River, and the fifth was close to but distinct from Kābul. The mass, however, of the Tochari remained on the north bank of the Oxus, where they had originally settled. At some subsequent period, perhaps on the establishment of the Kushan kingdom of Bactria, they split into two, one party keeping to their former seat, the other crossing to the south of the river.⁵

The third of these five principalities was the principality of the Kushans, and it was the only one in immediate touch

¹ "Le titre de hi-heou (yap-heou) est un ancien titre turc qui était déjà en usage chez les Hiung-nou au deuxième siècle avant notre ère; Hirth y a reconnu le mot turc jab-gou qui est transcrit ye-hou à l'époque des T'ang" (Chavannes, *Les pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han Chou*, p. 43, n. 3). M. Chavannes' translation of chapter cxviii of the history of the Later Han (Heou Han Chou) was originally published in the *T'oung-pao*, sér. II, vol. viii, No. 2, pp. 153 ff. My quotations from and references to this invaluable translation are from the reprint in pamphlet form published by "E. J. Brill, Leide, 1907".

² The creation of these five principalities was apparently not known to Sze-ma-t'sien, who was born 163 B.C. and whose history comes down to 97 B.C.; at least they are not mentioned in Kingsmill's translation (or epitome) of the 123rd chapter of the *Shi-ki*, JRAS., January, 1882, p. 160.

³ By Marquart (*Erdschahr*, pp. 242-8), who "a institué sur ces données une discussion lumineuse qui a fixé d'une manière définitive la situation de ces cinq royaumes" (Chavannes, *op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 44, where the whole subject is treated in full detail).

⁴ "Le Kouei-chouang serait immédiatement au Nord de Gandhāra; d'après O. Francke ce serait le Gandhāra lui-même" (Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 45, note).

⁵ Cf. Ptolemy, *Geog.* vii, 11, § 6, and his map of Bactriana.

with India. Like the Parthians the Kushans were merely a family or sept; they came accompanied by their kinsmen and followers, and their numbers were always small. In this respect, as well as in every other, in race, in speech, in government, and civilization, they differed *toto caelo* from the Śakas, who flooded Seistān and Indo-Scythia with their own clans and the Scythic tribes they brought with them.

Despite this disparity of numbers, these princely Kushans established two great kingdoms—one purely Indian, while the other embraced both North-West India and Bactria. The first was founded by Kanishka, the second by Kozoulo Kadphises, or, as the Chinese called him, *K'ieou-tsieou-k'io*.¹ I shall first set forth the history of each, and then discuss the question of priority so far as the records I am following throw light upon the matter. I begin with Kanishka.

1. Kanishka calls himself a Kushan, and his coins represent him as a powerfully built barbarian king, clad in the loose coat and huge boots which were the common dress of Turkestan. The Tochāri belonged to the great Turki family, and Kanishka's features are characteristic of his race; he has the pointed cranium, the salient cheek-bones, the large, long, and heavy nose, the thick beard; but, according to Ujfalvy, his features have already something Indian—a tendency which is more obvious in another Kushan, Huvishka.² For his coin legends Kanishka uses

¹ "L'identité de K'ieou-tsieou-k'io et de Kozoulo Kadphises, proposée d'abord par Cunningham, me paraît avoir été mise hors de doute par les recherches de P. Boyer" (Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 45, n. 2).

² Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens*, etc., p. 72. Ujfalvy's analysis of these heads is interesting. He says of Wema Kadphises, whom, following Cunningham, he puts before Kanishka: "Il est franchement brachycéphale et même hypsicéphale. A côté d'une barbe abondante mais raide, nous rencontrons un facies grossier, un nez long, gros et carré, et le bas de la figure qui avance; les yeux paraissent légèrement bridés et les pommettes sont saillantes. Mais c'est surtout le nez qui est caractéristique par la place énorme qu'il occupe par rapport au reste du visage. Kanerkés (80 ans après J.C.) et Houerkés (120 ans après J.C.) présentent toujours le même type; cependant les traits sont affinés, le corps s'est aminci, ce

Greek, and he borrows titles from all the peoples with whom the Tochari had come into contact: the "son of heaven" from the Chinese, "king of kings" from the Parthians, "sovereign lord and king" from the Hindus.¹ The extent of his kingdom is incidentally shown by the private inscriptions of his subjects. The "epigraphic records . . . give us contemporaneous notices of him, with dates, not only from Mathurā and from Sārnāth (close to Benares) towards the east, but also from Suē-Vihār near Bahāwalpūr on the north of Sind, from Mānikīāla near Rāwalpīṇḍi in the Panjāb, and from Zeda in the Yusufzai country, beyond the Indus."² These inscriptions range from the year 3 to the year 11, or if we include the Mānikīāla inscription,³ to the year 18, of an unspecified era.⁴ He built the celebrated stūpa at Peshāwar, and

n'est plus la grossière stature taillée à coup de hache de Kadphésés II." Then follows a description of a particular coin representing Huvishka: "néanmoins, la figure de ce roi présente déjà un certain air hindou." In the life of Seng-houei (260 A.D.) translated by Chavannes we have the portrait of a Sogdian, whom I take to be a Yue-che: "c'était un homme mince et long, noir et maigre; dans ses yeux, le blanc dominait et l'iris était jaune." Clearly an Indian figure, only somewhat darker. But Seng-houei's family had been settled for several generations in India, and his father had migrated as a merchant to Tonkin. The Yue-che who settled in India appear to have become rapidly Hinduized, differing from the Hindus in look much as the Goanese do at the present day.

¹ Devaputra, Shaonano Shao, Mahārāja Rājātīrāja, BACIAEYC BACIAEWN.

² Fleet, JRAS., 1907, p. 171: but I understand that he would now omit the Mānikīāla inscription from the category of "contemporaneous" notices.

³ But see the preceding note.

⁴ R. D. Banerji ("The Scythian Period of Indian History," IA., 1908, p. 59) translates the inscription from Ara, now in the Lahore Museum, thus: "In the year forty-one, 41, on the fifth day of the month of Caitra, in the reign of Mahārāja Rājātīrāja Devaputra Kanishka, the son of Vasīṣpa." Vogel says: "I do not attempt to explain the difficulty offered by the Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Ara, which is dated in the year 41 and in the reign of one Kanishka, the son of Vasīṣpa" (JRAS., 1910, p. 1314). On p. 1313 he says: "The latest known record dated in the reign of Kanishka is found on the sculptured slab in the British Museum edited by Professor Lüders: it bears the year 10. I am aware

established the town of Kanishkapura in Kashmir, while several monasteries of that country claimed him for their founder. He must therefore have been ruler, not only of his ancestral home Gandhāra and of Kashmir, with which his name is so intimately connected, but also of all North-Western India as far as Sind in the south and Benares in the east. His coins, notable for their abundance and their legends, are even more widely distributed. They are found in considerable quantities as far eastwards as Ghāzipūr and Gōrakhpūr; they are also often found in countries outside of India altogether; and stray coins of Kanishka have been dug up in Scandinavia and Wales.

After Kanishka came Vāsishka, whose identity was first established by Dr. Fleet.¹ Of him we know little, for only two inscriptions—one from the neighbourhood of Mathurā dated in the year 24, the other from Sāñchi in the year 28 of the same unspecified era—can be ascribed with certainty to his reign.² Moreover, none of his coins, if he issued any, have been identified. But Kalhana, in his metrical chronicles of Kashmir, selects him for especial mention: "That wise king, Juṣka, who built Juṣkapura with its Vihāra, was also the founder of Jayasvāmipura."³

The last of the Kushans proper of this line was Huvishka. At least a dozen inscriptions, Buddhist and Jain, mention him, but with two exceptions all come from

that the Manikyālā inscription of the year 18 contains the name of Kanishka, but if we adopt the latest reading of this difficult document by Professor Lüders, it would not bear out that it belongs to the reign of that king." It is not clear how he thus came to cite the year 10 as the latest date for Kanishka: the Sue-Vihār inscription (IA., x, 326; xi, 128) and the Zeda inscription (JA., 1890, pt. i, p. 140) are dated in his reign and in the year 11. For Professor Lüders' rendering of the Manikyālā inscription, v. JRAS., 1909, pp. 645 ff.

¹ Fleet, "A hitherto unrecognised Kushan King": JRAS., 1903, p. 325.

² Ibid., and Vogel, "Vāsishka, the Kuṣana": JRAS., 1910, p. 1313.

³ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, bk. i, 169; tr. Stein. Kalhana (verse 168) has the name Kanishka in that same form: for Huvishka he has Hushka, and for Vāsishka, Jushka.

Mathurā, and they range from the year 33 to the year 60 of the same unspecified era. Of the two exceptional inscriptions, one is from Ālikā; the other is an inscription on a votive vase from a stūpa at or near Wardak, some forty or fifty miles south-west of Kābul. The significance of this find I shall discuss hereafter. Like his predecessors, Huvishka is said to have founded a town named after himself, and also maṭhas and viḥāras in Kashmir.

We have, therefore, three powerful Kushan sovereigns, foreigners, ruling over the Panjāb and a great part of Northern India for some sixty years; possibly in the case of Huvishka temporarily even over part of Kābul. Then there comes a break. The Śakas push up the Indus valley, and we have a Scythic king Moga at Taxila, with a record dated in the year 78, and Scythic satraps at Mathurā,¹ for one of whom we have a date in the year 72. Finally, from the year 80 to the year 98 we have a partial revival of the Kushan kingdom by Bazdeo or Vāsudeva, who, despite his Hindu name, calls himself a Kushan on his coins, and imitates the Kushan coinage. The inscriptions which mention him are from Mathurā, but his gold coins are found all over the north-west and as far as Ali Masjid. His rule extended apparently over the Eastern Panjāb and no farther. With him the Kanishka line comes to an end.

The memory of this ephemeral dynasty of foreigners, which lasted for barely one hundred years, and flourished for some sixty only, must have speedily passed into oblivion had it not been for the fame of Kanishka himself and his patronage of Buddhism. Buddhists and Jains abounded in the north-west of India even in the days of Alexander. Kashmir and the country bordering on the Himālayan foothills were the home of Tantric rites; and

¹ Fleet, "Moga, Maues, and Vonones": *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 1013. Dr. Fleet's conclusions are borne out, I think, by general considerations drawn from the history of the Śakas.

the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism must have developed itself in those regions at an early date, if, indeed, it was not in many respects anterior to Buddha. Kanishka convoked the Council which gave it official authority and a sacred canon, and his name was intimately connected with the glories of the Council. Although a foreigner, he was gratefully remembered in Gandhāra and Kashmir as long as Buddhism survived; and legends, mostly marvellous, gathered round his name.¹ The elements of history which they contain are not inconsistent with the testimony of the inscriptions and the coins. They represent Kanishka as a barbarian king, powerful and cruel, who conquered India and became master of *Jambudvīpa*: they celebrate his successful invasion of Magadha, his conversion to Buddhism, and his convocation of the Council of Kashmir. The Parthians felt the vigour of his onslaught and the weight of his arms; in old age he led his army against the North, which alone remained unsubdued, and he died in an attempt to cross the Ts'ong-ling Mountains, the range between Gandhāra and Khotan.² The Chinese pilgrim Ou'kong in the eighth century A.D. and Alberūni in the eleventh say that the Turushka³ kings of Gandhāra claimed him (perhaps wrongly) as the founder of their

¹ The legends regarding Kanishka are chiefly to be found in Hiuen Tsiang and in S. Lévi, "Notes sur les Indo-Scythes," JA., 1896, pt. ii, pp. 444 ff., and JA., 1897, pt. i, pp. 5 ff. The notices which M. Lévi has collected are for the most part earlier than Hiuen Tsiang. The earliest mention of Kanishka given by M. Lévi is in a Chinese translation of 383 A.D.

² I know of no evidence whatever to show that Kanishka ever ruled outside the borders of India; indeed, the legends expressly say that he was master of the south and east, but not of the north. It is vain, therefore, to seek for him a place in the history of Bactria, an error which has misled even so eminent a scholar and critic as M. Boyer.

³ It is scarcely necessary to say that Kanishka, being a Kushan, was a Tushāra, but not a Turk. The Tochāri were of the great Turki race, but perfectly distinct from their enemies the Hiung-nu, a remnant of whom lived in the Altai Mountains, and, revolting from their masters the Sien-pi, first became famous as Turks in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era.

dynasty, and he and his successors were remembered gratefully, if vaguely, in the annals of Kashmir.

2. The rule of Kanishka and his colleagues was short-lived; it was confined to Northern India; and except for its Buddhist proclivities, it was devoid of any permanent influence on the history of the country or the constituent elements of the population. But there was another Kushan kingdom, an empire which extended from the Pamirs to the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, and which lasted for centuries until it was overthrown by the White Huns. The fame of the Kushan land reached the ears of the Romans and the Armenians, and in the seventh century A.D. the petty kings of Fergana and Sogdiana still continued to boast of their Kushan lineage. The founder of this kingdom calls himself on his coins Kozoulo Kadphises, a name which the Chinese have transliterated by K'ieou-tsieou-k'io. Of him and his son and successor, Wema Kadphises, the annals of the Later Han (25-220 A.D.) give a nearly contemporary history.

Fan Ye, the author of these annals (died 445 A.D.), after a few lines regarding the Yue-che (who had been fully described by previous writers), and after giving a list of their principalities, in order to correct a mistake of his predecessor, Pan-ku (died 92 A.D.), proceeds thus: "More than a hundred years after the establishment of these principalities the *hi-heou* of the *Kouei-chouang* (Kushans), K'ieou-tsieou-k'io by name, attacked and overcame the other four *hi-heou*; he made himself a king; the name of his kingdom was *Kouei-chouang* (Kushan). He invaded *Ngan-si* (Parthia),¹ and took possession of the kingdom of *Kao-fou* (Kābul); moreover, he triumphed over *Pouta* (the location of which is not known) and *Ki-pin* (Kashmir), and became complete master of (*posséda entièrement*) these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-k'io died when over 80 years of age. His son *Yen-kao-tchen* (Wema

¹ Ngan-si = Arsak; v. Chavannes, op. cit., p. 31, n. 1.

Kadphises) succeeded him as king. He in his turn conquered *T'ien-tchou* (India), and appointed a regent to govern it. From this time the Yue-che became extremely powerful. All the other countries designate them *Kouei-chouang* (Kushan) after their king,¹ but the *Han* call them *Ta Yue-che*, preserving their ancient appellation."² I shall quote three more passages from this history which throw further light on these events.

Describing *Kao-fou* or Kābul, Fan Ye says that Pan-ku, the historian of the Elder Han, was wrong in enumerating Kābul among the five Yue-che principalities. He implies that Pan-ku, knowing the Yue-che to be masters of Kābul in his day, had erroneously attributed its conquest to the period of which he was treating, viz. the first century B.C. Fan Ye proceeds thus: "The people of Kābul were not always subject to the same masters; whenever any of the three kingdoms of *T'ien-tchou* (India), *Ki-pin* (Kashmir), or *Ngan-si* (Parthia) became powerful, it brought Kābul into subjection (*il s'emparait d'eux*). When it grew weak it lost Kābul. But Kābul never depended on the Yue-che. The history of the (Elder) Han is therefore in error when it makes Kābul one of the five *hi-heou*. Later (*plus tard*) Kābul fell under the rule of Parthia; and it was not until the Yue-che triumphed over the Parthians that they came for the first time into possession of Kābul."³

The two remaining passages relate the conquest of India. Fan Ye begins with a general description of the country,

¹ The Armenians gave the name of Kushan to the country north of the Paropamisus and Elburz ranges as far almost as the Caspian (Moses of Khorene, trad. Française par P. C. de Vaillant de Florival, bk. ii, c. 2, 67, pp. 141, 308). Margiana was included in it (Am. Marcellinus, xxiii, 6). Am. Marcellinus calls the kings Bactrians, and says that many nations were subject to them, of whom the Tochari were the bravest and most powerful: "Gentes iisdem Bactrianis obediunt plures quas exsuperant Tochari."

² Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 45-6.

³ Chavannes, op. cit., p. 46.

which I shall abbreviate. "*T'ien-chou* or *Shen-tou*, for both names are used, lies on the banks of a great river; the country is low-lying, hot, and damp. The manners of the people resemble those of the *Hiung-nu*." Here we evidently have the Indus Valley and Indo-Scythia—the India which was first known to the Chinese, and which alone is described by Pan-ku in his history of the Elder Han. Fan Ye next goes on to say that "if you start from the kingdom of Kābul and direct your steps south-west, you arrive at the western sea; if you go eastwards, you come to *P'an-ki*" (possibly Burmah or Annam, says Chavannes); "all these countries are included in *Shen-tou*." To understand this statement we must remember that not only was Kābul part of India,¹ but that the people of Arachosia were called White Indians according to Isidore.² Fan Ye then goes on: "*Shen-tou* has several hundred towns (besides the capital), a governor over each; there are also several dozen kingdoms (besides the principal kingdom); and in each kingdom a king. Although there are slight differences between these kingdoms, all bear the name of *Shen-tou*. At this time (apparently, says Chavannes, at the time of *Pan Yong*, c. 125 A.D., of whom more hereafter) all these kingdoms were subject to the Yue-che; the Yue-che had killed the king, and installed a regent to administer the government."³ We shall see presently that this refers to the conquest of the Panjāb and the country as far as the Jamnā.

The last passage I shall quote evidently refers to the kingdom of Magadha, although the Indian equivalents of the various names the Chinese give it and its capital have not yet been discovered. "*Tong-li*," says Fan Ye, "was over 3,000 li south-east of *T'ien-chou* or *Shen-tou*, the country

¹ The Indians who fought in the array of Darius at Arbela were from Afghanistan; they are described as being either coterminous with the Bactrians or mountaineers.

² Mans. Parth.

³ Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-7.

we have already described; it was a great kingdom, its produce and its climate were like that of *T'ien-chou*. There were several dozens of towns of the first rank; the chief of each had the title of king. The Yue-che had attacked this kingdom and reduced it to subjection (*Les Ta Yue-tche attaquèrent ce royaume et se l'asservirent*).¹

So much for our text; now for the commentary.

1. In the first place Fan Ye enables us to assign *K'ieou-tsieou-k'io* or Kozoulo Kadphises and his son to the first century A.D. "I have confined myself," says the historian of the Later Han, "to the events which happened in the period *Kien-won* (25-55 A.D.) or which were posterior to that period." As to his materials, he says that he took them from the report drawn up by *Pan Yong* towards the end of the reign of the Emperor *Ngan* (107-26 A.D.).² The century with which Fan Ye is dealing, 25-125 A.D., comprises the career both of Kozoulo Kadphises and of his son Wema Kadphises. Moreover, we have seen that Fan Ye corrects his predecessor Pan-ku for introducing into the history of the Elder Han (206 B.C. to 9 A.D.) events which occurred afterwards. The conquest of Kābul is the event Fan Ye had in mind. Now Pan-ku died in 92 A.D.; consequently Kozoulo Kadphises' conquest of Kābul must be dated after 25 A.D. and before 92 A.D. These arguments propounded by MM. Francke and Chavannes³ are confirmed

¹ Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 48-9.

² Fan Ye says (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 22): "Les notices que Pan-kou a écrites sur la configuration et les mœurs (d'Occident) se trouvent détaillées et complétées dans le livre (des Han Antérieurs); maintenant j'ai choisi ce que dans les événements de la période *Kien-won* (25-55 A.D.) ou postérieurs à cette période, était différent de ce qui a été déjà dit auparavant, et j'en ai composé le chapitre sur les pays d'Occident: tous ces faits ont été relatés de Pan Yong à la fin du règne de l'empereur Ngan (107-25 A.D.)." Afterwards Fan Ye tells us that some of his remarks about India were taken verbatim from Pan Yong. I may explain that Pan Yong was the son of the great Chinese general Pan-Tch'ao, who restored Chinese authority throughout the West, and himself had served in the Western regions.

³ Chavannes, op. cit., p. 45, n. 1.

by Indian numismatics. Professor Rapson says: "Two points at least seem clear: (1) the head on the Kuşana copper coins bearing the name Kozola Kadaphes is directly imitated from the head of Augustus; (2) the gold coinage of the Kuşanas follows a weight-standard identical with the Roman."¹

2. But I think it is possible to date the conquest of Kābul by Kozoulo Kadphises with much greater precision. Fan Ye tells us that Kozoulo Kadphises began his career by reducing the four other Tochāri principalities, and thereupon revived the dignity of king, which had apparently fallen into abeyance among the Tochāri.² Being now secure of the devotion of his tribe, he turned his arms against the Parthians, who up to this time had held the greater part of the open country of Bactria. During the first half century A.D. the Parthians, who had not long before been at the summit of their power, were very open to attack; they were distracted by the quarrels and murders of the royal family, revolts were frequent, anarchy was general, and from 40 to 45 A.D. Gotarzes and Vardanes I carried on a civil war, in which Scythians were engaged as mercenaries or allies. The time was favourable to Kozoulo's enterprise, and he made himself master of Bactria and Margiana and the country as far as the Hyrcanians and Dahæ: so we must suppose, since these lands were always reckoned in the Kushan dominions. The conquest of Kābul was the last of Kozoulo's exploits; "it was only," says Fan Ye, "when the Yue-che had

¹ *Grundriss*: "Indian Coins," by E. J. Rapson, p. 4. V. Smith to the same effect, JRAS., 1903, pp. 4-5; but see my remarks on the subject of the aurei in Part II.

² None of Kozoulo Kadphises' rivals appear to have claimed the dignity, and the bulk of the Tochāri tribe which pastured its flocks by the Oxus banks submitted to Kozoulo Kadphises without any opposition. The last member of the old royal house whom we hear of is a queen; with her perhaps the royalty became insignificant or extinct. But our knowledge of Scythian history in Turkestan in the first century A.C. is almost *nil*.

triumphed over *Ngan-si* (Parthia) that for the first time they took possession of Kābul." But from whom did Kozoulo Kadphises take it? From the Parthians, says Fan Ye. But the Arsacids never held Kābul.¹ Fan Ye's Parthians must therefore be the Indo-Parthians, and as the only Indo-Parthian who ever ruled in Kābul was Gondophernes,² and the date of Gondophernes is known, we have here a clear note of time.³ We know, moreover, from the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription that in the year 103 of "the continuous era",⁴ that is in 46 A.D., Gondophernes was master of the lower Indus valley, and commanded the communications between Kābul and Kashmir. The conquest of these countries by Kozoulo Kadphises must therefore be posterior to 46 A.D. On the other hand, it must have taken place either during Gondophernes' lifetime or shortly after his death. We know from the *Periplus* that soon after this event the power of the Indo-Parthians had greatly declined, a decline which must

¹ The map given in Wroth's Catalogue of the Parthian coins (Greek) in the British Museum shows the extent of the Parthian dominions both in Bactria and west of Kābul. St. Thomas was the apostle of the Parthians, but his visit to Gondophernes the Indo-Parthian was the subject of the legend. Thus the word Parthian was used in a much wider sense than Arsacid.

² For Gondophernes and Kābul, v. Cunningham, *ASI.*, vol. ii, p. 59, and "Coins of the Sakas", Class B, p. 20 (*Num. Chron.*, ser. III, vol. x, pp. 105 ff.).

³ I assume (1) that the attribution of Gondophernes to the first half-century of the Christian era is certain; (2) that the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription is to be calculated from 58 a.c.; (3) that M. Boyer has proved beyond reasonable doubt that the Western Ksatrapas, presumably Nahapāna, instituted the Śaka era. Reams have been written regarding all three subjects, but I think that the above commands the general consensus of scholars. The reasons in support of each proposition are strong, and I have never seen anything of weight to the contrary. For M. Boyer's article v. *JA.*, 1897, ii, pp. 120 ff. For the identity of the Mambanos of the *Periplus* and Nahapāna, v. M. Boyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-8, and Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 1043.

⁴ The words "the continuous era" are in accordance with M. Senart's reading and translation of the text; *JA.*, 1890, pt. i, p. 123.

be attributed in part to the campaigns of the Kushan monarch. We have therefore both an anterior and a posterior limit of time for the conquest of Kābul by Kozoulo Kadphises, and we shall perhaps not greatly err if we attribute it to the year (*circa*) 60 A.D.

3. Kozoulo Kadphises must have been elderly when he conquered Kābul; he died when he was over 80, and he was succeeded by his son Wema Kadphises. Our notices of Wema Kadphises¹ are very brief, but we learn that he conquered T'ien-chou (India) and appointed a viceroy to govern it. The Chinese applied the term T'ien-chou in a very vague fashion; indeed, we are told that there were five T'ien-chou. With Pan-ku and Fan Ye it usually means the Indus Valley; but in this case it is clearly distinguished and means the Eastern Panjāb from the Jhelam River to the Jamnā. Ptolemy, writing a few years after Pan Yong and using native sources, calls it the kingdom of the Kaspeiraioi or Kashmiris; he makes it to extend from the Bidaspa and Euthymedia (Euthydemia) to Mathurā and the Jamnā.² At the time when Pan Yong made his report—say 120 A.D.—the country was governed by a Kushan deputy; at some subsequent period it became independent, and would appear to have been both powerful and famous. There

¹ Wema Kadphises was a very powerful prince according to Fan Ye. He is probably the Yue-che prince referred to in Fan Ye's biography of Pan-Tch'ao (32-102 A.D.), translated by M. Chavannes from the seventy-seventh chapter of the History of the Later Han (*T'oung-pao*, sér. II, vol. VII, No. 2; reprint by Brill, Leiden, 1906). Before 88 A.D. the Yue-che were friendly to the Chinese, and had given them important aid in the attack on Turfan; they sent presents in 88 A.D. to the Court of China, and asked for a Chinese princess in marriage. Pan-Tch'ao stopped the embassy, and two years later (in 90 A.D.) the Yue-che prince sent his viceroy *Sie* with 70,000 men across the Pamirs to attack Pan-Tch'ao. Pan-Tch'ao devastated the country, and *Sie*, unable to support his army, was glad to make a safe retreat. Peace was restored, but in 114-16 the Yue-che again sent an army across the Pamirs to support a claimant to the throne of Kashgar.

² Ptolemy, *Geog.*, vii, §§ 47-50; cf. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 124 ff.

are four "sons of heaven", says a Chinese translator in the year 392 A.D.: there is the Chinese emperor, "son of heaven" of the Tsin (i.e., says M. Lévi, of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, 317-420 A.D.); in the south there is the "son of heaven" of Tien-chou (India), famous for its elephants; in the west the "son of heaven" of the Romans; and in the north-west the "son of heaven" of the Yue-che, rich in horses.¹ As the title "son of heaven", borrowed from the Chinese, was assumed only by the Yue-che among the foreign invaders of India, we have here sufficient evidence to show that the Tochāri viceroys not only made themselves independent, but established a powerful and famous kingdom—a kingdom which lasted until the Guptas overthrew it in the fourth century A.D. The kingdom of Magadha acknowledged its supremacy; its court must have maintained some kind of barbaric splendour, and as long as it existed the Yue-che continued their missionary efforts; it was only after its downfall that Chinese pilgrims visited India. But its coinage, which follows that of Vāsudeva in an ignorant fashion, and also shows traces of Sassanian influence, proves the barbarism of the foreigners; nor did the Tochāri in India leave any permanent mark of their rule on the populations they governed. One thing, however, is clear: from the middle of the first century of our era to the middle of the fourth century, the whole of Northern India was under the rule of foreigners. What the Mahākshatrapas of Surāshtra do not hold, the Tochāri hold; and Magadha, the only

¹ "Dans le Jambudvīpa il y a . . . 4 fils du ciel. A l'est il y a le Fils du Ciel des Tsin; la population y est très prospère. Au sud il y a le Fils du Ciel du royaume T'ien-tchou (Inde); la terre produit beaucoup d'éléphants renommés. A l'ouest il y a le Fils du Ciel de Ta-Tsin (l'empire Romain); la terre produit de l'or, de l'argent, des pierres précieuses en abondance. Au nord-ouest il y a le Fils du Ciel des Yue-tchi; la terre produit beaucoup de bons chevaux" (S. Lévi, "Note sur les Indo-Scythes," JA., neuv. sér., vol. ix, pt. i, p. 24, note, 1897). The Turcoman horses were famous in antiquity; Alexander took them for remounts for his cavalry, and in India they are famous still.

semi-independent kingdom of importance, acknowledges its dependence on its Tochāri suzerains.

I have traced at length the history of the kingdom of Kanishka, as well as of the great Kushan kingdom founded by Kozoulo Kadphises, and related by the historian of the Later Han (25-220 A.D.). Were the two kingdoms independent of each other? Was Kanishka the first Yue-che viceroy of the Panjāb who made himself a king? If so, it must have been after the date of Pan Yong's report, i.e. after 120 A.D.; and as his coins and those of his successors bear only Greek legends, Greek must have been spoken in the Panjāb throughout the second century of our era. Or are we to put Kanishka and his line before the conquest of Kābul and Kashmir by Kozoulo Kadphises? The line of Kanishka lasted for 100 years, and as we have dated the conquests of Kozoulo Kadphises in the middle of the first century A.D. we must carry Kanishka back to the middle of the preceding century. On general grounds the answer is not doubtful, but apart from these general considerations we have quite sufficient evidence to give the priority to Kanishka.

1. A passage of a Buddhist work, the *Samyuktāgama*, quoted in a Chinese compilation of the fifth-sixth century A.D., mentions four nations as reigning simultaneously: the Yavanas in the north (i.e. in Kābul), the Śakas in the south (Indo-Scythia), the Pahlavas in the west (Asia and Arachosia), and the Tushāras in the east.¹ There must therefore have been a Tushāra or Kushan kingdom in the Panjāb and at Mathurā when Greek princes reigned in Kābul. But we have seen that Kozoulo Kadphises took Kābul, not from the Greeks, but from the Indo-Parthians, and in this enterprise Hermæus, the last

¹ S. Lévi, "Notes sur les Indo-Scythes," JA., 1897, pt. i, p. 10, note: "Chez les bouddhistes, un passage du *Samyuktāgama*, cité dans une compilation chinoise du v-vi^e siècle—prédit la domination simultanée des *Ye-po-no* (Yavanas) au nord, des *Che-kia* (Sakas) au sud, des *Po-la-p'o* (Pahlavas) à l'ouest, des *Teou-cha-lo* (Tushāras) à l'est."

of the Greek princelings of Kābul, whose name he associates with his own, was his friend and ally. Clearly, then, a Kushan kingdom existed in India before the time of Kozoulo Kadphises, that is to say, before the middle of the first century of our era.

And here I shall make a short digression. Fan Ye has told us that T'ien-chou, Ki-pin, and Ngan-si had successively attempted to conquer Kābul, but that in the end Ngan-si (Parthia) held it. Ngan-si, as we have seen, means Gondophernes; does Ki-pin (Kashmir) mean Huvishka? It is true that Fan Ye says the Yue-che never held Kābul. Permanently they never held it. But the Wardak vase would certainly suggest that it was, in part at least, temporarily occupied by Huvishka. Pan-ku may not, therefore, have been altogether wrong in making Kābul subject to the Yue-che, while Fan Ye, who ignores Kanishka and his successors altogether, would be ignorant of the fact. Huvishka's occupation was certainly very brief; it must have occurred just before the commencement of the Christian era; and it would appear to have ushered in the downfall of the Greeks.

2. Pan-ku, describing Ki-pin (Kashmir) in the first century B.C., says that it had a gold and silver currency, which circulated not only in Ki-pin but in *Woo-yih-shan-li* (Asia and Western Arachosia).¹ The Kushans alone of all the Indian monarchs of the time struck a gold coinage; therefore there must have been Kushan kings in Kashmir in the first century B.C. It is of course true that the Kushans issued no silver coins, and for obvious reasons. Their gold coinage was meant for purposes of foreign trade; the silver coinage already in circulation met all local wants. We must suppose that the silver coins of the

¹ A. Wylie, "Notes on the Western Regions, etc.": Journ. Anthropol. Inst., vol. x, pp. 35, 39, 1880. According to Pan-ku, *Woo-yih-shan-li* bordered on Ki-pin; the currency in both countries was the same; the Ki-pin currency therefore obtained throughout the whole region from Kashmir to Herat.

Greek and Indo-Scythian princes which had circulated in the Panjāb before Kushan times continued to circulate under the Kushans, precisely as the coins of Menander and Apollodotus circulated in the bazars of Barygaza at a later date.¹ Indeed, they must have done so, since the local medium of exchange was necessarily silver. If, then, local chiefs in Kushan times struck silver coins, they would naturally copy the local type of silver coinage. If, for instance, Rājūvula imitated the coinage of Strato II, it follows that the coins of Strato II were common in the bazars of Mathurā, but it does not necessarily follow that Rājūvula succeeded Strato II immediately in point of time.²

The evidence I have adduced is in my opinion sufficient by itself to warrant the attribution of Kanishka and his Kushans to the first century B.C. But if so, two inferences necessarily follow—

1. Either Kanishka is Pan-ku's Yin-mūh-foo, or Yin-mūh-foo was Kanishka's viceroy in Kashmir. The story of Yin-mūh-foo is well known, and I shall not repeat it.³ I need only point out that the years of Yin-mūh-foo agree

¹ In the same way the gold darics of the Achemenids continued to circulate in Asia Minor for a hundred years after Alexander (Reinach, *L'histoire par les Monnaies*, 1902, p. 59).

² Cunningham has suggested that the gold darics of the Achemenids were still in circulation; but this is not only a pure guess, it is contradicted by the scarcity of gold before Kanishka's time, as we shall presently see. The real difficulty lies in Pan-ku's description of the coins in circulation. He says that both in Ki-pin and Woo-yih-shan-li the coins represented a horseman on one side and a man's head on the other. The horseman type shows at once that Pan-ku is talking of the silver Śaka or Indo-Parthian coinage, but the man's head does not apparently occur except on the copper coins of the nameless king. Possibly a bust is meant. A similar difficulty occurs in Pan-ku's description of the Parthian coinage, which, he says, has the king's head on the obverse and a woman's on the reverse. This is true only of the brief reign of Phraataces and Musa (2 B.C. - 4 A.D.) and on some rare bronze coins of Gotarzes (40-51 A.D.). Pan-ku must in each case have seen or heard of only some exceptional specimens, but he could not be mistaken as to the metals used in the currency.

³ For the story of Yin-mūh-foo see Wylie's translation of Pan-ku (*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1880, p. 36).

with those of Kanishka. Yin-mūh-foo sent an embassy to the emperor Yuen-te (48-32 B.C.), and he had had a considerable history before he sent that embassy. Another embassy came from Ki-pin to China in the reign of the emperor Ching-te (32-7 B.C.), but apparently by this time Yin-mūh-foo was dead. The date of that embassy is not given, but if it came, let us say, from Huvishka, about the beginning of his reign, it would suit the exigencies of the case excellently well. The riddle, however, is one which only a Sinologist can solve.

2. It further follows that the so-called Vikrama era originated with Kanishka. The years of Kanishka and his successors are dated in an unspecified era. We have seen that the Tushāras ruled in Northern India from, say, 58 B.C. to about 340 A.D., when Samudragupta put an end to them. The interval between Vāsudeva and the first of Wema Kadphises' viceroys was very short, and these viceroys would naturally continue the reckoning they found in vogue.¹ But this is not, I think, a sufficient explanation. The fact is that 58 B.C. marks the date of the Buddhist Council of Kashmir. Most eras of long

¹ We have an inscription of the year 122 which mentions a Kushan king whose name is lost (Cunningham, *ASL*, v, p. 61). Dr. Fleet has furnished me with the following list of inscriptions with dates higher than the year 100:—"Kharōshthī inscriptions. *Year 103* (Takht-i-Bahāi inscription of Gondophernes): Cunningham, *ASL*, v, p. 59; Senart in *JA.*, 1890, pt. i, p. 123 (also Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 229). *Year 111*: R. D. Banerji, *IA.*, 1908, p. 64. *Year 113*: *ibid.*, p. 66. *Year 122*: Cunningham, *ASL*, v, p. 61, pl. xvi; certainly seems to mention a 'great king, the Gushana . . . ' whose name is lost. (a) *Year 318*: Senart, *JA.*, 1899, pt. i, p. 528; see also Marshall's Report for 1903-4, p. 251. (b) *Year 384*: Bühler, *IA.*, 20, 394. But the year is wrongly given there as 274. Senart, I think, showed somewhere that it is 384. See also Marshall's Report for 1903-4, p. 251. (c) *Year 399*: Vogel in Marshall's Report for 1903-4, p. 255. The year is unmistakably 399, not 179 (or 197) as read there. From Mathurā we have the curious Brāhmī Jain (not Kharōshthī) inscription of the *year 299*, which omits to give the king's name (*IA.*, 1908, p. 34). This is the only known record in the third century of the era. It is a peculiar record in many respects." For other lists of dated inscriptions see V. Smith, *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 8 ff.; R. D. Banerji, *IA.*, 1908, pp. 35, 67.

duration are either astronomical or religious in their inception; in both cases they are required either by the astronomers or the priests for practical purposes. It is rare to meet with any regnal era which survived the dynasty that started it; the Seleucidan is the only one which occurs to me, and it was kept alive only among certain classes and under exceptional circumstances. Now the era started by Kanishka was not only a regnal but a religious one; it marks the date of Kanishka's conversion to Buddhism and the convocation of the Council, two events which followed the one immediately upon the other. "Exactly 400 years," says Hiuen Tsiang, "after the death of the Buddha Kanishka became sovereign of all Jambudvīpa, but he did not believe in *Karma*, and he treated Buddhism with contumely";¹ and thereupon he relates the miracle of Kanishka's conversion. When Hiuen Tsiang comes to describe the Buddhist Council, he dates it in the same way. "Our pilgrim (Yuan-Chuang) next proceeds to relate the circumstances connected with the great council summoned by Kanishka. The king of Gandhāra, Yuan-chuang tells us, in the four hundredth year after the decease of Buddha, was a great and powerful sovereign whose sway extended to many peoples. In his leisure hours he studied the Buddhist scriptures, having a monk every day in the palace to give him instruction. But as the Brethren taught him different and contradictory interpretations, owing to conflicting tenets of sectarians, the king fell into a state of hopeless uncertainty," and applied to the Venerable Pārśva, by whose advice, as Hiuen Tsiang goes

¹ T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (OTF.), vol. i, p. 203. The word "exactly" is not found in the translations by Julien and Beal; and Dr. Fleet, placing the death of Buddha in 483 B.C. and the beginning of the reign of Kanishka in 58 A.D., has taken the 400 as a statement in round numbers for 425 (compare JRS., 1906, p. 991). On my view of the matter, the 400 may mean really 400, whether there is or is not anything in the original text to justify the "exactly", or it may mean a number much closer to 400 than 425 is.

on to say, he convoked the Council.¹ Now it is evident that before he convoked the Council he must have conquered Jambudvīpa, a feat which required a considerable time; and next that as a foreigner and a *Mleccha* his rule was illegitimate. It was the convocation and patronage of the Council which made him and his line legitimate kings.² He naturally dated his regnal years from it. On the other hand, the Buddhists would continue to use the era, once it was started, without reference to the reigning monarch. Hence its wide diffusion, its perpetuation, and its namelessness. But these are precisely the characteristics of the numerous inscriptions of early date which are ascribed to this era. In the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription it is merely called "the continuous era"; it was never connected in the popular mind even at that early period with any particular king; it was at once nameless and general. Although started by a king, it was, strictly speaking, not a regnal but a religious era: the era of the Buddhists. And thus, by the irony of fate, the Hindus of to-day preserve the memory and celebrate the birth of an heretical and hostile sect.

¹ T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. i, pp. 270-1. The Kashmiri *arhat* who discovered Pāṇini in his new incarnation 500 years after Buddha's death (Watters, *op. cit.*, i, p. 222) does not necessarily contradict this, although he explains that having once been a bat, and allowed himself benevolently to be burnt to death, he had in a subsequent incarnation attended the great Council. An *arhat's* longevity is a matter of taste. But it is evident that Hiuen Tsiang dated the conversion of Kanishka, the convocation of the Council, and the reign of Kanishka all in the same year.

² See Kalhana's remark, RT., bk. i, p. 170 (Stein's trans.).

(To be continued.)

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XXII

SOME TALAING INSCRIPTIONS ON GLAZED TILES

By C. O. BLAGDEN

IN the *Indian Antiquary* for December, 1893 (vol. xxii), on pp. 343-5, in a paper entitled "Notes on Antiquities in Rāmaññadesa (the Talaing country of Burma)" there is a discussion by Major (now Sir) R. C. Temple on two inscriptions figured on plates ix and *ixa* of the series illustrating the paper. These plates represent two glazed terra-cotta tiles found in Lower Burma, each one bearing in rather high relief two female figures elaborately robed and adorned with bracelets, necklets, ear-rings, pagoda-spire-shaped head-coverings, etc. The attitudes of the figures differ slightly in the two plates. Above them, in each case, is an inscription in the native character which Sir R. C. Temple has read *kwan phrau mā pa mat lwat*, with the alternative suggestion of *phra* instead of *phrau*. He has tried to make sense of this legend in Talaing, Burmese, and Shan, with a further hint that it may possibly be Siamese. As a Talaing inscription he interprets it to mean something which, as being "against epigraphic experience", he is "loth to accept", namely, a vague reference to a "wife who is a friend for ever", a statement which in fact has no particular point. In the other alternative languages he makes it out to be a formal dedication (*lwat*) of the tiles by a nobleman with a Siamese title and a Pāli name, one *kwan phra Mahāpamat* to wit. At the same time he adds the caution that the legend does not appear to be correct Siamese.

In my opinion his reading is wrong in three particulars. Comparing plates ix and *ixa* I read the legend on the former *kwan brau mā samat lwut*, while the latter has

the variant spelling *kwān*, and being broken at the right-hand top corner has lost the *t* of *lwut*. The language is Talaing, and I take the phrase to mean "young maiden daughters of Māra". That is to say, the words are descriptive of the female figures depicted on the tiles; and these represent symbolically the passions personified as daughters of the Tempter, with special reference (probably and almost certainly) to Buddha's temptation under the Bodhi tree. The spelling is to some extent archaic, of course, but its anomalies can be accounted for. I explain the words as follows:—

kwān, *kwān* (and also a third variant *kwon*), for "child", occur in the Kalyāṇi inscription (last quarter of the fifteenth century). The old spelling (*circa* 1100 A.D.) was *kon*, and that is also the spelling of to-day. It is curious that the fifteenth century spelling introduced the *w*, but it did so in quite a number of words, in some of which it has survived to modern times; of course, the modern *kwān*, "village," is not in point here.

brau, "female," does not differ from the modern form; taken together with the preceding word it means "daughter".

mā (also the same as the modern form), "Māra"; not, as Sir R. C. Temple has suggested, a sign of the nominative case.

samat (again identical with the modern form), "young," "small" (it is also sometimes used as a substantive with *brau* added, to mean "maiden", "girl").

lwut I take to be the modern *wut*, "maiden," "virgin." I concede that there is a possibility of doubt here, for I have not yet come across a passage which definitely fixes the meaning of the word. The Shwezigon inscription has a passage in which it says of the *kon lwut* of certain kings or princes that they shall be endowed with fragrance like the fragrance of jasmine flowers and with splendour like the splendour of Alambusā the spouse(?) of Indra,

and shall come to Pagan from seven cities (or countries ?), adorned with jewels of various kinds and shaded by white umbrellas. The Shwesandaw I inscription also speaks of a certain *kon lwüt* in somewhat similar terms. The suggested meaning is therefore appropriate to the context, and that is the most I am able to say for it at present, for I have not met with the expression elsewhere as yet.

The subject of these plates seems to have been a favourite one for treatment on glazed terra-cotta tiles. By the courtesy of the authorities of the Ethnographical Department, British Museum, I have been enabled to see a tile in their possession, which is substantially identical with the original of Sir R. C. Temple's plate *ix a*. The inscription is the same, and is broken off at the same point. The word *samat* in it looks like *sapat*, as the *m* has no visible cross-bar. But having regard to the sense and to the clearly marked *m* on plate *ix*, there can be no doubt as to *samat* being intended. This British Museum tile is not at present exhibited, owing to lack of space. Another tile of the same general type is to be seen in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum (South Kensington), in Room 16, Case 8, No. 173-5. Like the others it represents two well-dressed young women, and over their heads is an inscription in round characters reading *kwan brau* [*mā*], "daughters of *Māra*." At present only the first two words remain, the upper right-hand corner of the tile having been broken off at the left-hand curve of the *m*, the outer ridge of which can just be traced. The Exeter Museum has a considerable loan collection of glazed tiles excavated from the ruins of an ancient Buddhist shrine in dense jungle somewhere in the old Talaing kingdom of Pegu (Lower Burma) by Mr. W. N. Porter, to whom they belong. This collection includes (besides tiles with demon- and animal-headed figures) five tiles of the type now under consideration, of which four

bear inscriptions.¹ The inscriptions appear to read as follows :—

- (1) *kwan brau mā ma pa rup brau taḍey* (or? *hā ḍey*) *gā*
- (2) *kwan brau mā ma pa rup brau jumnok*
- (3) *kwan brau mā ma pa rup tmi kwan bā*
- (4) *kwan brau mā jumnok*

In each case we are again dealing with "daughters of Māra". The words *ma pa rup* mean "taking a (particular) shape", literally "who make shape" (Sanskrit *rūpa*). The *ma* here is the relative particle, *pa* the verb "to do, to make". The tiles bearing this phrase therefore represent these female demons as having adopted various forms.

Some of the legends offer certain difficulties of reading or interpretation, and I referred them to my friend Mr. Halliday, the leading authority on modern Talaing. He was kind enough to give me the benefit of his views on the subject, as illustrated by the Talaing work *Lik pathama bodhi*, which gives the version of Buddha's experiences under the Bodhi tree in the form current among Talaings. I quote his summary of the particular incident with which we are at present concerned: "When Māra returned from his defeat at the Bo tree, his three daughters Tanhā, Rāga, and Irati thought their charms might win where their father's forces had failed. He tried to dissuade them, but they would go. When they reached the Bo tree, Buddha hailed them as three old women and asked what they had come for. Immediately they became old dames with bent backs, leaning on sticks. Even their father did not know them. On their making themselves known, he first reproached them for not heeding his

¹ I must express my thanks to the Curator of the Exeter Museum for his kindness in supplying me with plasticine casts of the inscriptions on these tiles and causing the latter to be photographed for me; and to the owner of the tiles for permission to publish such of the photographs as I might select for purposes of illustration. The accompanying plate shows the four inscribed tiles in this collection.

warning and then advised them to go back and make offerings to Buddha. On [their] doing so, he [i.e. Buddha] addressed them as maidens of heavenly form. Instantly their aged looks disappeared, their sin was forgiven, and they were as the female heavenly ministrants."

It is to be noted that whereas the traditional number of Māra's daughters is three, not more than two are represented on any of the tiles. I cannot explain this peculiarity, unless it is simply due to the mechanical reason that, given the shapes and dimensions of the tiles¹ (which were doubtless determined by purely material considerations), there was not convenient space for three figures on them. As regards the legends, Mr. Halliday has been good enough to offer me translations and some suggestions, and his brief summary of the incident throws some light upon them. No. 1 would appear to mean "Māra's daughters assuming the form of beautiful women". The phrase *taḍey gā* (if that be the true reading) is something of a difficulty. The suggested translation assumes that *taḍey* is a variant of *pḍai*, "in," and that *gā* is connected with *gow* or *gow gā*, "beauty." (If we read *bā ḍey*, the meaning will be "Māra's daughters assuming the form of two beautiful women": *bā* = "two".) I have come across *tirḍey* in a passage of the Shwezigon inscription with, apparently, the meaning "in" or "in the middle of". But I do not feel quite sure about the interpretation. No. 2 means, according to Mr. Halliday, "Māra's daughters assuming the form of old women." Possibly that is what is meant. Yet having regard to the appearance of the figures on the tiles, it seems at least equally possible that *jumnok* (a derivative of *jnok*, "big") here means no more than "adult", "grown up". Neither in face nor figure do these particular damsels suggest old age. No. 3 probably means "Māra's daughters in a new form, two of them".

¹ They are all (roughly) 1½ feet in length and 1 foot in breadth.

taking *tmi* as the modern *tami*, "new."¹ Mr. Halliday suggests that the numeral figure 3 which is on the tile below the end of the legend indicates that the scribe remembered that the traditional story speaks of three daughters of Māra. Alternatively he suggests that the numeral figure might be part of the legend, which in that case might mean "Māra's daughters in a new form, with two or three children". The alternative seems to me unacceptable, as there is a full stop (■) after *bā*, and if a reference to children had been intended one would expect to see them figured on the tile. I think the 3 merely numbers the tile, with reference to its eventual position in some series. No. 4 means "Māra's elder daughters", or (I would suggest) "grown-up daughters", in contrast, I suppose, to the "young maiden" type. While expressing my obligations to Mr. Halliday for his assistance in the interpretation of these legends, I ought to add that he has not had the advantage of seeing photographs of the tiles themselves.

Besides tiles bearing a single figure or animal-headed figures, etc., the Horniman Museum (Forest Hill) possesses seven tiles of the type now being discussed. There is a pretty close resemblance between them, subject to differences in the attitudes and other minor details of the figures. Four out of the seven bear inscriptions, but unfortunately they are all very nearly illegible. In the process of firing the glaze has run into the incised letters and almost filled them up, leaving only very shallow depressions. In spite of kind assistance given me by the Curator, which enabled me to examine them closely and repeatedly, I am unable to give complete readings of

¹ On the face of it, I should have been disposed to interpret this legend to mean "Māra's daughters in the new form of two children". But they are represented on the tile as women, not children. Perhaps we may say "girls" instead of "children" here. The word *tmi* no doubt refers to their transformed shape.

any of the inscriptions. The following is all that I feel pretty sure of:—

1. [*kwan*] *brau mā* [.]
2. *kwa*[*n*] *brau* [.] *brau* [. . . .]
3. *kwan brau mā* [.] *brau* [. . . .]

(There may perhaps be traces of a second line here.)

4. In two lines—

(1) [.] *brau* [.]

(2) [. *mā*] *pā rup brau* [.]

The occurrence of the word *brau* throughout is sufficient to prove the Talaing origin of these tiles. They are attributed by the Museum authorities to Pegu and the period of Dhammaceti, the author of the Kalyāṇi inscription, and I see no reason to differ from that view, which is confirmed by the peculiarity of spelling in the word *kwan*. But, of course, an established model like this may have been copied time after time.

Lastly, the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, possesses four tiles of our type, besides four with animal-headed demon figures. They are stated to have been found in a heap of ruins in the jungle about four miles (? German or English) from Pegu near the "Tjaipong" pagoda, and were acquired from Dr. Jagor. The four tiles with female figures are inscribed, but their inscriptions are in much the same state as those of the last-mentioned collection. On the first of the series (counting from left to right, as exhibited) I can read *kwan brau mā . . . brau . . .* and on the fourth [*kwa*]*n brau mā . . .*, but on the other two only a letter or two can be made out.

All this evidence appears to me to fix the general meaning of these tiles quite definitely and to exclude all possibility of either of Sir R. C. Temple's interpretations being right. I fear the nobleman with the Siamese title and the Pāli name must be relegated to the limbo of disapproved hypotheses. Also it is evident that the tiles are

all articles of genuinely Talaing manufacture. M. Huber in BEFEO., tome xi, No. 1, 1911, has shown that the making of glazed tiles for the purpose of decorating pagodas is an ancient Talaing industry. It was carried to Pagan in the eleventh century, and the so-called Ananda pagoda in that ancient Burmese capital is adorned with a large number of such tiles bearing Talaing legends and evidently made by Talaing craftsmen, who were doubtless imported for the purpose because they knew the technique of the craft and the Burmese of those days did not. M. Huber seems to think that the use of the Talaing language instead of Burmese indicates that the latter was still in an unformed state unsuitable for epigraphic purposes. Having regard to its use in the Myazedi inscriptions a few years later, I do not think such a view at all tenable, but there seems little doubt that the Talaings were at this period the more highly civilized people of the two.

M. Huber in his interesting article gives a few illustrations and readings of the Ananda pagoda tile legends. On these I would offer the following remarks:—

For *mār bāl* read *mārabal*. Talaing syntax, both ancient and modern, would not permit the order *mār bal* for "Māra's host"; it would have to be *bal mār*. Therefore we must take it to be *mārabal*, i.e. a loanword from Sanskrit or Pāli, compounded according to Indian rules, which are contrary to Talaing syntax. I note that the *b* has a very peculiar shape. For *batāy*, "hare," read (possibly) *patāy* on account of the shape of the initial letter, which differs from the other *b*'s given in these illustrations. But the modern form has *b*. For *ut*, "camel," read *ot* (certainly); though modern Talaing has the former, there can be no two opinions as to the letter represented in the plate. It is curious that a camel should be figured among the mounts for Māra's soldiers. The animal does not, of course, exist in Indo-China, and we

have here a case of direct Indian influence, I suppose. I would also venture to add a *caveat* against M. Huber's somewhat premature parallel between the Talaing relative particle *ma* and the *ma*-prefix of Old Cham and Old Javanese. In Old Talaing *ma* is a distinct, separable word, as also in Bahnar; besides, the force of the two *ma*'s is not the same. It is not safe, as yet, to identify them. M. Huber's series of Māra's soldiers with animal heads serves to explain the animal-headed demons in Sir R. C. Temple's plates and on the tiles of the museums,¹ for the legends on the Ananda pagoda tiles distinctly say that these animal-headed demons are members of Māra's host. And I think there can be no doubt that M. Huber is right in suggesting that all these figures are put there to remind the people of the legendary episodes of the days that Buddha spent under the Tree of Enlightenment.

They thus help to confirm the explanation I have attempted to give above of the tiles with female figures. The latter, it may be noted, are of two distinct racial types, one typically Indo-Chinese, with broad round faces, flat noses, and thick lips, the other with long prominent and pointed noses, rather long faces, getting narrower towards the chin, and somewhat less developed lips.² Whether the latter is intended to represent a demon type or merely a foreign (Indian) one, I am not prepared to say. Perhaps, from the Indo-Chinese point of view, it is not very material. By some of the artists the daughters of Māra may have been naturally conceived as foreign personages, whom it would be appropriate to portray under alien forms. In the same way the puppets of the Javanese shadow-play, which represent Rāmāyaṇa characters and the like, are endowed with impossibly long

¹ The British Museum and the Indian Section (South Kensington) each have two tiles with animal-headed figures. The former also has one with a demon carrying a club.

² See the plate illustrating the four Exeter tiles: Nos. 2 and 4 represent the Indo-Chinese type, Nos. 1 and 3 the other one.

noses and other prominent features, contrasting strongly with the native racial type. On the other hand some craftsmen may have desired to indicate the assumption by Māra's daughters of the appearance of comely young women, in conformity with Indo-Chinese ideas of beauty. It is, however, difficult to satisfy oneself that a consistent principle runs through their treatment of the subject. If the suggested interpretation of the Exeter tile No. 1 is right, the ladies thereon depicted should be intended to be beautiful, but I must confess my ignorance of any standard of good looks under which they could reasonably claim that qualification.


MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SEALS FROM HARAPPA

Harappa is a village, having a station on the North-Western Railway, in the Montgomery District, Panjāb: it is situated in lat. $30^{\circ} 38'$, long. $72^{\circ} 52'$, on the south bank of the Rāvi, some fifteen miles towards the west-by-south from Montgomery. The place is now of no importance: but extensive ruins and mounds, one of which rises to the height of sixty feet, indicate that the case was otherwise in ancient times; and it has yielded thousands of coins of the "Indo-Scythians" and their successors.¹ Amongst other objects of interest from this place, there are the three seals, full-size facsimiles of which are given in the accompanying Plate. The original seals are now in the British Museum, in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities in charge of Mr. Read. In all three cases, the substance of these seals seems to be a claystone, hardened by heat or some other means. In the originals, the devices and characters are sunk: the illustrations represent impressions from the originals, with the devices and characters reversed, as compared with the way in which they lie in the originals, and standing out in relief. The animal on A has been held to be a bull, but not an Indian bull, because it has no hump: another opinion, however, is that it may be a male deer of some kind. The animal on C has a tail of such a nature as to suggest that this creature cannot be a deer. On A the hind legs were not fully formed; and it is possible that a similar tail has been omitted there.

A.—This seal was presented by Major (General) Clark. It was found in or before 1872-73, in circumstances which

¹ See Cunningham, *Reports*, vol. 5 (1875), p. 105 ff.

are not known. It has been figured by Cunningham in his *Reports*, vol. 5 (1875), plate 33, fig. 1, and in his *Inscriptions of Asoka, Corp. Inscr. Indic.*, vol. 1 (1877), plate 38: and another illustration of it, to accompany a note by Mr. Dames, has been given in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 15 (1886), p. 1, fig. 1. It is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick: and on the back of it there is an arched protuberance, of about the same height, at right angles to the direction of the inscription, through which there is a small hole, in the direction of the inscription, evidently for inserting a string with a view to carrying it. It is illustrated now from a plaster of Paris impression for which I am indebted to Mr. Read. The first and last letters of the inscription were not formed as fully and deeply as the others: also, owing to the shadow thrown by the rim of the impression, part of the last letter is indistinct: the full form of this letter is .

B.—This seal has been presented by Mr. J. Harvey, of Ballycastle, co. Antrim, Ireland, formerly of the Indian Educational Service. In December, 1885, when he was inspecting the school at Harappa, a local agriculturist came in, bringing various things, one of which was this seal; and it was obtained by purchase from him: but the circumstances in which it was found are not known. This seal was first brought to notice by Mr. Dames, in his note published in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 15 (1886), p. 1, where it was unfortunately figured upside-down and without being reversed. I illustrate it from an impression which Mr. Read kindly caused to be made for me. At the ends the original is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. From each end the back slopes up to a height of about $\frac{7}{16}$ " at the middle: and it is there perforated by a small hole, from front to back, for inserting a string. The edges of the seal are not quite as sharp in the original as they are in the illustration.

C.—This seal, which is now brought to notice for the first time, has been presented by Mr. Dames. It was dug

Seals from Harappa.

A.



C.



B.

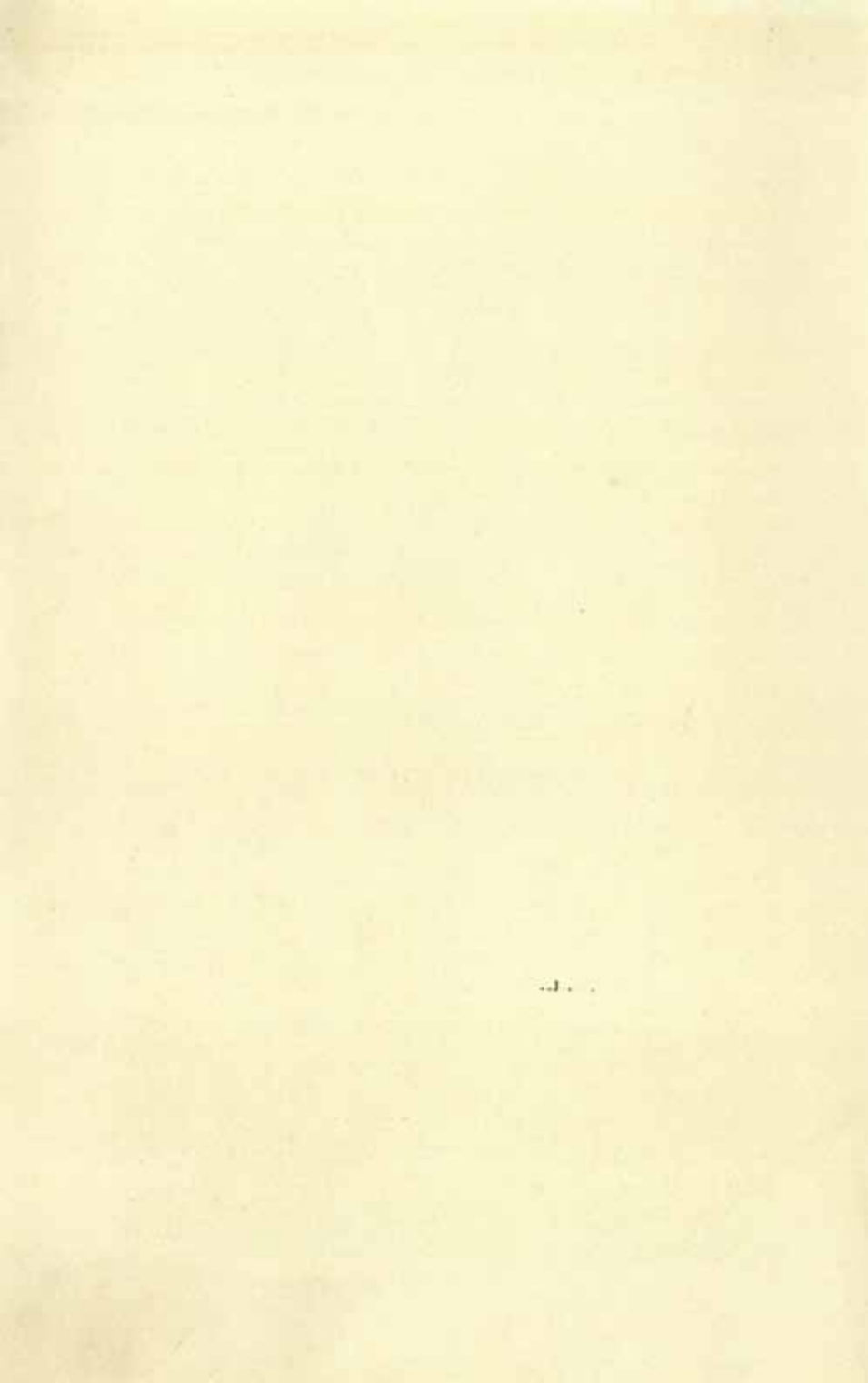


Full size.

Sarnath inscription of Asvaghosha.



Scale : 20.



up by Mr. T. A. O'Connor, District Superintendent of Police, apparently in or shortly before August, 1886; and Mr. Dames obtained it from him. It is not quite $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. As in the case of A, on the back of it there is an arched protuberance, about $\frac{3}{16}$ " high, at right angles to the direction of the inscription, perforated by a small hole, in the direction of the inscription, for inserting a string. It has been damaged at the lower corner on the right. The illustration has been made by photographing the seal itself; with the result that the devices and letters do not show their relief in the manner in which this detail can be seen in figures A and B.

The inscriptions on these three seals have remained, so far, undeciphered. Cunningham, indeed, in his treatment of A, though holding originally that the characters are "certainly not Indian letters",¹ proposed in his second notice to treat them as "archaic Indian letters of as early an age as Buddha himself", and to interpret them as giving the word *L-a-chh-m-i-ya*.² And on such an assumption it would not be difficult to find on C the word *Ka-lo-mo-lo-gū-ta*. But it is hardly possible to take the inscriptions really in this way. The present facsimiles are published in the hope that recent discoveries in various directions may give a clue to the true nature of the characters and the meaning of them.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTE ON THE SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF ASVAGHOSHA

Towards the end of last year I drew the attention of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Officiating Director-General of Archaeology, to the existence of certain letters on the Asoka Pillar at Sarnāth and in a line continuous with the inscription of Asvaghosha, which he had edited in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii, pp. 171-2. Dr. Vogel kindly

¹ *Reports*, vol. 5, p. 108.

² *Inscr. of Asoka*, p. 61.

gave me an impression, part of which is here reproduced: see the Plate at p. 700 above. His reading of the previous words is:—

rpārigeyhe rajña Aśvaghoshasya chatariśe savachhare
hematapakhe prathame divase dasame.

And following in a continuous line are aksharas which I read—

sutithaye 4 200, 9.

Intentional injury would seem to have been the cause of both the complete obliteration of the opening letters of the Aśvaghosha epigraph and the blurring of the letters which are the subject of this note. Examination of the stone further shows that the second akshara is really *tī*, though in the facsimile it looks like *vi*; and the third akshara is *tha*, as the dot within the circle is deep-cut. For the rest, my reading is frankly conjectural and invites correction.

To interpret these newly observed letters I assume that (1) they are a part of the Aśvaghosha document, and (2) the date 209 belongs to the Mālava-Vikrama era. The record would thus read: "in the fortieth year of Rājan Aśvaghosha, in the first fortnight of the Hemanta season, on the tenth day, on the auspicious tithi, the fourth; in the year 209." It is found that the fourth day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha of the Mālava year 209 current coincides with the tenth day of the first fortnight of Hemanta in the year 74 current of the Śaka era. For this calculation I am indebted to Mr. Chhote Lal (Executive Engineer P.W.D., Benares), who as "Bārhaspatya" is well known by his contributions to Indian astronomy. The question whether this coincidence throws any light on the method of recording seasonal dates in early times is one with which I am not competent to deal. But returning to my assumption of the Mālava era 209 current, the equivalent 151 A.D. would be the date of the Sarnāth

inscription, and 111 A.D. would be the date of Aśvaghosha's accession as Rāja. His name is found again on a broken slab at Sarnāth (*E.I.*, loc. cit.); but, unfortunately, the record is too fragmentary to admit of reconstruction.

ARTHUR VENIS.

GOVERNMENT SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES.

September 26, 1911.

REMARKS ON PROFESSOR VENIS' NOTE

The proposal made by Professor Venis for fixing the date of the *Rāja Aśvaghōsha* is based on the result, given to him by Mr. Chhote Lal, that in A.D. 151 the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrsha was the tenth day of the season Hēmantā. We cannot do anything towards exactly testing this result, because, not only are we not told the bases on which it rests and the tables or process by which it has been worked out, but also the most essential item, the English date (month and day), has not been given. On this point I can only say that I cannot find any means by which such a result may be arrived at. As to the proposed reading, I have to say here (1) that, if a *tithi* were intended, we ought to have an equivalent of the locative *tithau*; but *tithaye* can only be the dative: (2) that, from the same point of view, it is very strange that the lunar month and its fortnight should not have been mentioned: (3) that it is equally strange that the year should have been stated as the final item, after the *tithi*. However, the matter has to be dealt with on other considerations.

The stated result assumes the use in the second century A.D. of a solar calendar alongside of the lunar calendar. Now, the Hindūs have had from very ancient times the system of lunisolar cycles, made by the combination of solar years, regulated by the course of the sun, and lunar years, regulated by the course of the moon, but treated in such a manner, by the periodical intercalation

(and in later times the occasional omission) of lunar months, as to keep the beginning of the lunar year near the beginning of the solar year, or, as perhaps may be more properly said, to keep the lunar months as closely as is possible in agreement with the natural seasons. But there is a wide difference between (1) the astronomical use of a solar year for such a purpose as that, and (2) the practical use of a solar calendar with the details of solar months and seasons. The Hindūs now have such a double calendar, solar and lunar: one item of their solar calendar is that the season Hēmanta begins when the sun enters the zodiacal sign Vṛiśchika (answering in a general way to Scorpio): this occurs in the *amānta* or synodic lunar month Kārttika, next before Mārgaśīrsha: and so it may happen at any time that the civil day of the fourth *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha is the tenth civil day of the season Hēmanta. But the use of this solar calendar is traced only from the tenth century, in two Chōla dates, one of which, belonging to A.D. 943, mentions the solar month Makara, and the other, belonging to either A.D. 919 or 946, mentions the solar month Karkāṭaka.¹ We have no reason for expecting to trace it back to any appreciably earlier time. And it certainly cannot have existed in the second century; because the signs of the zodiac, by which it is regulated, were not then known in India.

On the other hand, everything that we learn about the earlier Indian calendar makes it abundantly clear that, before the time when the Greek astronomy was introduced into India, the only calendar year in practical use for all

¹ For the date in A.D. 919 or 946, see Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Southern India, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 7, appendix, No. 691: for the date in A.D. 943, see *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 8, p. 261, A; it has been noticed by me in this Journal, 1911. 691, (4). The month Makara begins at the Hindū winter solstice, when the sun enters the sign Makara (Capricornus); the month Karkāṭaka begins at the Hindū summer solstice, when the sun enters the sign Karka (Cancer).

general purposes, including datings such as that in this Sarnāth record of Aśvaghōsha, was the lunar year of twelve or thirteen synodic months, which was treated in two ways. Astronomically, and for the sacrificial calendar, it was a Māghādi year, a year beginning with Māgha śukla 1, the first day of the bright fortnight of Māgha; it was bound to and regulated by a solar year beginning at the winter solstice, the arrangement being that the solstice was always to occur in the *amānta* Māgha; and apparently it might measure 354 or 355 days, or 383 or 384 days, according to circumstances, subject to a total of 1830 days in five years.¹ But in practical general use it was treated on the hard and fast lines of making it consist always of 354 days when it comprised only twelve lunar months, and of 384 days when a month was intercalated.² Further, the seasons were treated, unscientifically, as lunar seasons, governed by the moon and coinciding with two or four lunar months; and in such a way that Hēmanta consisted of Mārgaśīrsha and Pausha when the seasons were counted as six, and of those two months with also Māgha and Phālguna when the seasons were counted as only three in number. Also, the years were not necessarily Māghādi: for chronological purposes use was made of regnal years, beginning with the day and its successive anniversaries of the accession or the anointment of any particular king. Not only do we learn such details from the books, but also we trace the use of this lunar calendar with lunar seasons down to almost the latest of the records included in Professor Lüders' List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400, in which this Sarnāth inscription

¹ We learn these and various other details from the Jyōtisha-Vedānga.

² This was done by making the bright fortnights of Phālguna, Vaiśākha, Āshāḍha, Bhādrapada, Kārttika, and Pausha, consist of only 14 days; all the other fortnights having 15 days each: see the Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra, ed. R. Shamasastry, p. 60, the last three lines. For other information about the calendar see p. 108.

stands as No. 922.¹ And in that calendar the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha could only be the fourth day of the season Hēmanṭa, and the tenth day of the season Hēmanṭa could only be the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha. In no circumstances could the tenth day of Hēmanṭa be the fourth day of Mārgaśīrsha.

It seems probable that the words on the Sarnāth pillar which somehow or other were overlooked previously and have been brought to notice by Professor Venis, really are part of the record of Aśvaghōsha.² But, on the analogy of all the similar records in the List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, we may be sure that the date ends with the word *dasamē*; that the text says:—"In the fortieth year of the *Rāja* Aśvaghōsha, in the first fortnight of Hēmanṭa, on the tenth day;" and that, interpreted in other terms, it means "on the civil day of the tenth *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Mārgaśīrsha." It would be very satisfactory if we could determine an exact date A.D. for Aśvaghōsha; and in view of a certain feature in the record, namely, the mention of the first fortnight instead of the first month of the season, I should not have any objection to raise if good reason could be shown for placing him in A.D. 111-51 or at any time thereabouts. But that cannot be done by the means proposed by Professor Venis.

It is, no doubt, easier to criticize Professor Venis' proposal for reading and applying the words which he has brought to notice, than it is to say what those words really are. But it may be remarked that, as has been suggested to me by Professor Lüders, the first four syllables, which

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 10, appendix.

² Dr. Vogel has asked me to explain that these additional words were not included in the estampages from which he dealt with this record in *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 8, p. 171, and that he had not been able to supervise in person the preparation of the estampages or to compare them afterwards with the original.

Professor Venis would read as *sutithaye*, might very well be read *sukhathaya*, and be taken as meaning *sukh-ārthāya*, "for the sake of happiness": or, again, in accordance with suggestions by Dr. Vogel, they might be read *suṁvithaye*, and be taken as meaning *su-vīthayē*, "for a good road". How the remaining letters should be read, I do not venture to say.

J. F. FLEET.

ANCIENT TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF INDIA

Inscriptions from Mysore and many other parts of Western India and from some neighbouring localities, ranging from the seventh or eighth century A.D. onwards, mention various ancient territorial divisions having numerical appellations, such as the—

Raṭṭapāḍi 750,000	Kavadidvīpa 125,000
Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000	Naḷambavāḍi 32,000
Banavāsi 12,000	Toraḡale 6000
Karahāṭa 4000	Kūṇḍi 3000
Tardavāḍi 1000	Koṅkaṇa 900
Rāmapuri 700	Pānuṅgal 500
Beḷvola 300	Aṅkoṭṭaka 84
Kisukāḍ 70	Bāge 50
Vōḍasirāsatka 48	Sarthātailāṭakiya 42
Karivīḍi 30	Vavvulatalla 12

Most of these territorial divisions, with many others, have been noticed and identified in my Notes on Indian History and Geography in the volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1900 to 1903. We are concerned here, not with any identifications, but with the meaning itself of these numerical appellations.

Commenting on the third and fourth of the names given above, the Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908) says:¹—
"These numerical designations, almost invariably attached

¹ Vol. 10, p. 291, note; vol. 12, p. 131, note.

to the names of ancient divisions in Mysore, apparently refer to their revenue capacity or to the number of their *nāds*" [*nāḍ*, *nāḍu*, 'a district, subdivision']. Mr. Rice has said in his *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (1909), p. 174, that the numbers denote "revenue value", and that "the figures apparently indicated *nishkas*". And Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has said in his *Ancient India* (1911), p. 78, note, that the numbers seem to indicate "either the revenue paid or the value of the produce", or "sometimes the quantity of seed required".

As regards these statements, which are quite wrong and misleading, excuses may be made for the writer in the Imperial Gazetteer and the author of *Ancient India*. But the same cannot be said on behalf of the remaining writer; because he claims to know the inscriptions themselves, and the inscriptions from all parts have furnished ample proof, for some forty years past, by the attachment of the word *grāma*, 'village,' to many of these appellations, that these names always mark the numbers of the cities, towns, and villages assigned to each territorial division: the larger numbers are, no doubt, conventional or traditional, and must be at any rate greatly exaggerated;¹ but the smaller numbers are probably in many cases actual ones.

An interesting confirmation of what I say and always have said on this point² has been lately furnished by Mr. R. Narasimhachar, the officer in charge of Archæology in Mysore, in para. 79 of his Annual Report for the year ending 30 June, 1911. He has there brought to notice a new inscription of A.D. 902, from Bandalike, which speaks of the *Mahāsāmanta Lōkaṭeyarasa*, son of Baṅkeyarasa.

¹ See some figures given in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 1, part 2 (1896), p. 298, note 2.

² I explained in 1873, in *Ind. Ant.*, 2. 297, that the term "Belvola 300" means "the Belvola district consisting of 300 villages." I had met in 1870 with the expression *Huvalli-dvādaśa-grāma*, "the Hubli 12 villages" (JBBRAS, 9. 247, line 9); and that had given the clue.

"of the lineage of Kaḷudēvayya,"¹ as governing "the 31,102 villages (*bāḍa*) comprising the Banavāsi 12,000, the Palasige 12,000, the Mānyakhēda 6000, the Koḷanu 30, the Lōkāpura 12 and the Toregare 60."²

Plainer evidence than this, as to the meaning of all the similar designations, could hardly be wished for: but, as I have indicated, it only confirms what has been certain for some forty years past. This statement in detail, however, further helps to explain two other epigraphic statements which have been hitherto obscure: namely, the mention of "30,000 villages of which Vanavāsi is the foremost" in a record of A.D. 860 (EI, 6. 35, verse 21); and the mention of apparently "the Banavāsi 32,000 province" in a record of A.D. 919 (IA, 1903. 225). These statements were puzzling, because the Banavāsi province is mentioned in so many other records always as a 12,000 province. But we can see now how they may be accounted for.

An interesting reminiscence of one of these numerical names has survived to the present day in the title Mūrusāviraḍ-ayya, "the *Ayya* of the 3000", which belongs to the *Ayya* or Jāṅgam priest (Līṅgāyat) of the Mūrusāviraḍa-maṭha at Hubli in the Dhārwar District:³ evidently his predecessors were the pontiffs of some great

¹ Lōkaṭeyarasa, whose name is found in also the Sanskrit form Lōkāḍitya, was a prince of the Mukula or Chellakēṭana family, regarding which see my note in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903. 221-7. The name of the ancestor Kaḷudēvayya is a new item, now brought to notice by Mr. Narasimhachar.

² These details add up to 30,102: but the record gives the total as 31,102. Either the writer made a wrong addition, or else he carelessly omitted to mention a one-thousand district; perhaps the Tardavāḍi 1000. The text, as given to me by Mr. Narasimhachar in answer to a reference on this point, runs:—

Banavāsi-pannirchchhāsiraṁuṁ Palasige-pannirchchhāsiraṁuṁ Mānya khēḍam-arūsāsiraṁuṁ Koḷanu-mūvattuṁ Lōkāpuraṁ-panneraḍuṁ Toregarey-aruvattuṁ intu mūvatt-or-chchhāsiraḍa nūr=eraḍu bāḍamaṁ Lōkaṭeyarasar āle.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 29 (1900), p. 280, and note 38.

Śaiva establishment in the Kūṇḍi 3000 province, and one of them migrated to Hubli (which was not in that province) and settled there. Another survival of an ancient appellation is probably found in the name of the Yēlusāviraśīme, "the 7000 country", which is a part of Coorg.¹ The names of the Chālīsgaum tāluka of the Khāndēsh District and the Chōrāsi tāluka of Surat distinctly seem to commemorate original groups of 40 and 84 villages. And the name of Nālatwād, a large village in the Muddebihāl tāluka of the Bijāpūr District, is plainly a corruption of *nālvattu-vāḍa* (*bāḍa*), 'forty-town', and seems to mark the place as having been at some time the chief town of a circle of 40 villages.

This new inscription from Bandalike is also of interest in showing that Mānyakhēṭa was the chief town of a 6000 province. This city, which is the present Mālkhēḍ or Malkhēḍ in the Nizam's Dominions, was the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

J. F. FLEET.

A COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM EAST BENGAL ALLEGED TO BE SPURIOUS

In the last Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, that for the year 1907-8 (p. 255), is published a notice, with a transcript, of a copper-plate grant found in the south-west corner of the Faridpur District in East Bengal. The notice was written by the late Dr. T. Bloch, and he pronounced the grant to be spurious; but it is not spurious, and I may be permitted to draw attention to it with a few remarks.

Three copper-plate grants were found in that district during the years 1891 and 1892, and were given to me by Dr. Hoernle to be deciphered in 1908. At that time this fourth plate was discovered and was brought to our

¹ Rice, *Mysore* (1897), vol. 1, p. 574.

notice by Dr. Bloch. He said it would be published in the Arch. Report for 1907-8, and I proceeded with the decipherment of the three earlier grants, but a photograph of that grant was sent me by the kindness of a friend. Those three grants were published by me in July, 1910, in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. xxxix, p. 193). The fourth plate was published by Babu R. D. Banerji in 1910 in the Journal of the Beng. As. Soc. (vol. vi, p. 429), under the title "The Koṭwālipārā spurious grant of Samācāra Deva". I then took up the matter of this grant, and published a paper dealing fully with it in that Society's Journal last year (vol. vii, p. 475), under the title "The Ghāgrāhātī (Koṭwālipārā) grant and three other copper-plate grants". While that paper was in the press the Arch. Report came out with Dr. Bloch's notice of the grant.

Both Dr. Bloch and Babu R. D. Banerji have pronounced this fourth grant to be spurious, but they had not the advantage of seeing the three other grants, whereas I had the advantage of reading all four before pronouncing any opinion on any one of them. These grants are of a somewhat new kind. They are not royal deeds, but are grants of lands by private persons to brahmans. I only wish now to draw attention to the genuineness of this fourth grant, and anyone who may be interested in this question will find it dealt with fully in my article in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

F. E. PARGITER.

CULIKAP AISACIKA PRAKRIT

Dr. Grierson, in a paper entitled "Paiśāci, Piśācas, and modern Piśāca",¹ deals with the three kinds of Paiśāci Prakrit, of which two are named *Culikāpaiśācika*; and, discussing the question, "Who were the Piśācas?" comes to the conclusion that they were originally an actual

¹ ZDMG., vol. lxxvi, p. 49.

people, probably of Aryan origin, who inhabited the north-west of India and the neighbouring parts of the Himalaya, and were closely connected with the Khasas, Nāgas, and Yakṣas. His method of treating that question seems to me sound, and there can be no reasonable doubt that their character as demons or goblins was a later perversion of their real nature. There remains the question, what is the meaning of the word *Cūlikā* in the name *Cūlikāpaiśacika*, and I would offer a few remarks on this.

There was a tribe named the *Cūlikas* or *Culikas*, as the following texts show: "Tuṣāras, Yavanas, and Śakas with *Cūlikas* occupied the right flank of the army" (MBh. vi, 75, 3297). *Cūlikas* founded some sort of kingdom in India during the dark times of the Kali age, according to the reading in the Calcutta and Ānandāśrama editions of the *Matsya Purāṇa* (50, 76). Certain MSS. of that *Purāṇa* that I have consulted give the name as *Dhūlika*, *Puliha*, *Calika*, *Valiṅka*, and *Bālhiḥka*. The *Vāyu* has the same passage (99, 268), but reads *Tūlikas* instead, while various MSS. of it that I have consulted give the name as *Culika*, *Vūlika*, *Vūnika* (or perhaps *Vātika*), and *Vrūlika*. There can be little doubt from all these readings that *Cūlika* is the best supported form of the name, and many of the variations are easy misreadings or corruptions of it. Both the *Purāṇas* couple the Yavanas with them in this passage as having also founded a kingdom in India during that time.

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* mentions the *Culikas* or *Cūlikas* as a border tribe; placing the *Culikas* along with the *Lampākas*, *Kirātas*, *Kāśmīras*, and other less known tribes in the region bordering India on the north (57, 40); and the *Cūlikas*, along with the *Aparāntikas*, *Haihayas*, *Pañcadakas* (read probably *Pañcanadas*), *Tārakśuras* (read perhaps *Turuṣkakas*), and other tribes who cannot be identified, in the very west of India (58, 37). These *Culikas* and *Cūlikas* are no doubt one and the same.

for accuracy cannot be expected in Indian versions of the names of border tribes, and a position in the north-west would satisfy both these passages, because ancient writers had not an exact knowledge of geography.

The Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas have a passage corresponding to the former of these passages in the Mārkaṇḍeya, and the Vāyu has a further passage corresponding to Mārkaṇḍeya 57, 41, which mentions Śūlikas as another tribe in the same northern region. Corresponding to the Culikas of the Mārkaṇḍeya, the Vāyu reads *Piḍikas* in the Calcutta edition and two MSS. of the Ānandāśrama edition, and *Cūḍikas* in two other MSS. of that edition (45, 119), while the Matsya reads *Sainikas* (114, 43). *Culika* and *Cūḍika* may be mere variations of the same name, as nearly as the geographical compilers could get it; but, whether that be so or not, the Vāyu reads (in all the editions and MSS. mentioned) *Cūlikas* instead of Śūlikas in the second corresponding passage, so that the Vāyu certainly places the Cūlikas as a tribe in the northern region.

All these references to the Cūlikas¹ would be satisfied, if we place them (say) along the Gomāl River and pass on the extreme west of the Panjab, for in such a position they might be reckoned as falling within the northern region or within the very western region, and would be in close proximity to the tribes with whom they are specially associated. Such a position also brings them into the neighbourhood of the Piśācas, as Dr. Grierson has located the latter.

If this be reasonable it may help to explain the name *Cūlikāpaiśācika*, which might then mean the Paiśāci language as spoken by the Cūlikas. The precise formation of the word is uncertain. Cūlikā can hardly denote the

¹ The R. Culakā mentioned in MBh. vi, 9, 328, is different, and should probably be connected with the Cola people, as it is placed in South India.

Cūlika women ; nor can it well mean the country of the Cūlikas, because I can think of no country which has a feminine name. It might mean the Cūlikā town, or the whole word might perhaps be derived from *Cūlikā Paisāci*, these two words being run into one with the affix *ka* added, before which the *i* would be shortened.

F. E. PARGITER.

TENGALAI AND VADAGALAI

A note has been received from A. Govindacharya Svāmin discussing various references to the Teṅgalais and Vadagalais made by Dr. Grierson in his Introduction to the Svāmin's translation of the *Artha-pañcaka* on pp. 565 ff. of the Journal for 1910. The note is too long to publish in its entirety, but the following is an abstract of the more important points raised by him, so far as they have not appeared in other papers by its author which have been issued of late. The longer note may on a future occasion be useful.

p. 566. Differences between the so-called Northern (*Vadagalai*) and Southern (*Teṅgalai*) Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. The names "Northern" and "Southern" must be confined to the tract of country comprising the Drāviḍa, between the Tirupati Hills in North Arcot and Cape Comorin. Conjevaram (*Kāñci-puram*) was the northern seat of Sanskrit learning. Prior to Rāmānuja, in the days of the Āzhvārs and the Ācāryas who preceded him, the neighbourhoods of Śrīraṅgam (Trichinopoly) and of Tiru-nel-veli (Tinnevelley) were localities where Drāviḍa (Tamil) Scriptures were largely studied. If a line were drawn across the Peninsula along the parallel of latitude crossing Conjevaram, all the tract north of it up to the Tirupati Hills would be the Northern division, and all to the south of it the Southern. It is a purely local denomination which did not come into vogue till two generations or so

after Rāmānuja; and except that they have Vēdāntācārya and Ramya-jāmāṭṛ-muni¹ as their respective pontiffs, the two divisions, in ethnic, philosophic, ethic, religious, and social affairs, constitute one Śrī-Vaiṣṇava body.

p. 566. Co-operative grace, and Irresistible grace. The Samskrit terms for these are, respectively, *sa-hetuka-kṛpā* and *nir-hetuka-kṛpā*, i.e. grace sought, and grace unsought. The *sa-hetuka-kṛpā* implies that the asking for grace by the soul is the reason that compels grace. The *nir-hetuka-kṛpā* leaves God's grace unaffected by any savour of barter or bargain, such as is involved in the contention that grace is contingent on first being initiated by the soul's asking, and that without this demand grace would remain inoperative.

p. 566. The views expressed regarding Śrī. She is not a mere "form or phase of the Supreme", as stated by Dr. Grierson. As shown in the paper on The Pāñcarātras or Bhagavat-śāstra, in the number of this Journal for October, 1911, She is a distinct personality. This is true for both schools, according to whom She belongs to the category of the Eternals (*nityas*, see JRAS., 1910, 573). The authority for both schools is Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I, viii, 17:—

Nityānvāṣā jagan-mātā Viṣṇoś Srīr an-apāyini |
Yathā sarva-gato Viṣṇus tathānvēyam, dvijōttama ||

"Maitreya, the Mother of the universe, is eternal, and never separable from Viṣṇu. As Viṣṇu is omnipresent, so also is She."

Śrī, for both schools, fulfils the function of mediation.

For the doctrinal differences between the two schools regarding Śrī, see JRAS., 1910, p. 1104. To these it may be added that the Vadagalais ascribe Causation (i.e. the being the cause) of the universe also, to Her, and ascribe further the characteristic of "in-dwelling" or "in-ruling" (*antar-yāmitva*); whereas the Tēngalais refer

¹ Or Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni.

both these attributes to God alone. According to the latter the function of Śrī is that of *ācārya*, i.e. Mediator or Saviour alone.

p. 567. Lokācārya was not "the first great teacher of the Tēngalai school". In his day there was no distinction of such schools. If any schism arose in virtue of differences of interpretation, it is in all probability to be attributed to the time of Vedāntācārya (or Vedāntadeśika, 1268 A.C.), who lived a generation after Lokācārya. In Vedāntācārya's works such differences in interpretation of the teachings that prevailed before his day are clearly discernible.¹

p. 567. As to Rāmānanda, there is proof that he belonged to the Tēngalai school, if such a school could be predicated as existent in his time. His date is uncertain. In the list of his apostolic predecessors given by Dr. Grierson in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, pp. 265-6, 1893, the name of Vedāntācārya does not occur, although there are two Lokācāryas, the second of whom is the author of the *Artha-pañcaka*, the first being Nambillai.

p. 567. The statement that the Vādagalais stop at *bhakti* is not correct. *Prapatti* and *ācāryābhīmāna*, as well as *bhakti*, are common to both schools. The word *prapatti* is rendered better by "resort to" or "refuge in" God, rather than by its radical sense of mere "approaching"; and the corresponding attitude on the part of the soul is *passive* according to the Tēngalai school, and *active* according to the Vādagalais. Both these characteristics pertain to *prapatti*,—not the former to *prapatti* and the latter to *bhakti*. Who the Northern commentators are

¹ To the credit of Vedāntācārya, however, it must be said that he looked upon the opinions of those from whom he differed as simply due to specialization of certain aspects of truth:—

<i>Mahatām api keśāncid</i>	<i>ativādāḥ prthag-vidhāḥ |</i>
<i>Tat-tad-artha-prakāśādi-</i>	<i>tatparatvād abādhitāḥ ||</i>

[*Stotra-Bhāṣya* 53.]

No odium theologicum could be imputed to him.

that equate *bhakti* with *prapatti* must first be ascertained, but the equation is wrong. The radical meanings of the two words are entirely different. *Bhaj* = adore, and *pad* = go, or throw oneself at or on. The former (*bhakti*) requires active concentration on God on the part of the soul (adoration); whereas the latter (*prapatti*) simply demands resignation or unconditional capitulation, making no terms with God, but variegated by the two attitudes,—(1) active, or aggressive; and (2) passive, or expectant, on the part of the soul. Rāmānuja's commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* must be studied together with his *Gadya-traya*, before venturing on the remark made by Dr. Grierson that his commentary "is much to the same effect".¹

p. 568. Dr. Grierson's correction as to the meaning of Kaivalya is not complete. Kevalas might employ other means besides knowledge, *jñāna*, for their soul-realization. They might also resort to *bhakti*, *prapatti*, or *ācāryābhimāna*, provided they resort to one or other of them as long as their goal is no other than that isolate state.

NOTE BY DR. GRIERSON ON THE ABOVE

Every student of Vaishnavism will be grateful to Govindacharya Svāmin for the light thrown by him in the above notes on a most obscure branch of the subject. Space will not allow me to discuss them here, and I am ready to assume that, so far as doctrines of Southern Vaishnavism are concerned, the corrections are all justified. I therefore content myself with two remarks. As regards Rāmānuja's explanation of the word *prapadyatē* in *Bhagavad-Gītā*, vii, 19, it is translated "worships" by the Svāmin himself in his excellent English version of the poem with Rāmānuja's commentary. In the famous *carama-sloka* (xviii, 66), which Vaishnavas look upon as

¹ See pp. 127 ff. of my *Yatindra-mata-dīpikā*, just out.

containing the quintessence of the teaching of the poem, we have—

sarva-dharmān parityajya mām ekaṁ śaraṇaṁ vraja
 “Renouncing all Dharmas, hold Me as thy sole refuge.”

On this Rāmānuja says: “*All Dharmas* = All the paths of righteousness inculcated in the *Bhagavad-gītā* as means to *mōkṣa*, viz., *karma-yōga*, *jñāna-yōga*, and *bhakti-yōga*. *Renouncing* = The practising of these means as modes of my worship, and in love; but entirely renouncing the fruit thereof (*phala-tyāga*), the personal ownership of the act (*karma-tyāga*), and personal authorship of act (*kartṛtyāga*).” To this the Svāmin adds in a footnote: “Rāmānuja gives here the ordinary interpretation meaning *bhakti*, whereas a higher interpretation is *prapatti*.” The rest of R.’s commentary on this verse is most instructive. It is plain that he considered that Kṛṣṇa instructed Arjuna to hold to Him, so as to enable Arjuna to “launch on *bhakti-yōga*”, the only means of salvation. I have not seen the *Gadya-traya*, but it is plain that in his commentary to the *Bhagavad-gītā* Rāmānuja either ignored the modern *prapatti* altogether, or else considered it as included in the term “*bhakti*”. This is, of course, not the only interpretation of the verse, which has probably had more treatises written concerning it than any other passage in the poem.

As regards the *Kēvalas*, see the Svāmin’s description of them on p. 575 of the Journal for 1910. “These are the men who embark particularly upon the path of *jñāna yōga*, which is chiefly the means to secure this coveted ‘zoistic’ state.” The fact that they can also employ the other means is an interesting addition to our knowledge.

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CAMBERLEY.

December 5, 1911.

KASMIRI ALMANACS

In Kāśmīrī the word *bōsī* usually means "stale", being the equivalent of the Hindi *bāsī*. The word *nēchapatūṛā* (*nakṣatrapatrikā*) means "almanac". *Bōsī nēchapatūṛā* therefore apparently means "a stale almanac". Inquiries from Kāśmīr reveal that it means nothing of the sort. *Bōsī* is here a derivative of *Bhāskarī*, "of or belonging to Bhāskara." Bhāskara Rāzdan was a noted Kāśmīrī Jyōtiṣī, and the change of *sk* to *s*, as well as the elision of *r*, has many parallels in the language. The following is an abstract of an account of the origin of these almanacs given to me by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Mukundarāma Śāstrī, who is himself a follower of the rules laid down in the *Bōsī nēchapatūṛā*. Passages enclosed in square brackets are additions of mine.

In former times in Kāśmīr, commencing with the Śaka year 587 (665 A.D.), almanacs were compiled according to the rules laid down in Brahmagupta's *karana*, the *Khaṇḍakhādya*,¹ a work based on the Brāhmasiddhānta with corrections from the Āryasiddhānta.

As time went on, actual observation showed the existence of small accumulating errors in the tables of this work, which, after a lapse of thirty to thirty-six years, amounted to as much as one, two, or three *ghaṭikās* [one *ghaṭikā* = 24 minutes]. As necessity arose, these were corrected

¹ [The *Khaṇḍakhādya* was written in Śaka 587. See Sudhākara Dvivedī, *Ganakatarāṅgīnī*, p. 18. As regards the connexion of the *Khaṇḍakhādya* with the *Āryasiddhānta*—that is, the *First Āryasiddhānta*, the *Āryabhaṭīya* of Āryabhaṭa (A.D. 499),—cf. the same work, p. 19, and also Thibaut and Sudhākara Dvivedī, *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, p. xx.] According to the *śāśana* "*himagirinikūṭasthāḥ prāgudicyāḥ*", in former times all almanacs in eastern and northern countries were based upon the *Āryasiddhānta*. Up to a short time ago, in Cambā, Sukēt, Maṇḍī, Ghāzīpur, Kanauj, and the neighbouring countries, all almanacs were based on the *Khaṇḍakhādya*. [The Paṇḍit is not certain about the present day, and adds that, owing to the wide distribution of printed almanacs, local variations and local customs are falling into disuse.]

with the aid of the *Madhyama Sārāṇī*¹ and other similar works. Finally, during the reign of King Rājadēva of Kaśmīr, after 1242 A.D. Vimalācārya wrote a corrected edition of the *Khaṇḍakhādya* and a new *Sārāṇī*, which are still authoritative, and on which most modern Kāśmīri almanacs are based.

Things thus went on for several centuries, Hindū learning being impeded by the Muhammadan conquest. But in the year 1758 A.D., in the reign of King Sukhajivana, an eclipse of the sun occurred at a time so widely different from that predicted by the almanacs that they, and the revised *Khaṇḍakhādya* on which they were founded, fell into disrepute. A Paṇḍit named Bhāskara Rāzdān then showed that if the calculations had been made according to the *Grahalāghava*, a *karāṇa* written by Gaṇeśa Daivajña,² they would have agreed with the actual occurrence. He therefore rejected the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, and prepared an almanac based on the *Grahalāghava*. In the course of two or three years this became accepted all over Kaśmīr, but after only three or four years it was discovered that the observed times of the rising and setting of the planets did not agree with the times given by it. It was also found that this difference would not have been so great if the calculation had been made according to the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, and, moreover, that it could be corrected with the aid of *Sārāṇīs*. There thus arose a schism amongst the Kāśmīri astronomers, some advocating a return to the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, while Bhāskara Rāzdān and his friends obstinately opposed this, and advocated the permanent adoption of the *Grahalāghava*. The

¹ A *Sārāṇī* is a kind of ready reckoner, a book of tables for the rapid calculation of astronomical moments, such as the commencement of a *tithi* or the like.

² [See *Gaṇakatarāṅgī*, 58. The date of the *Grahalāghava* was 1520 A.D. There was an annular eclipse of the sun visible in India on December 30, 1758, A.S. The conjunction occurred 6 hours 17 minutes after sunrise (Lāṅkā time).]

majority adopted the former course, but a small minority—about one per cent of the Kāśmīri Hindūs—follow Bhāskara down to the present day.

There are thus now two sets of almanacs current in Kāśmīr,—the *dēśi nēchapatūrū* based on the *Khanda-khādya*, and the *Bōśi nēchapatūrū* based on the *Graha-lāghava*. Between these two there may be as much as two or three *ghaṭikās* difference in calculating the commencement of a lunar day. Hence, sometimes, according to one a lunar day may commence in one weekday, and according to the other in another. In this way the followers of the respective almanacs sometimes keep fasts or festivals on different days. The dates given for the entry of a planet into one of the signs of the zodiac may differ so much as two, four, or even eight days.

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March 24, 1912.

NOTES ON VEDIC SYNTAX

1. In a notice¹ of my work on the Āraṇyakas of the *Rgveda*, Dr. Caland has raised a point of some interest as to the use of the verb *upa-vas*. In the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, xii, 8, occurs the phrase *bhūtikāmaḥ puṣpena trirātropoṣitaḥ*, which in my translation I rendered "a man who desires prosperity should fast on flowers for three days". To Dr. Caland this appears comic, and the obvious reading is *puṣyena*, "under the Nakṣatra, Puṣya."

Now that a sentence out of what is virtually a Sūtra should seem comic is hardly a reason to find another reading obvious, for e.g. Dr. Caland's own renderings of the *Kauśika* and *Vaitāna Sūtras* frequently seem too absurd to be possible, and yet it would be wrong on that

¹ *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiv, 508, n. 1. I am indebted to the author for sending it to me.

account lightly to reject them.¹ *Puṣyena* is palæographically so obvious that it might have occurred to Dr. Caland that there was some reason for it not appearing in the text. And the reason is that it would be very hard to find in Vedic Sanskrit, probably also in classical Sanskrit, any real parallel for such a use of the instrumental: *trirātropoṣitaḥ* is of course equivalent to *trirātram* or *trirātreṇa upoṣitaḥ*,² and the instrumental as denoting "duration" is, if not exactly very common, still Vedic³ and classical.⁴ But on what authority is the instrumental equated to "under the Nakṣatra, Puṣya"? The best case I can conceive for the rendering is to regard Puṣya as here equivalent to the month Pauṣa, and to render "for three nights during the month Pauṣa". But against that rendering tells (a) the fact that Puṣya is not found in this sense in the Vedic literature, so far as I know; the St. Petersburg Dictionaries give nothing earlier than the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*;⁵ and (b) the fact that such a use of the instrumental is not known to me to have a parallel in the Vedic texts, and for these reasons I did not read *puṣyena*, nor can I even accept the emendation now, until it is shown to be syntactically probable.

I consider that *puṣpena* is best taken as an instrumental denoting what nourishment the sacrificer was to enjoy during his ritual fast (it need hardly be said that such fasts were by no means absolute), and *puṣpa* in this connexion is surely adequately defended by *puṣpāśin* in *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, xcv, 7; presumably the sacrificer partook of some decoction of flowers in place of the milk which might have formed his diet. But the passage as a whole is obscure, and I regret that Dr. Caland's acquaintance

¹ See now Bloomfield, GGA. 1912, pp. 1 seqq.

² See examples in BR. s.v.

³ Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* p. 130.

⁴ Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, p. 13.

⁵ Böhtlingk, s.v. 1c.

with the Sūtras should not have been able to throw light upon it.

2. Dr. Caland seems to me more happy in his second conjecture that in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, iii, 1. 4, and *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, vii, 10, in *prthivī tvā devatā riṣyati* we should see *āriṣyati*, the future to the preceding aorist *ārāḥ*. It may be that *ariṣyati* or *āriṣyati* is concealed in the phrase, but it is not certainly the case. Sāyana takes *riṣyati* as *hinasti*, and the fact that the active sense of the verb is specially Vedic¹ led me to think he was right. As for the future sense of the indicative, it is of course perfectly normal, and is adequately illustrated by Delbrück² and since the date of my book by Bloomfield.³

3. On the other hand, Dr. Caland's criticism of my rendering of the presents with *ha sma* of *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, i, 1. 3, and *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, iv, 7 by English presents is in part an error, in part apparently founded on a misunderstanding of the use of the English language. In the former passage, as can be seen from my translation, I use the historic present as the nearest equivalent to the Vedic present with *ha sma*. The alternative was to render with Delbrück⁴ "was wont to", and against this use, in my opinion, there is to be set the fact that it would be necessary then to render differently, e.g., *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, vii, 5-7, and 11, 12, and 13. All these passages give views of authorities: the first three have simply *iti* with the name; 11 has *atha khalv āhur nirbhujavaktrāḥ*, and 12 and 13 have *iti ha smāha*: to render them differently is not, in my opinion, consistent with the use of English. In the case of *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, iv, 7,

¹ RV. viii, 48. 10; AV. xiv, 1. 30. Later the word as active seems artificial.

² Op. cit. pp. 278, 279. Cf. Gildersleeve, *Greek Syntax*, § 194.

³ JAOS. xxix, 294, 295. See also my criticism of Dr. Caland in JRAS. 1909, p. 753.

⁴ Op. cit. pp. 502, 503; *Synt. Forsch.* ii, 129. For English see Kellner, *English Syntax*, § 368.

the matter is complicated by the use of *akarot* later with *vṛākte*, the former in the protasis, the latter in the apodosis of a relative sentence, and Dr. Caland has evidently neglected to read the note on p. xiv of my translation,¹ though it is referred to in my note on the passage, or the note on the historic present at p. 245 of my *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, which shows not only knowledge of the Vedic idiom but also compares it with the Homeric and Latin. I should, however, add that the cases where *ha sma* are used with *āha* and similar perfects with normally present sense are of great interest, for they lead to the use of *uvāca* in such cases, and, as the use has two aspects—(a) the fact that the dictum exists up to the present and is in English rendered as a present, (b) the fact that the utterance was actually in the past—the use of *uvāca* leads to the narrative perfect gradually invading the Brāhmaṇa prose; cf. JRAS. 1909, p. 150. The use of the present in citing authorities no doubt assisted in the development of the use of the present in the sense “was wont to”. A good case of the development of the usage is seen in *Kāthaka Saṃhitā*, xxxiv, 17, where *etad ha vā uvāca* is followed by *sa ha sma vai . . . somaṃ pibati* and *taṃ ha sma yad āhuḥ* and *abravīt*.

4. One or two minor points may also be mentioned. It would certainly be a gross error² to translate *ājya* in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, i, 1. 1 and 2 as “ghee offering”, when it means *ājyaśāstra*, but my rendering is “recitation with the ghee offering”, which is the English for *ājyaśāstra*, and in my note I gave the references to the hymns. *Nyūna* does not mean “leer” in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, i, 4. 2,

¹ See also Delbrück, *Vergl. Synt.* ii, 261 seqq.

² But hardly so gross as Caland & Henry's rendering (*L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. 305) of the unaccented *vāṛdhe* in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, i, 4. 20, as “qui . . . a grandi”. *Yāḥ* in the first part of the verse has no predicate expressed, but this common ellipsis (Delbrück, *Altind. Synt.* p. 11) should not have misled the translators, who cannot be unaware of the rules of the Vedic accent. And what of the rendering at p. 411 of *ājyānim* in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, iii, 3. 8f as “les beurres” (*ājyāni*)?

for it would spoil the sense so to take it, and in i, 1. 2 the sense "small" is quite satisfactory; *sadas* is correctly rendered "seat" as a technical term of the sacrifice, while *māṃsaudana* and *sthālī-pāka* are given conventional meanings;¹ if phrases in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, v, 1. 1 and 2 are misinterpreted, the correct renderings should be given, but to judge from the other corrections offered they will require careful scrutiny. Nor do I see sufficient reason to retain the *l* of the single MS. in place of the *l̥* (*ḍ*). Lindner, in his edition of the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*,² has followed the practice of restoring *ḍ* and *ḍh* with his MS. M and other authority, and I prefer this to the *l* of the edition of the *Śrauta Sātra*.

5. I have noticed all the points explicitly dealt with by Dr. Caland and would now correct two errors of his. I am glad to see his recognition of the merits of Friedländer's work on the Mahāvratā, which had been unaccountably overlooked by scholars until I drew attention to its worth. Friedländer, however, has not translated the section on the Mahāvratā, but only the first (and rather the smaller) part, so that the less favourable impression caused by the later version must be due in part only to imagination. Secondly, it is not true that Adhyāyas vii-xv were unknown until edited by me. Weber had made some use of them and had cited them once or twice; and what is more important, not only have I explicitly stated, but the most cursory reading would have shown, that their contents do *not* coincide with those of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*; the similarity ends with viii, and ix-xv are quite new, as was made clear long ago by Weber.³

¹ It is quite impracticable to avoid using conventional renderings unless the Sanskrit is always kept, and Dr. Caland himself does so elsewhere. For *sadas* as properly and originally "seat", see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 6. 1. 1; *sthālīpāka* is dealt with in my *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 254.

² p. xii. Cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* i, 222; Macdonell, *Vedic Gramm.* p. 45.

³ *Indian Literature*, p. 50, n. 37.

6. I take this opportunity of claiming the support of Dr. Caland¹ for the criticism which I made² of von Schroeder's argument, in favour of the theory of the early Vedic drama, that the gods were conceived as dancing in mimetic dances. He regards the use of the word "dance" as quite inadequate to show that this is the case. I agree also with the criticism³ of the theory of the Lopāmudrā and Agastya hymn, but the author has overlooked the fact that his argument from the *Kāthaka* was anticipated in 1909 by myself⁴ as well as independently by Oldenberg.⁵

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

AGE CRITERIA IN THE RIGVEDA

Professor Bloomfield has in an article in the JAOS.⁶ brought forward some important cases where there is conclusive evidence of imitation and therefore of relative chronology in the *Rgveda*. It is of interest to consider how far these instances bear out the results achieved by metrical and linguistic tests by Professor Arnold in his *Vedic Metre*.

It is beyond reasonable doubt that the absurd *anaśvo jāto anabhīśūr ārvā* in i, 152. 5 is an imitation of *anaśvo jāto anabhīśūr ukthyò* of iv, 36. 1: now the metrical tests and the linguistic assign i, 152 to the strophic period, which is the second of Professor Arnold's periods, and iv, 36 to the normal, the third of the periods. It is certain that i, 92. 11 and 12 are modelled on i, 124. 2, which Professor Bloomfield rightly calls "the

¹ *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiv, 500.

² JRAS. 1911, p. 998.

³ Op. cit. p. 502.

⁴ JRAS. 1909, p. 205, n. 2.

⁵ GGA. 1909, p. 77. I take this opportunity of observing that Bloomfield's criticism of Caland's rendering of *ācāryāḥ* in the *Vaitāna* (GGA. 1912, p. 19) might perhaps be modified in view of the use of *ācāryāḥ* in *Āitareya Aranyaka*, iii, 2. 6; *Sāṅkhāyana Aranyaka*, viii, 11; cf. my translation of the latter work, p. 56, n. 3.

⁶ xxxi, 49-69.

high-water mark of Vedic composition"; but metre alone reduces i, 92 to the normal period, the linguistic tests assign it to the strophic, while both combine to place i, 124 in the cretic, the fourth period. In viii, 56. 1 the third Pāda is clearly a mere solecism, adapted absurdly from i, 8. 5; yet the former is assigned to the strophic period without hesitation, while the latter is only assigned to it on metrical grounds. Again, in iii, 32. 7 and vi, 19. 2 is found a Pāda applicable to Indra (*brhāntam ṛṣvām ajāraṃ yūvānam*), which in vi, 49. 10 is transferred with the less happy *suṣumnām* for *yūvānam* to Rudra; yet metrical and linguistic tests assign iii, 32 to the normal period, and metrical tests assign vi, 19 to the same period, while both sets assign vi, 49 to the archaic period. In i, 30. 21 the attracted vocative *āśve nā citre aruṣi* is clearly derived from iv, 52. 2, *āśve nā citrāruṣi*; yet the tests set the former in the strophic, the latter in the normal period. Again, in viii, 13. 19 Professor Bloomfield sees the explanation of the odd description of the poet as *śūciḥ pāvakā ucyate śo ādbhutaḥ* in the fact that the writer has plundered ix, 24. 6 (of Soma), *śūciḥ pāvako ādbhutaḥ*, and ix, 24. 7, *śūciḥ pāvakā ucyate*. Aufrecht long ago saw the truth in this case; yet metrical and linguistic tests assign viii, 13 to the archaic or oldest period, and ix, 24 to the normal, a division two periods later. Finally, in i, 1. 8 and i, 45. 4 we have the phrase *rājantam adhvarāṇām* contorted in i, 27. 1 to *saṃrājantam adhvarāṇām*, and in viii, 8. 18 applied to the Aśvins in the dual; yet the tests place the last three passages in the strophic period and the first in the normal period.

What, on the other hand, is found to accord with the metrical tests? iv, 3. 10 (strophic) borrows from vi, 66. 1 (archaic); iii, 40. 6 (assigned by metre alone to the strophic) is used in i, 10. 7 (normal), but it should be noted that the linguistic tests give exactly the opposite

result, making the latter the earlier passage; x, 96. 2 (popular) borrows (though there is no cogent proof) from iii, 60. 3 (cretic); i, 39. 6 (assigned by metre alone to the archaic period) is used in viii, 7. 28 (strophic); iv, 17. 3 (normal) is used in x, 28. 7 (popular).

Other cases are indecisive either way: i, 22. 21 borrows from iii, 10. 9, both are referred to the same normal period; in Professor Bloomfield's view i, 80. 10 is derived from iv, 18. 7 and iv, 19. 8; the tests assign i, 80 to the normal period (the linguistic tests to the strophic), iv, 18 to the popular, and iv, 19 to the normal; here also may be reckoned the case of i, 1. 8; i, 45. 4; i, 27. 1, and viii, 8. 18 above, while i, 124. 3; v, 80. 4, and x, 66. 13, which borrow from the former, are put in one period by the tests.

These are all the cases adduced by Professor Bloomfield which he regards as cogent; he suggests that viii, 72. 18 is derived from vii, 55. 2, whereas the tests assign the former to the archaic, the latter to the popular period, but the case is not to be relied on; Professor Bloomfield also puts i, 144. 7 before viii, 74. 7, while the tests reverse the order, making the first strophic, the second archaic; on the other hand, he makes x, 63. 13 (cretic) use i, 41. 2 (strophic) and viii, 27. 16 (archaic), but these cases do not stand on the same basis of certainty as the others.

There can be little doubt as to the conclusion to be drawn from this writer's enumeration: in six cases at least the metric and linguistic tests break down hopelessly, and in the residue of cases they are frequently indecisive. That in some cases they agree with the results of Professor Bloomfield is what was to be expected; and even then, of the four or five cases of agreement, one is rendered useless by the conflict of the two tests; two are cases of hymns in the later tenth book. The total result is therefore that, while there are certain metrical and linguistic tests of real validity, the refinements on these

tests suggested by Professor Arnold are not consistent with the new and clear evidence adduced by Professor Bloomfield,¹ which is all the more valuable as that scholar does not himself connect his discussions with the data of Professor Arnold.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE SUFFIX *SAT*

Professor Speyer has recently² made an ingenious effort to explain the origin of the suffix *sāt* by finding in it an abbreviation, of a popular and perhaps originally local character, of the word *sātmī*³ used as part of a compound, which through its recognition by Pāṇini⁴ secured a place, even if a somewhat feeble one, in the classical literature of India.

The theory is an interesting one and deserves careful consideration, since there is no obvious explanation of the appearance of the suffix, which has nothing corresponding to it in the Vedic language proper, as Whitney⁵ long ago pointed out. But it seems very doubtful if the theory can be said to attain the degree of probability which its author claims for it.

Professor Speyer, in the first place, considers that all the examples adduced by the commentators on Pāṇini and from the literature⁶ can be reduced to cases of the categoric "des possessiven resp. partitiven Genitivs", and he compares the German "jemandem verfallen,—zu eigen geworden", adding that in Latin the simple genitive would almost always be adequate.

But this statement of the case seems open to great

¹ See also JRAS. 1906, pp. 484-90, 716-22; my *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 203.

² ZDMG. lxxv, 313-15.

³ v, 4. 52-4.

⁴ *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1108.

⁵ Summarized neatly by Whitney, loc. cit., to whose account there is really nothing to add.

doubt: the *Kāśikā*, following Pāṇini, in effect gives two classes of cases where the suffix is employed. It allows it with the verbs *kr*, *bhū*, and *as* to express totality (*kārtsnya*), and with these verbs and *sampad* to express *abhividdhi*. The distinction between these two cases is not, as Professor Speyer seems to take it, that between a complete change of substance and a partial one: if the change is only partial, according to the *Kāśikā* the suffix cannot be used, and for that reason it shows that an adjective cannot be used with *sāt*, that is, we must say *paṭaḥ śuklībhavati*, not *śuklasād bhavati*; the difference between *kārtsnya* and *abhividdhi* is between a change which is universal and a change which affects and transforms all the substances in question (*sarvā prakṛtir vikāram āpadyate*) and not merely an attribute, but only takes place in certain circumstances. Thus, on the one hand, we have *agnisād bhavati śāstram*, *udakasād bhavati lavaṇam*, and on the other *asyāṃ senāyām utpātena sarvaṃ śāstram agnisād bhavati* (*sampadyate*), *varṣāsu sarvaṃ lavaṇam udakasād sampadyate*. In both cases the *prakṛti* is completely changed, but in the one the essence of the matter is regarded as the change of the whole substance, in the other the change of all the substances. The distinction is clearly an intelligible one; it accords adequately with the use of *abhividdhi* elsewhere in Pāṇini,¹ it accounts for the form of the examples adduced in the *Kāśikā*, and it seems to relieve Pāṇini of the charge of having ignored the fact that the adjective could not be used with the suffix.

The second category of cases is that where the suffix shows that the relation is one of dependence (*tadadhīna-vacane*), and examples are *rājasāt karoti*, *rājasād bhavati*, *rājasāt syāt*, *rājasāt sampadyate*. It will be noted that the form *syāt* and not *asti* is quoted, but it is hardly correct to say that the optative alone is intended; the essential use of the whole construction is to express some

¹ ii, 1. 13; iii, 3. 44.

action on the part of the subject, and therefore *syāt* is naturally more suited as an example than *asti*, but Pāṇini would not have considered incorrect the example quoted from the *Mahābhārata* by Whitney: *yasya brāhmaṇasāt sarvaṃ vittaṃ āsīt*.

The literature bears out the grammar. Neglecting the later texts, which are under the suspicion of the influence of Pāṇini, the *Mahābhārata* gives *bhasmasāt* with *as*, *bhū*, *kṛ*, and also with *gam*, *yā*, and *nī*, in the sense of "become ashes" or "reduce to ashes", while on the other hand it gives us *loko 'yaṃ dasyusād bhavet, śatrusād gamayaḍ dravyam*, and repeatedly *brāhmaṇasāt kṛ*.¹ It is important to note that the cases of these uses are not confined to any special section of the work: the *Mahābhārata* knows and frankly uses the idiom, and supports the view that it was well known and current in the language of the time of Pāṇini.

It is hardly possible to reduce the first category to that of a possessive or partitive genitive; the second category is clearly, as the grammarians took it, a possessive relation, but while it is easy to say that *agnisād bhavati* means "becomes the fire's", it is more difficult to admit the accuracy of the assertion. There is no evidence in the actual usage to raise it from the position of a mere conjecture.

In the second place, Professor Speyer sees the explanation of *sāt* in the use of *sātmībhū* or *sātmīkṛ*, which is ignored by Pāṇini, but which occurs in the epic and which is found frequently in Buddhist texts like the *Jātakamālā*. But this does not help us much: in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*² and in other Vedic texts³ we find *sātmatā* used with the genitive in the sense of attaining union with a deity, a sense which persists in the epic and later.

¹ For the references see St. Petersburg Dictionary, s.vv.; Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 309.

² xi, 5. 6. 9.

³ *Sānyjya* is used with much the same sense.

I do not know that in any Vedic text the word is compounded with a preceding noun, and it probably is not, but in the *Mahābhārata*¹ it is so found compounded. But to say that *devasād bhavati* (which occurs in the *Mahābhārata*²) is identical in sense with *devānām eti sātmatām* is not correct: "to become a god" is one thing, "to attain union of essence with the gods" is another. Moreover, the idiom with *sātmatā* in all the places known to me in the early texts is used with verbs of motion (*gam*, *i*, *nī*), as indeed the accusative renders necessary, and it is exceedingly hard to see how *devasātmatām eti* (which does not, so far as I know, actually occur, but is a possible assumption in favour of Professor Speyer) can give *devasād bhavati*.

The difficulty is diminished by Professor Speyer, who relies on the forms *sātmibhū* and *sātmīkr* for the transition stage, and who asserts that examples of these forms can be found in the St. Petersburg Dictionaries from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. But this statement appears to be due to some confusion, for these dictionaries do not give a single example of either form from either work, either in their main notice or in their numerous addenda, and Monier-Williams' Dictionary is naturally likewise barren. This fact disposes for the time at least completely of Professor Speyer's contention, for it has plausibility only if we can suppose that forms like *sātmibhūta* were common and so could be through popular corruption a source of *°sād bhavati*. But the facts as yet available show *sātmibhūta* and *sātmīkrta* as much later in the literature than Pāṇini; so far they are only quoted from the medical work of Suśruta and the Buddhist texts like the *Jātakamālā*, and Professor Speyer's hypothesis rests only on the earlier evidence like *sātmatām gachati*, which is quite insufficient to support it. Nor, must it be added, is the sense of *sātmibhūta* and *sātmīkrta* when

¹ xii, 2328 (a late passage).

² vii, 8687.

actually found really the same as that of °sāt kr̥ or °sād bhū. The meaning is both in Suśruta in a medical sense and in the *Jātakamālā*¹ practically "become one's second nature", as in the *Jātakamālā*²: *abhyāsayogād hi śubhā-śubhāni karmāni sātmy eva bhavanti puṃsām*; this sense is very different from "become one's property", as in *vittaṃ brāhmaṇasād āsit*, or from "become completely changed into", as in *bhasmasād bhavati*, and a final discrepancy even between the late usage and that necessary for the theory is that the late usage does not appear to occur with the noun, denoting the person—much less the thing—whose second nature anything becomes, in the form of a compound.

It seems to me hardly necessary to add anything further against the theory, which cannot be supported on the evidence yet adduced, but it may be well, in view of Whitney's dictum, accepted by Professor Speyer, that the Vedic literature contains nothing to cast light on the origin of the use, to remember that the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*³ has *sarvaṃ tāṃ bhasmasā kuru*: there are variants of this form; the *Atharvaveda*⁴ has the form *maṣmasā* in *sarvān nī maṣmasākaraṃ dr̥śādā khālvāñ iva*; in the parallel passage to the *Vājasaneyi* the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*⁵ has *masmasā*, the *Kāthaka*⁶ has *maṣmasā*, which is also read by the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*,⁷ and the *Maitrāyaṇī*⁸ has *mṛsmṛsā*: it should be added that the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*,⁹ some MSS. of the *Saṃhitā*, and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*¹⁰ have *masmasā* for *bhasmasā*. The generally accepted view¹¹ now appears to be that these forms are all onomatopoeic and that *masmasā* should be read in the

¹ See the St. Petersburg Dictionaries, s.v. *sātmī*, and Professor Speyer's own quotations, ZDMG. lxx, 314.

² Cf. also Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 46, n. 1.

³ xi, 80.

⁴ v, 23. 8.

⁵ iv, 1. 10. 3.

⁶ xvi, 7.

⁷ ii, 5. 2.

⁸ ii, 7. 7.

⁹ v, 37.

¹⁰ vi, 6. 5. 10. Eggeling, SBE. xli, 259, renders "burn thou to ashes".

¹¹ St. Petersburg Dict. s.v. *Maṣmasā*; Bloomfield, SBE. xlii, 455.

Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, or at any rate that *bhasmasā* is merely a phonetic variant for *masmasā*.¹ Accepting this theory, yet it seems far from improbable that this use (which is clearly a popular phrase, and which therefore appears only incidentally in the Vedic ritual) helped the development of the use of *sāt*, especially in *bhasmasāt* itself. Moreover, there is an obvious source from which the *t* could have been assisted in entry, namely, the frequent use in the epic of *sat kṛta*, *sat kṛ*, and even *brāhmaṇasatkarṭṛ*:² such a fact might result in a contamination of the phrase *bhasmasā kuru*. The hypothesis would demand (1) that a *bhasmasā kuru*, originally perhaps onomatopoeic, was popularly regarded as "reduce to ashes", (2) that by analogy to *sat kṛ* it was changed to *bhasmasāt kuru*, and (3) that on analogy it was the source of new and varied formations with other verbs and nouns, developing on the two lines of change of substance and dependency. Such a development is perfectly possible,³ but in the absence of all convincing evidence I prefer to regard the suffix *sāt* as of unknown and uncertain origin, though I think that *bhasmasā kuru* cannot have been without effect on the development.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE MEGHADUTA

To my remarks on the Jaina poem *Nēmidūta* on p. vi f. of the preface to my edition of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta* the following may now be added. No. 18 of the series "Śrīyaśōvijayajainagranthamālā" contains the text of

¹ Cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* i, 18; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 431.

² See St. Petersburg Dict. s.v.

³ Possibly the fact that the *s* is not liable to lingualization is to be connected with the fact that *sat* in *sat kṛ* is not liable to change as not being an ordinary suffix.

the *Śīladūta* by Chāritrasundaragaṇi (Benares, Virasamvat 2436), a Jaina poem which was composed at Cambay in Vikrama-Samvat 1487. The fourth line of every stanza of this little work is identical with the last line of one of the stanzas of the *Mēghadūta*. The subjoined table shows the correspondence of verses in both poems:—

ŚĪLADŪTA.	MĒGHADŪTA.	ŚĪLADŪTA.	MĒGHADŪTA.	ŚĪLADŪTA.	MĒGHADŪTA.
1-8	1-8	73	70	101	86
9-11	10-12	74	69	102-111	92-101
12	9	75, 76	vi, ix	112	104
13-17	13-17	77	68	113	102
18	i	78	viii	114	xiii
19-22	18-21	79	67	115, 116	105, 106
23	ii	80	x	117	103
24-33	22-31	81-95	71-85	118, 119	107, 108
34, 35	iii, iv	96	88	120	110
36-69	32-65	97, 98	87, 89	121	xiv
70, 71	v, vii	99	91	122, 123	109, 111
72	66	100	90	124, 125	xvii, xviii

Page x of Preface, note 2: Vallabhadēva mentions his *upādhyāya* Prakāśavarsha also in his commentary on Māgha, xvi, 17, and xx, 71. At xx, 54 he criticizes an earlier commentator on the *Śīsupālavadha*, whose name was Bhaṭṭa-Śaṅkara.

The following references in Vallabha's commentary on Māgha's poem have to be added to those which I have noted on p. x f. of the Preface: Amara (xvii, 35; xviii, 9, 15), *Kāthaka* (xvi, 50), *Kirātārjunīya* (xx, 71), Kauṭilya (xx, 23), Jayāditya (xx, 79), *Tantrākhyāyika* (xvi, 25; xviii, 78; xx, 72), Dēvēśvara (xx, 74), Dharmakīrti (xx, 16), *Bhagavadgītā* (xix, 98, 114; xx, 79), *Mahābhārata* (iv, 4; xi, 66; xiv, 70; xv, 23; xx, 66, 79), *Raghuvamśa* (xvi, 55; xix, 116; colophon, 5), Rudraṭa (xix, 3), Vāmana (xx, 79), and *Sētubandha* (xvii, 4). Besides, the following persons are named as "good poets" (*sukavi*) in the

commentary on the last verse of the colophon: Vararuchi, Subandhu, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa, and Mayūra.¹

Page 8 of the text, verse 11: For *āsūbandha* see Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*, ed. Cappeller, p. 49, verse 85.

Page 8, note 1: Add a reference to *Jātaka*, ed. Fausböll, vol. ii, p. 363, l. 23 f.: *balākā cha nāma megha-saddena gabbhaṃ gaṇhanti*.

Page 23, note 1. The verse *nidrā*, etc., is quoted by Vallabha also in his commentary on Māgha, xx, 24.

E. HULTZSCH.

THE BUDDHIST MONASTIC TERMS *SAMATITTIKA*, *SAPADANA*,
AND *UTTARI-BHANGA*.

These are terms which have been much discussed without, as yet, reaching any satisfactory conclusion. In my collection of Central Asian manuscripts there is a fragment which settles, at least, the problem of *samatittika*. It shows that that word represents the Sanskrit *sama-tiktika* (*sama-tiktaka*). The fragment in question, on the whole exceedingly well preserved, is a leaf of the Vinaya. It was found in 1907, with many other fragments, near a place called Jigdaliq, about a day's march from Baï, in the Kuchar district. It is written in the Indian "upright" Gupta characters of the fourth to fifth centuries A.D. Its contents coincide substantially with those of Cullavagga, viii, 4, clauses 3-5; and the passage which concerns us particularly runs as follows:—

*Piṇḍapāta-vṛttaṃ kataram. Satkṛtya bhikṣuṇā
piṇḍapātaḥ pratigṛhītavyaḥ sāvadānaṃ sama-tiktikaṃ
sama-sūpikaṃ saṃprajānena* (read *saṃprajānena*)

¹ Pandit Durgaprasad's edition inserts Somanātha, Bhavabhūti, and Kṛṣṇānanda after Subandhu, and Bīlhaṇa after Kālidāsa. Of these Bīlhaṇa belongs to the eleventh century and thus lived a few generations after Vallabhadēva.

upasthita-smṛtinā avikṣipta-cittena avikiratā | tāvatta-kañ=ca pratigṛhītavyaṁ yāvattake samya[g-bhakti]r bhavati. Idam=ucyate piṇḍapāta-vṛttam. 10 2 (i.e. 12)||

That is : " (Clause) 12. What is the regulation concerning alms-food placed in a (monk's) bowl ? With due care the monk should receive alms-food into his bowl, inclusive of (every) individual (i.e. without any being passed over), with the proper amount of condiments, with the proper amount of cooked split peas, with circumspection, with ready recollection (of his duties as to food), with unbewildered mind, not scattering (any particles of the food). Just so much should he receive as will make a perfect distribution (among the whole of the assembled monks)."

With this extract the directions in Cullavagga, clauses 4 and 5, in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xx, pp. 287-8, may be compared. They refer to the conduct of the monks when assembled in the Ārāma (monastery) at the appointed time of receiving their meal. The portion of the word *samya[g-bhakti]r* enclosed in square brackets is illegible; but that, or *samyak-pārtir*, or some similar word is required by the context.

The true spelling of the Pāli word, whether *samatittika* or *samatitthika*, has been discussed by Professor Rhys Davids in his translation of the *Tevijja Sutta*, i, 24, in SBE. xi, 178, footnote 1. He decides for *samatittika* as the true spelling, on the ground that, while in the Burmese script the two conjuncts *tt* and *tth* are so much alike that they may be, and often are, confounded, they are thoroughly distinct in the Singhalese script; and in Singhalese manuscripts the word is invariably spelt with *tt*. He proposes, hesitatingly, the Sanskrit equivalent *samatṛptika*, "equally full," apparently suggested by the explanation *sama-bhārīta* of the Samanta Pāsādikā (see SBE. xiii, p. 62, footnote 5). But, as our fragment now

shows, the true Sanskrit equivalent is *samatiktika*, "containing a right proportion of pungent things," i.e. of condiments. The real fact, however, is that there exist in Pāli two entirely different words, one spelt *sama-tittika*, the other *samatitthika*. The former occurs only as a term of food (alms-food), and represents the Sanskrit *sama-tiktika* (*samatiktaka*), "containing a right amount of condiments"; the other represents the Sanskrit *sama-tīrthika* (*sama-tīrthaka*), "level with the bathing-place," properly used of a flooded river, or pond (as in *Mahāvagga*, vi, 28, 11, ed. p. 230; *Tevijja Sutta*, i, 24, transl. p. 178; *Smaller Sukhāvati Vyūha*, clause 4, in *Anc. Oxon.*, p. 93; *Lalita Vistara*, ch. 26, ed. Lefmann, p. 407, l. 2), but also, in a looser way, of brimful vessels or bowls (as in *Lalita Vistara*, ch. 24, p. 387, l. 3; *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 393, ll. 17, 25; p. 400, l. 1). It was the existence of these two words in Pāli, nearly identically spelt, which appears to have caused all the confusion in the manuscripts and the uncertainty in their interpretation.

The true Sanskrit equivalent, *sama-tiktika*, of the Pāli *sama-tittika*, as applied to alms-food, and as found in our fragment, is readily intelligible from the passages in the Pāli Vinaya, which describe the ordinary constituents of that food. The ordinary food of a Buddhist monk consisted of three ingredients: (1) boiled rice (*odana*, or *bhakta*), (2) cooked split peas (*sūpa*), (3) condiments (*vyañjana*, or *uttari-bhaṅga*). Thus in *Cullavagga*, ch. viii, sect. 4, clause 4, 5 (ed., vol. ii, pp. 214-15), we have the following passage:—

(4) *Odane diyyamāne ubhohi hatthehi pattam pa-
riggahetvā odano paṭiggahetabbo; sūpassa okāso kātabbo;
sacce hoti sappi vā telam vā uttari-bhaṅgam vā, therena
vattabbo 'sabbesaṃ samakam sampādehi' iti; samasū-
pako piṇḍapāto paṭiggahetabbo, samatittiko piṇḍapāto
paṭiggahetabbo; (5) sakkaccaṃ piṇḍapāto bhuñjitabbo,
na sūpaṃ vā vyañjanaṃ vā odanena paṭicchādetabbaṃ ||*

That is, "When the boiled rice (*odana*) is given out, the monk should hold his bowl with both hands, and receive the rice (*odana*) into it; room should be left for the cooked split peas (*sūpa*); if there is ghee, or oil, or condiments (*uttari-bhaṅga*), the senior monk should say, 'give out a proper quantity (*samaka*) to all.' The alms-food is to be taken with the proper quantity of cooked split peas (*sama-sūpika*), and with the proper quantity of condiments (*sama-tittika*); and it should be eaten in the proper way; neither the cooked split peas (*sūpa*), nor the condiments (*vyañjana*), may be covered up (i.e. mixed together) with the boiled rice (*odana*)."

Compare the translation in SBE., vol. xx, pp. 287-8. Notice also the synonyms *uttaribhaṅga* = *tiktika* = *vyañjana*. Another, similar passage occurs in the Pātimokkha, Sekhiyā Dhamma, No. 36, in SBE., vol. xiii, p. 53. Compare also the passage in Milinda-pañha, pp. 213-14.

In the SBE. translation the word *sūpa* is always rendered by "curry", but it really means "dāl". Both terms are well known in Northern India as the names of indigenous Indian dishes. "Curry" is the name of a strongly spiced flesh or vegetable dish, while "dāl" signifies simply split pulse of various kinds (see Rājānighaṇṭu, in *śalyādivarga*, xvi). "Dāl," however, is also the name of a dish, as used in the term "dāl-bhāt", i.e. dāl and rice; and in that case "dāl" means cooked split pulse, i.e. dāl boiled in water with the addition of a little ghee (or oil) and ginger, asafoetida (*hiṅgu*), etc. (see Bhāva Prakāśa, i, 2, ed. Jīvānanda, p. 15). The commentary in the Sutta Vibhaṅga (Vin. Piṭ., vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 190) explains *sūpa* to be either *mugga-sūpa* or *māsa-sūpa*, that is, split peas, either *Phaseolus Mungo* (Skt. *mudga*, Hindi *mūṁg*) or *Phaseolus Roxburghii* (Skt. *māṣa*, Hindi *urid*).

The words *vyañjana* and *upari-bhaṅga*, above translated by condiment, refer to what is known in India as "chutnee" (*caṭ'nī*), a spicy, hot, pungent seasoning (made of mango, raisins, tamarind juice, red pepper, etc.). The relative quantities of the three constituents of the food (rice, dāl, chutnee), of course, vary according to individual taste; but, as a rule, of dāl a much smaller quantity, and of chutnee only a pinch is taken. At cook-shops in the Indian bazars, where the poorer class of people buy ready-cooked food, the serving-man supplies their receptacle with rice and a smaller quantity of dāl (or curry), and finally places a pinch of chutnee on the top of the whole supply. Hence that pinch of condiment (chutnee) is called *upari-bhaṅga*, or top-morsel, a term which has hitherto failed to be fully explained (see SBE. xx, p. 159, n. 1, and Childers' Dictionary, s.v.). The proportion of rice to dāl is said by the commentator (SBE. xiii, p. 62, n. 4) to be as 4 : 1.

From the foregoing it is clear that the Sanskrit equivalent of the Pāli *tittika* in *sama-tittika*, standing in juxtaposition to *sūpa* in *sama-sūpika*, must be a word synonymous with *vyañjana* and *upari-bhaṅga*, and be expressive of condiment; and that word can be only *tiktika*, pungent, savoury, which is found in our fragment.

As to the element *sama* in the compound, the meaning intended by it does not seem to be that of equality, but rather that of right measure. *Sama-tiktika* and *sama-sūpika* mean "having a right measure of condiment (chutnee)" and "having a right measure of cooked split peas (dāl)". And *samaka* in the distribution order (above quoted) has the same meaning: "Let the proper quantity (*samaka*, of dāl and chutnee) be given to everyone." With the alternative meaning of equality, which is adopted in the SBE. translation, the rendering would be: "Let an equal quantity be given to everyone, an equal quantity of dāl as well as an equal quantity of chutnee,"

so that no one receives more or less than any other. But the meaning of right measure seems to be more appropriate to the regulation, for the point is not so much that every individual monk should have given to him exactly the same quantity of the three constituents of the food (for individual requirements might not have been the same, thus causing waste), but that the two lesser constituents of dāl and chutnee should be given in the right proportion to the third constituent of rice (whatever the quantity of the latter, to suit individual requirements, might be).

More important than the equality of the share of each individual monk was that no individual monk should be passed over (accidentally or intentionally) in the distribution of the food. This point is provided for in the regulation by the term *sāvadānam*. The identity of this word is discussed by M. Senart in his edition of the *Mahāvastu*, vol. i, p. 595 (see *ibid.*, p. 301, l. 9; p. 327, l. 8). He is probably right in taking, not the Pāli *sapadānam*, but the Sanskrit *sāvadānam* to be the original word. The latter is to be resolved into *sa-avadānam*, "with divisions" (from root *ava-do*, to cut), that is, taking one division after the other, in regular order. At first sight it might seem as if that meaning were better expressed by such a word as *anavadānam*, "without division." But we must remember the connexion in which the word originally occurs. That connexion is the going about of the monk for the purpose of collecting alms-food. *Sapadānam caranto bhikkhu* is the monk who goes about begging from division to division (or house to house) in regular order, and *sapadāna-cārik-aṅgam* is the regulation that ordains going about begging from house to house. The side of an Indian bazar street is a continuous structure containing a number of contiguous rooms or tenements, and the monk is directed to beg, not merely in the bazar street, but in it "with its divisions", or inclusive of its individual tenements; that is, he is to beg

in the street from tenement to tenement, in regular order, not omitting any. From this start the word *sāvadānaṃ* came to acquire generally the meaning of "in regular order, not omitting any". And thus it came to be applied also to the distribution of food among the assembled monks, meaning that the food should be given them in regular order, from individual to individual, not omitting any. A very similar widening of meaning (from rivers to vessels) took place, as above noted, in the case of the word *sama-tīrthika*. As to the Pāli form *sapadānaṃ*, it may be a corruption of *sāpadānaṃ*, from *sa-apadānaṃ*, for *apadāna* (from an "unbelegt" root *apa-do*) is the regular Pāli equivalent of the Sanskrit *avadāna*. But Childers' Dictionary (s.v. *sapadāna*) notes the word *padāna-cārī*, one who begs from house to house, which (if correct) points to the existence of a bye-form *padāna*, short for *apadāna*. Analogous shortened forms are not unknown in Pāli literature, e.g. *parajjhati* and *valaṇṇeti* for *aparajjhati* and *avalāṇṇeti*, etc. (see Müller, Pāli Grammar, p. 24). With *padāna*, of course, the form *sa-padānaṃ* would be quite correct.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

NOTE ON THE SUBHAGABHIKSHUKANYAYA

In the *Laukikanyāyasangraha*, and at still greater length in his larger work, Raghunāthavarmā has offered two interpretations of the above simile. Those contained in the former will be found in my *Second Handful of Maxims* (2nd ed.), and may be summarized as follows:—

(a) Some hold that the *nyāya* is used to indicate the absurdity of supposing that two contradictory characteristics can coexist in one and the same individual, as, for example, womanhood (as represented by Subhagā) and manhood (as represented by the *bhikṣuka*).

(b) Others interpret it thus: A woman named Subhagā,

and a mendicant, through fear of a murderous opponent, fled to a certain man for protection; and so it became necessary for him to decide either to use every means in his power to shield them, and thus avoid the crime of driving away a *śaraṇāgata*, or, on the other hand, to abandon them lest he himself should fall a victim to their enemy. Under these circumstances he decided to help the woman and leave the man to his fate; and since the decision rested entirely with himself the simile is regarded by these interpreters as applying to cases where, two courses being possible, it rests altogether with the person concerned to adopt the one which he personally prefers!

We may regard (a) as possible, though confirmatory evidence of such usage is not forthcoming; but nothing can be said in support of (b), and it may be dismissed as ridiculous. Those who desire to see Raghunātha's stupid enlargement of (a) will find it on p. 314b of India Office MS. 582. He calls it a *Laukikī gāthā*.

The real meaning of the simile is, in my opinion, to be found in the following passage of Venkaṭanātha's philosophical drama entitled *Saṅkalpasūryodaya* (ii, 92, vol. xxxi of *The Paṇḍit*):—

आलक्ष्यतामयं रजनिचरवंशवान्धवानां राज्ञमीमांसकानां सुभगाभि-
बुक्त्वायो यदेते निगमान्तपरित्यागिनः परानधिष्णिपन्ति प्रतिषि-
पन्ति च स्वयमेव निगमान्तान्.

"See how these Rāhu-like Mīmāṃsakas, kinsmen of a race of night-walkers (i.e. of goblins), exemplify the story of Subhagā and the mendicant; for they stigmatize their opponents as abandoners of the Upaniṣads, and yet reject them also themselves!" Now here we are at once reminded of an instance of inconsistent conduct adduced by Sureśvara in *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, i, 28, where he says that such behaviour is *अशून्यनिर्गच्छोक्तिवत्*, a simile which is explained by the commentator Jñānottama as

follows: "After abusing her daughter-in-law for refusing to give alms to a wandering mendicant, the mother-in-law called the man back, and, when he had come, said to him, 'There are no alms, be off!' thus herself also refusing." The explanation of the सुभगाभिचुकन्याय given by the commentator on the drama coincides exactly with that of Jñānottama, thus conclusively proving that the two similes are identical. May we not assume that the drama-version, also found in Udayana's *Āmatattvaviveka*, is the original, and that the other is a descriptive title given to it by Sureśvara, in whose work alone it has been met with?

G. A. JACOB.

ANOTHER MISUNDERSTOOD SIMILE

The nyāya in question is दण्डकलितवत्, which, in the appendix to part iv of the abridged St. Petersburg lexicon, is explained by "als wenn man mit einem Stocke getrieben würde", and, in that of Sir M. Monier-Williams, by "like one driven by a stick". In both cases the rendering is supported by a reference to the comment on *Āpastambaśrautasūtra*, xi, 12. 6, and turning to the passage we find it embodies the ritual to be observed when digging and consecrating four holes (technically termed उपरवाः) in the *Havirdhāna* containing the Soma plants to be used at an Agniṣṭoma sacrifice. These "sounding-holes", as Professor Eggeling calls them, are said to intensify the sound caused by the crushing of the Soma plants on boards placed over them; but there is no hint of this in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 5. 4, where a different reason is given for their being dug.

The fifth sūtra of *Āpastamba*'s twelfth *kandikā* prescribes the final consecratory rites, consisting in the first place of the sprinkling of *all* the holes with water containing barley, during which the mantra रचोहणः, etc.,

is recited; after which a series of acts is to be performed in connexion with *one* of them, namely, sprinkling it with the remainder of the water, pouring in the barley, and strewing it with barhis-grass; the ceremony is then to conclude with an oblation of melted butter.

The next sūtra directs the same procedure to be followed with each of the other holes; and it is on this that Rudradatta says: एवं प्रोचणावभिहोमान्तेन विधिना दण्डकलितवदभ्यसेन सर्वानेकैकं संस्कारोति. The mere perusal of these words is surely sufficient to show that the meaning assigned by the lexicographers to the simile contained in them is altogether impossible! What, then, is its meaning? For an answer to this we must go to the Pūrva Mimāṃsā.

The fifth chapter of Jaimini's *dvādaśalakṣaṇī* is devoted to the consideration of the all-important point of the *order* in which the various parts of a sacrifice are to be performed, and at the beginning of the third pāda he takes up the case of the *Upasads*. These, as described in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 4. 4, are three in number, and are offered, one by one, on three successive days; but on some occasions they have to be increased to six, or even twelve, and then a question arises as to the *due order* to be observed in carrying out this extension. Under sūtra 5. 3. 2 Śābara states it thus:—

उपसत्सु सन्देहः किमावृत्तिर्दण्डकलितवदुत स्वस्थानाद्विषर्जना इति । किं तावत्प्राप्तम् । आवर्तनीयानामर्थानामेष धर्मो यदुत दण्डकलितवत् । यो हि उच्यते चिरनुवाकः पद्यतामिति स आदित आरभ्य परिसमाप्य पुनरादित आरभ्यते तस्माद्दण्डकलितवदावृत्तिः ॥

We see from this, the *pūrvapakṣa*, that to go through a series of acts once, and then to adhere rigidly to the *same order* when repeating them, is the method which is declared to be दण्डकलितवत्, and the additional exposition given by Mādhava in the *Nyāyamālāvistara* removes all doubt as to its meaning. He says—

अप्री श्रूयते षडुपसद इति । तत्र चोदकप्राप्तानां तिसृणामुपसदां पूर्वव्यायेनावृत्त्या षट्संख्या सम्पादनीया । सा चावृत्तिर्दण्डकलित-
वत्समुदायस्य युक्ता यथा दण्डेन भूप्रदेशं संमिमानः पुरुष आमूलायं
कृत्वा दण्डं पुनः पुनः पातयति न तु दण्डस्य प्रत्यवयवं पृथगावृत्तिं
करोति ॥

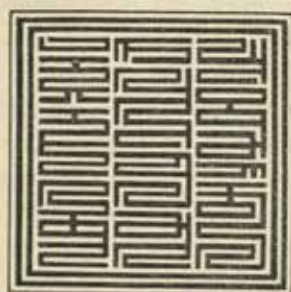
As is clearly shown here, the simile is that of a man *measuring* [a piece of ground] *with a staff or rod*, in doing which he, of course, moves the *entire* staff forward each time. By this method, Upasad-offering number one would be presented on the first day, number two on the second, and number three on the third; and they would be repeated *in the same order* on the fourth, fifth, and sixth days. By the alternative process termed *खस्त्रानादावृत्तिः*, "repetition of each from its own place" (which, in this instance, is declared to be the proper one to adopt), number one would be offered on the first *and again on the second day*, number two on the third and fourth days, and so on. In the case of the ceremonies associated with the *uparavas*, however, as Rudradatta tells us, the former method was to be followed, and the whole of the action was to be repeated, in the same order, in connexion with each of the holes. It is clear, therefore, that for this simile we must give to the root *kal* its sense of "to count", and thence "to measure", and not that of "to drive".

G. A. JACOB.

ANOTHER VERSION OF THE DALAI LAMA'S SEAL

The other day, when examining an old set of lantern slides belonging to the Moravian Mission College at Niesky, Upper Lusatia, I discovered another version of the Dalai Lama's seal. This old set of lantern slides was made from photographs collected by our missionary, F. Becker-Shawe of Leh, during the years 1891 to 1895. To serve as a specimen of Tibetan handwriting, Mr. Shawe

seems to have photographed a letter from the Dalai Lama which he found preserved in the archives of one of the old noble families of Ladakh. Below the letter we find the Dalai Lama's seal according to a different version from that published in this Journal, see 1910, p. 1205. The present new version has the great advantage of being quite clear, and no corrections of any kind are necessary. As regards the Dalai Lama's letter, it refers to the old



Government trade between Leh and Lhasa, called *Lophyag*, and I may still find time to prepare a translation of it. The seal reads as follows:—

First column	.	.	<i>rDo-rje-'achang</i>
Second column	.	.	<i>Ta-lai-bla-ma</i>
Third column	.	.	<i>yi-tham-ka-rgyal</i>

Notes. The *e* vowel-sign in the syllable *rje* is different from all such signs as shown in the specimens of my previous article on pp. 1211–14. The *i* vowel-sign, however, agrees with the form of that sign as occurring in the word *geig* on p. 1214. It is remarkable that the prefixed *r* in the syllable *rdo* is written in full.

As regards the title *rDo-rje-'achang*, Vajradhara, it was given to the Dalai Lama by Altan Khān, king of the Mongols, in 1575. (See Grünwedel's *Mythologie*, pp. 81, 82.)

ARABIAN POETRY

It was with astonishment that I turned a page of Sir Charles Lyall's masterly article in the January number of this Journal on the pictorial aspects of ancient Arabian poetry and found myself bracketed with Professor Wellhausen as denying the poetic interest of that poetry and the artistic sense of the ancient Arabs. In truth I cannot yield a whit to Sir Charles Lyall in my appreciation of both, save in respect to his enormously greater knowledge of the subject. I have always, privately in my teaching and publicly in lectures—Professor Goldziher will remember one at the Congress of Arts and Science at St. Louis—maintained exactly his position. And if he will refer to a file of the *New York Nation* for 1904 he will find an article there (vol. lxxix, pp. 518 f.) on the poetry of Arabia and the ballad problem which will, I think, convince him of this. As for my reference on p. 23 of my *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, it was really the exact opposite of what Sir Charles Lyall finds in it. I speak there of the religious authority and dignity surrounding the poet in ancient Arabia: of his decisions and guidance being accepted as a voice from the unseen world. And so, however elaborate and beautiful was his poetic art, however keen was the artistic sense of his hearers, it was not due to such things that, in practical matters, his word was accepted and followed, but to the belief that he was a man apart and inspired. Again, I recognize, just as much as Professor Goldziher, "that the works of the classical age of Arabic poetry must be regarded as products of art," but I am not speaking of that side of the poet's life and activity, but of its obscure early source and of the survivals from that source which endured into the classical period. If Sir Charles Lyall will replace the "so" before "respected their poets" which he has omitted in the quotation from

my book and will refer it back to the preceding paragraphs, and will also give due weight to the qualification "in the first instance at least", I think that my meaning will become clear. Of course, if he rejects Goldziher's whole position as to an original connexion between poetic inspiration and that of soothsayers, etc., I cannot at all follow him. Also he will find on p. 20 of my book full acceptance of the indubitable fact that the later stories on the subject were told in jest. As for the *Jamhara* to which he refers, I have been somewhat intimately acquainted with it for many years, as I contributed a description of the Bûlâq edition to the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society for December, 1894, pp. clxxv-exci. I trust he will believe, then, that I am in no respect a partaker of the heresy of Wellhausen, whose position in this, as in some other things, I frankly cannot understand.

D. B. MACDONALD.

SIBAWAIHI OR SIBUYAH.

My friend Mr. Krenkow, on p. 34 of his most useful paper in the January issue of this Journal on the *Tārīkh-Baghdād* of the Khaṭīb, speaks somewhat severely of the attempts made by Arabic writers (often Persians themselves) to transliterate, according to the rules of Arabian speech, the names borne by their Persian co-religionists. He charges them with pedantry, and declares that it is wrong to write in their fashion Persian names, which should be properly transliterated as they were really pronounced by Persians.

I have no objection to make to this principle, which is that adopted by Professor Nöldeke in his well-known *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*. But I wish to point out that, if we are to follow it consistently, we must not pronounce these early Persian

names as they are pronounced in Īrān at the present day, but as they were pronounced when the Arabs became acquainted with them. If we do so, we shall find that the Arabic transliteration is no matter of pedantry, but has good reason for its procedure.

Sibawaihi is said to have been so called from the smell of apples. This indicates that the second syllable of his name was *bō*, not *bū*, which latter pronunciation is altogether modern; *bō* in Pahlavi is *bōi* (Avesta *baoidhi*). The etymology, it is true, is foolish, because, as Mr. Krenkow points out in his footnote, *Sibawaihi* must be formed in the same way as dozens of other names of the same pattern of which *bō* is not an element, and also because there is only one *b* and not two; but nevertheless it fixes the pronunciation of the vowel as *ō* and not *ū*.

If we look into Sasanian history, we find several names of the same kind, some of which were known to the Greeks and had accordingly been transliterated by them. Thus the Persian *بویه*, Syriac (Joshua the Stylite, § 59) *ܒܘܝܐ*, is in Greek (Procop. *Pers.* i, 12) *Bóns*; *بندویه* is in Greek *Bwδóns* (Nöldeke, *Sasaniden*, 273); *شیرویه*, *Σειρόης*. Other similar Sasanian names are *جوانویه* (*op. cit.* 92) and *گُردویه* (*id.* 139).¹ As Nöldeke remarks (*op. cit.*, note to p. 92), all these names are familiar or affectionate forms (*hypocoristica*), with an ending which the Greek transliteration shows should be rendered *-oē*; accordingly, in the *Geschichte der Sasaniden* they appear as *Bôê*, *Bindôê*, *Šêrôê*, *Gurdôê*, *Ġuwânôê*.²

¹ A number of other names of the same kind are to be found in G. Hoffmann's *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer* (1880). Hoffmann renders them *Bābhoīai* (p. 58), *Burzōīai* (93), *Dēndōīai* (56), *Gushnōīai* (70), *Narsōīai* (103), *Šêrōīai* (77): these appear conclusive as to the pronunciation of the last syllable, as *īai* or *īē*, not *yah*.

² Mr. A. G. Ellis has reminded me that we probably have an Achaemenian name of the same formation in *Bigvai* (Ezra ii, 2, 14), which seems to be the Greek *Bayéas*, and was most likely pronounced in Persian *Baghōê*; this would be the hypocoristic of some longer name of which the first element is *Bagha*, God.

Applying these principles to the more modern names it is clear that we should restore the original Persian pronunciation if we transliterated them *Sēbōē*, *Mushkōē*, *Khālōē*, *Naftōē*, *Durustōē*, etc. It would be wrong to write them as if they were present-day *Īrānī* names, *Sibūyah*, *Mushkūyah*, etc., because this pronunciation of the *majhāl* vowels did not come in until centuries after the Muslim conquest.

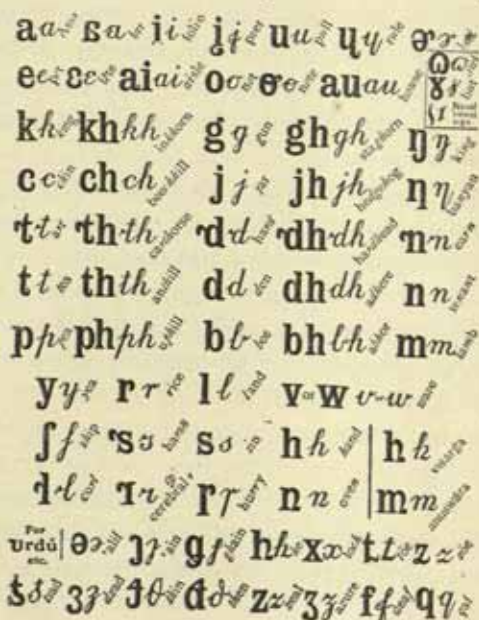
We now see at once why the Arabic writers used the termination *-awaihi* to render the Persian *-ōē*. These two vowels do not, strictly speaking, exist in classical Arabic, and they are therefore called *majhāl*, "unknown," as distinguished from *āl* and *ī*, *ma'rūf*, "known." The nearest Arabic sound to *ō* is the diphthong *au* or *aw*, and the nearest Arabic sound to *ē* is the diphthong *ai* or *ay*. Therefore the Arabs were quite correct in the transliteration they adopted, according to the principles of their own language. In all probability the accent in these hypocoristic names fell upon the last syllable; and it was in order to mark this that the Arabs expressed it by *aihi* (with short *kasrah* at the end, which would not be heard in pause). In modern Arabic *au* is frequently pronounced *ō*, and *ai* *ē*; and *Sibawaihi*, thus rendered, is by no means a bad equivalent of *Sēbōē*.

C. J. LYALL.

ROMANIC LETTERS FOR INDIAN LANGUAGES

The accompanying illustration gives the details of the scheme of Romanic letters for Indian languages, as suggested in my paper on "An Imperial Script for India" read at the East India Association. Romanic letters consist of the ordinary Roman letters supplemented by the phonotypes of Sir Isaac Pitman and Mr. A. J. Ellis, together with some special letters for Indian sounds for which English has no equivalents. The illustration

shows the printing types, the script forms of the letters, and the sounds assigned to the letters. I shall be glad to send further information and specimens of the application



of the scheme to Indian vernaculars on receipt of address and stamp for postage.

J. KNOWLES.

"MOWBRAY," WHITLEY ROAD,
EASTBOURNE.

THE BUSHELL BOWL

I desire to correct an error of translation near the end of my rendering of the Bushell Bowl inscription published in the April number of the *Journal*. The following is the passage in question: "On the *ting yu* day, a plain bowl being completed, was presented to the King for the 'favour of his commands.'"

The error would not have mattered materially had I not founded an argument for the genuineness of the bowl upon

this passage, though fortunately the change of rendering does not affect the force of the argument.

It has been pointed out to me—and I ought to have seen the difficulty before—that the Marquis of Tsin, having taken leave of the king and returned home, where he announced his successes in the ancestral shrine, could not be found immediately after again at the Chou Court, as would be implied by the statement that he presented the bowl for the favour of the king's commands. The crux is in the character 御, *yü*, which I translated "presented to". This character, however, has another and opposite meaning. Kanghsi includes the sense of "greeting" (相迎, *hsiang ying*) among those of the character, and states that the latter is then equivalent to 迓, *ya*, with the same meaning.

I would accordingly substitute the following rendering: "On the *ting yü* day, a plain bowl having been completed, the Royal commands were duly met and received." The argument on pp. 445-6 only needs qualifying by changing the proffering of the actual bowl and requesting commands to the formal greeting and receipt of their text, which, of course, must have ended with the words "so will the end be peace". I will venture to add, "so mote it be."

L. C. HOPKINS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE *PARIŚIṢṬAS* OF THE *ĀTHARVAVEDA*. Edited by GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING and JULIUS VON NEGELEIN. Vol. I, in three parts: Text and Critical Apparatus. Leipzig, 1909-10.

Drs. Bolling and von Negelein are fully justified in editing, even from the imperfect MSS. at their disposal, the text of the Atharvan *Parīṣiṣṭas*. There seems no reasonable probability of further manuscript material of value becoming available at any early date, and while it is true that the text cannot be definitely reconstituted as a whole on the basis of the existing material, it is clearly now possible to give a version which will render accessible the contents of the *Parīṣiṣṭas* as a whole. It is true that some of the texts are already accessible in satisfactory versions, such as those of the *Āsurīkalpa* by Magoun,¹ of the *Skandayāga* by Goodwin,² the *Auśanasādbhutāni* by Hatfield,³ the *Śrāddhakalpa* by Caland,⁴ the *Grahayuddha* by Weber,⁵ who has also utilized the *Nakṣatrakalpa*⁶ and the *Caranavyūha*⁷; but there is great advantage in having them edited collectively with full critical apparatus and indices, nor is it doubtful that much has been done by the editors to improve on the texts prepared by their predecessors. The labour involved in all this work must have been very great; in both cases the first idea of carrying out the task was suggested as far back as 1898, a date which reminds us of the amount of the work required to produce so elaborate and valuable a text.

Of course, the subject-matter is such as to render it

¹ AJP. x, 159-97.

² JAOS. xv, pp. v seqq.

³ Ibid. 207-20.

⁴ *Altindischer Ahnencult.*, pp. 95 seqq., 290 seqq.

⁵ *Ind. Stud.* x, 317 seqq.

⁶ See *Nakṣatra*, ii, *passim*.

⁷ See also Siegling, *Die Rezensionen des Caranavyūha*.

needless to aim at perfection. The texts are without any substantial degree of literary merit, and the care with which the original of good poetry and prose should be reconstructed would here be thrown away. The value of the texts rests on their interest as bearing on religion, ritual, magic, astronomy, and grammar, and for those purposes we can extract much from the part of the text which is certain without having in all respects a perfect text available.

The value of the *Parīṣiṣṭas* is, unhappily, seriously diminished by the total uncertainty of their date.¹ They are not, indeed, quite modern: the quotations of Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the *Atharvaveda*, and of Hemādri in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, which the editors have carefully recorded, are sufficient to prove, what indeed one could hardly doubt, that they are not modern productions. General considerations are adequate to refer them to the period at the end of the Vedic period proper, when the Vedic tradition was becoming more and more faint and the verses were transferred to other uses, but there is no tolerable ground for fixing the date of this period. Nor,

¹ Fick's dictum in his review of this work (ZDMG. lxx, 839), "bei den *Parīṣiṣṭas* griechischer Einfluss ausgeschlossen ist," is, of course, too light-hearted, and is not really intended; cf. Yavana in l, 2. 4; li, 1. 3; 3. 3; lvi, 1. 5; lvii, 2. 5; and the Roman *dināra* in xxxvi, 26. 3. He is more nearly correct in connecting the texts on omens with the *Purāṇas*, and this might help if we could accept the view of Mr. Pargiter (JRAS. 1912, pp. 254, 255) that the occurrence in inscriptions of certain verses which are found in the *Padma*, *Bhaviṣṭya*, and *Brahma Purāṇas* affords evidence for the early dating of these *Purāṇas*. But the only conclusion which the data presented by Mr. Pargiter admit of is that there were current in India various verses regarding the gift of land, and that these are found in inscriptions and *Purāṇas*. That the *Purāṇas* did not borrow from any particular inscription is doubtless true, but why should we assume that the inscriptions borrowed from these *Purāṇas*? A common ancestry for both is obviously to be found in earlier *Śāstras*, not now extant, and no conclusion can be deduced for the date of the *Purāṇas* from these verses. To obviate misunderstanding I may say that I quite agree with Mr. Pargiter in not thinking the *Purāṇas* very modern; cf. my *Bodleian Catalogue*, Appendix to vol. i, p. 7.

again, is it possible to doubt that the *Parisiṣṭas* represent varying strata, and are not all of one time. Thus no one will doubt that the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, which heads the list, is of considerable antiquity and value: it is not very early, indeed, as its extended geographical knowledge shows, but it is not all late work, but a reworking of older material: some of the mantras are of Vedic character. But even in cases where this character is absent there are available criteria which will help when systematically applied, as they will no doubt be by the editors in the further work which they promise, to separate the several pieces as of different dates.

Take, for instance, *Parisiṣṭa* ix, the ritual for the presentation to a priest of a cow made of sesame (*tila-dhenu*), and *Parisiṣṭa* lxvii, the expiation of portents (*adbhutaśānti*). Both are written in Ślokas and have no obvious Vedic character. But the former presents us with words like *cārabhaṭa* (ix, 4. 5), "mercenary," which is appropriate to the Kāvya style, and *pumgava* is used in the compound *brāhmaṇa-pumgava* (ix, 3. 1) in a sense which also is not early. Moreover, it recognizes the most developed form of Yama's dead world, with the *asipattravana* and other horrors, and the dogs (no longer two) which convey terror. A more subtle form of comparison gives evidence of posteriority. In *Parisiṣṭa* ix there are fifty-one half-verses of Ślokas: of these not more than five deviate from the approved Pathyā type, the second set of four syllables having the form $\sim - - - \asymp$, and of these five three are of the third Vipulā type ($\sim - \sim - - , - - -$). There remain ix, 2. 1b, which is irregular, running $\sim - \sim - - - \sim \sim -$: it will be seen that the line has to contain *suvarṇaśṛṅgī raupyakhurī*; then in ix, 3. 2b we have $- \sim - - - \sim \sim - -$, *kṣīradhenum madhudhenum*, where two MSS. read *madhūdhenum*, restoring the metre at the cost of usage: yet the irregularity is quite possible. In one other verse the

text reads (ix, 2. 6b) *dhenutvaṃ na sa prayāti*: this is metrically ugly and happily it is clearly not the correct text: the verse is missing in the MSS. BCT., and in ADE. the reading is *prāyāti*, which the editors should not have altered, as it makes perfectly good sense and is the less obvious reading than *prayāti*.

With this may be contrasted *Parīṣiṣṭa* lxvii. It contains ninety-two half-verses, and of these twenty-one are irregular, and what is even more important the irregularities are not of the ordinary Vipulā type. These are, indeed, represented, the first Vipulā (≡ — — — — —) twice, the second (≡ — — — — —) thrice, the third (≡ — — — — —) once, the fourth (≡ — — — — —) twice. Then there occurs once the double iambic ending; four times in one phrase the ending — — — — — without the usual cæsure which makes the fourth Vipulā; once — — — — — with irregular cæsure; once — — — — —; once — — — — —; once — — — — —; once — — — — —; and — — — — —, an irregular third Vipulā. In lxvii, 8. 8, the verse ends *pratipurusaṃ nibodhata* with nine syllables. There can be no reasonable doubt of the earlier character of such verse, for considerations of formal and less formal productions do not here arise.

In *Parīṣiṣṭa* ii, the acquisition of a kingdom (*rāṣṭra saṃvarga*), of seventy-four half-verses seven only are irregular. Of these three are of the third Vipulā type; one is — — — — — an irregular third Vipulā; one is — — — — — a fourth Vipulā with irregular cæsure; and one — — — — — an irregular first Vipulā, with one di-iambic ending. Again, in one case (*śamayitā brahmaveda-jñas*) the compound is broken by the cæsure. Contrast with this *Parīṣiṣṭa* i, 5, where irregular verses are almost the rule. In

Parīśiṣṭa v, of fifty-five half-verses but two are irregular, being third Vipulās, and in one case there is Sandhi between the half-verses, and in this *Parīśiṣṭa* the late Paurāṇic form *cāmara* occurs. In *Parīśiṣṭa* iii, the coronation of a king, of eighteen half-verses only one is irregular, being a third Vipulā, and a sign of lateness is visible in the crasis *etā(h) anvaye* into *etānvaye*.

In *Parīśiṣṭa* iii, 3, vv. 3-6 are a little hymn and can be easily distinguished from the surrounding verses by the metrical irregularities (three in nine half-verses) and the use of phraseology like *pāram aśimahi*. In *Parīśiṣṭa* vi, the ceremony before a meal image of night, the verses found are all regular. On the other hand, in ix of twenty-two half-lines seven are irregular—one ends in a di-iambus, two are first Vipulās (— ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡), one is irregular (◡ — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ —), one is a second Vipulā, one a third, and one is unusual, — — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡; and three in viii are also irregular; while in xi eleven verses occur without an irregularity in the description of the weighing of the king; xii-xix yield little useful material, but in xixb, the worship of Brahman, of fifty-eight half-verses but one is irregular (— — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ —), *cāmara* is found, and the whole piece is modern in texture. In xx, which deals with the offering to Skanda, of sixty-four half-verses five are irregular—one a regular fourth Vipulā, one irregular (— ◡ — ◡, — ◡ — —), one a regular second Vipulā, one an irregular third (— — — ◡ — — — —), and finally one — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — with nine syllables. *Parīśiṣṭa* xxi is interesting; it does not seem in contents (an account of the objects needed at a ceremony) to be very old, and of eighty-two half-verses four are irregular (a regular fourth Vipulā, two irregular second Vipulās (— ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — and ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ ◡ —), and a first Vipulā). There are also two cases of a di-iambus, which normally seems early metre. But they are peculiar: in both cases they occur in verses

the first half of which is a compound finished in the second half (viz. *śleṣmātakārkakantakikatutiktādivarjite*; *ariṣṭagṛdhrakauśikavihaṅgaḥ*; similarly, there is an irregular fourth Vipulā in *aindrāyudhadhūmrakṛṣṇanīlapāṇḍuravarṇakāḥ*), and so far from being a sign of early date they confirm the general impression of late date which the other metrical characteristics certainly convey.

On the other hand, xxii, the characteristics of the Araṇi, deals with a topic of which early accounts are natural, and of eighty-nine half-verses not less than nineteen are irregular. There are eight third Vipulās; two di-iambic endings; two first, one second, and two fourth Vipulās; and the following irregular forms: $\sim \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; $\sim \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; and $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$, $\sim \text{---} \text{---}$. In xxiii the vessels for the sacrifice are described: of 147 half-verses thirty-one are irregular; there are four first Vipulās ($\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$) and two ($\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$), five second Vipulās, three third Vipulās, four fourth Vipulās, and the following odd forms: $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; $\sim \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$, $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ (nine syllables); $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ (twice); $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ (twice); $\sim \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ (seven syllables); $\sim \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; and $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$, $\text{---} \text{---}$. On the other hand, in xxiv there are twenty half-verses without irregularity, and the significant line *puram antahpuram cāpi nāyakaḥ ca hinasti sā*, where *nāyaka* is a sign of late origin. This *Parīṣiṣṭa*, too, is of especial interest as the next two sections (wrongly counted to it in the tradition) are not only clearly separate in subject but also in metrical style: in twenty-eight half-verses there are eight irregularities—six first Vipulās (two of type *a*, four of type *b*), one second Vipulā, and one $\sim \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ —a variant of the first Vipulā: here style rather than age is the cause, for

the verses are decidedly ornate. Indeed, I think the editors are wrong in holding that 2. 5-3. 2 and 5. 1-6. 4 (which are written in regular Upajātis and Vasantatilakās) are later than the rest of the text. It is impossible to cut out 2. 5-3. 2 reasonably, and it is significant that the verses omitted, like the verses allowed to be original, show the preference for the first Vipulā. This cannot be an accident, and the proper conclusion is that the text is a unity, and that we have the same complex of comparative simplicity with elaboration which meets us in the Kāvya and is regarded as an ornament. The case is indeed a useful warning of the necessity of bearing stylistic considerations in mind. In xxv, of thirty-four half-verses there are two third Vipulās and one fourth Vipulā. In xxvi, which deals with the characteristics of the kindling wood (*samidh*), of sixty-six half-verses eleven are irregular (one first Vipulā, three second, four third, one fourth, and — — — — — and — — — — —). In xxvii, which describes the spoon (*sruva*), in twenty half-verses, there are — — — — — and — — — — — — — — — — and — — — — — — — — — — the two latter in one line. In xxxviii, in nineteen half-verses one first Vipulā alone appears. In xxix, twenty-one verses yield one third Vipulā. In xxxa, of thirty-two verses one is a first Vipulā, another — — — — — — — — — in a long compound (*abhasmāsthyangāratusā*); in 2. 3, *agne prehy agninā rayim*, we have a quotation; in xxxb, of twenty-six verses but one is a third Vipulā and it contains the late *sāttvikī*, *tāmasī*, *rājasī*. In xxxi, of 105 half-verses thirteen are irregular (two first Vipulās, one of each type, three second Vipulās, one third Vipulā, three fourth Vipulās; — — — — — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; and — — — — —). In xxxiii, of eighty-seven verses seventeen are irregular (in other cases the verses are quotations); there are three first Vipulās (type b), one

In xxxvii some of the verses are clearly sub-Vedic and contain Vedic forms and conform to Vedic rules of metre (1. 8-10; 14. 2-4; 19. 4, 5, besides the non-Anuṣṭubh verses); of the rest, twenty-eight half-verses, sixteen are irregular — one first Vipulā, one second Vipulā, three fourth Vipulās, two di-iambic; — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; and in three cases the Pada has been seven feet unless resolutions are made, while in the second Pada of one verse *yathā idam* must be read with hiatus. This is useful evidence of the probability of early date being assigned to early metre.

In xxxviii, which deals with a *pañcagavya* ceremony and therefore is naturally expected to be late, of thirty-nine half-verses the only irregularities besides two in quotations, which do not count, are those in 3. 3a (*trayodaśyādicaturṣu*) and two regular fourth Vipulās, the latter in a verse where the line is broken at the compound (*kālamāntrahīne*) and in the word *pañcagavyam*. In xxxix the *pañcagavya* appears again, and apart from the quotations in 1. 6 and 8b the only irregularities in twenty-five half-lines are in v. 10, *sauvarṇau karmamakaraṇau* and *tāmrakulīrakarkaṭau*, in v. 11, *pañcagavyam* (a regular fourth Vipulā) and *karṣṇādātārau snāyetām*. These are significant as all explained by the necessities of subject-matter, and it is interesting to see that the MSS. ABCDE gave the form *karkṇau* and Roth *karkoṭau*. Both *kulīra* and *karkṇa* (assuming this form is to be accepted) are very late words of the time of Suśruta. The same line (10) gives us *mudgara* as a species of fish apparently, a version known from the lexica but not elsewhere, and the use of *svargasyākṣayyam* in verse 12c is noteworthy, as also the use of Agasti for Agastya as in Av. iv, 9. 3. So in xli, which deals with the Saṃdhyā, of twenty-nine half-verses only one is irregular, being a third Vipulā, and this sign

a late date, and this is confirmed by the mention of Yavana, Śaka, Tukhāra, and the occurrence in the *Parīṣiṣṭa* of regular Vamśastha and other ornate verses: the piece is no doubt, as the metre suggests and as Tukhāra shows, younger than l. In lii, again on the Grahās, of 164 half-verses only eighteen are irregular; there are four first Vipulās (three of type *a*), four second Vipulās, five third Vipulās, one fourth Vipulā, and — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; and — — — — —. The irregularities are so prevailingly normal that probably the evidence is decided for late dating. In liii, which deals with Rāhu, of fifty-six half-verses five are irregular—one third, two fourth Vipulās, and — — — — — and — — — — —. In liv, of twenty-three half-verses two are irregular, — — — — — and — — — — —. In lv, of forty-six half-verses three are irregular—one a first Vipulā (type *b*), and — — — — — and — — — — —. In lvi, which is a piece of astrological trifling, of fifty-nine half-verses only four are irregular—a third Vipulā, a second Vipulā, and — — — — — and — — — — —. Moreover, of these two occur in 4. 1 in Nakṣatra names, and the last in *vimśatisatam tv āgneyam*, so that late dating is clear, and this is confirmed by the mention of Yavanas and Śakas and of Gaṇas in the sense of guilds (2. 7) and sheths (*śreṣṭhāḥ* in 2. 7 must mean this).

In *Parīṣiṣṭa* lviii, which deals with the *Digdāha*, of twenty-six half-verses there is but one irregular, a third Vipulā, and this sign of lateness is confirmed by the fact that in three cases the Pada ends in the middle of a compound. In lviii^b, of ninety-nine half-verses, sixteen are irregular; four are first Vipulās (three type *b*), five second, four third, and three — — — — —. As the variants are almost all regular the evidence is rather for a late date: *gola* also suggests

this, and so do seven cases of the Pada ending in a compound. In lix, on lightning, of thirty-nine half-verses nine are irregular—one first Vipulā, one second, one fourth, four second, and — — — — — — — — — — and — — — — — — — — — —. In lx, on whirlwinds, in twelve half-verses there is a fourth Vipulā and — — — — — — — — — —. In lxi, which reads omens from the clouds at night, of fifty-six half-verses but three are irregular, — — — — — — — — — —; — — — — — — — — — —; and — — — — — — — — — —; but in the last the reading, *jyotir*, which gives the fourth long syllable, may be a mistaken correction for *jyoti*, which is a bye-form of *jyotis* in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, xvi, 10. 2. The piece is clearly late; it refers to fighting from elephants, a non-Vedic usage. In lxii, on earthquakes, fifty half-verses yield two each second and third Vipulās, and one first Vipulā (type *b*); this is evidence of lateness and *jāṅgala* occurs. In the ninety half-verses of lxiii sixteen irregular forms occur, eight first Vipulās (five of form *b*), one second, two third, and — — — — — — — — — —; — — — — — — — — — —; — — — — — — — — — —; — — — — — — — — — —; and — — — — — — — — — —. The piece is not early in style (cf. *camūpāla*, *karbura*, *lekhaka*) and is of epic character. In lxiv, of 200 half-verses twenty-two are irregular, six first Vipulās (five of type *a*), three second, six third, two fourth, and three — — — — — — — — — —; — — — — — — — — — —; and — — — — — — — — — —. The evidence is in favour of late date, and this is confirmed by the use of the verb *kuttaya*. In lxv, which is clearly late, apparently in part a *réchauffé* of Āryā verses, of thirty-six half-verses only one is a second Vipulā, the metre well agreeing with the date to be assigned on grounds of style and content. In lxvi, of twenty-five half-verses one only is irregular, — — — — — — — — — —; the *Parīṣiṣṭa* deals only with the *goṣānti*.

In lxviii, the *Śvapnādhyāya*, of 313 half-verses only

thirty-four are irregular, and these include sixteen first Vipulās (eleven of form *a*), three second, and three third. Two slight variants of the first Vipulā have three (— — — — —) and four occurrences (— — — — —); — — — — — is also found. The others are — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; and — — — — —. The style is modern and epic, as words like *kareṇu*, *karātaka*, *cipita*, *śaśāṅka*, and so forth show. In lxix, of eighty-seven half-verses twelve are irregular—four first Vipulās (one form *b*), two third Vipulās, two fourth Vipulās, one second Vipulā, and — — — — — (*kr̥ṣīvalaḥ kr̥ṣīvalam*, an exceptional case); — — — — —; and — — — — —. In lxx, of 144 half-verses seven only are irregular—three first Vipulās (one of form *b*), one second, and one third Vipulā; — — — — — and — — — — —. The style is also modern. In lxxb, of 269 half-verses thirty are irregular—six first Vipulās (three of each form), six second, eight third, four fourth, and four — — — — —, with — — — — — and — — — — —; 22.3 is irregular, but because of a quotation. The small number of irregular verses other than the Vipulās is noteworthy. In lxxc, in 133 half-verses twenty-six are irregular—three first Vipulās (one form *b*), six third, four second, and two fourth Vipulās, and one di-iambic. There are also — — — — — (twice); — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — — (twice); — — — — —; and — — — — —. The *Parīṣiṣṭa* is a patchwork of fragments and its text is uncertain. The verses in other than Śloka metres are so accurate and elaborate that the modernness of the greater part of the *Parīṣiṣṭa* is undoubted. In lxxi, in 222 half-verses there are thirty-two irregularities: of these eleven

are the fourth Vipulā, clearly here a stylistic preference, as this Vipulā is normally the most seldom used; seven are first Vipulās, of which six are form *b* (four are cases of one phrase, *yasya rājño janapade*), three are second, and six third Vipulās. A modification of the first Vipulā (— — — — —) is thrice found, and there are left as irregularities — — — — — and — — — — —. The style is late and the metre is in accord; *aṭṭālaka* is found here and in lx, 6, 2 and lxi, 3, 10. In lxxii, of twenty-two half-verses not one is irregular; moreover, there are six verses in Upajāti metre which are nearly regular (5, 4 is slightly corrupt). Similarly, the verses in lxxc, 30-2 are prevailing of regular types.

These details, tedious as they are,¹ seem to show that the metrical test is not a mistake. It requires careful use and mere percentages are useless, just as stylistic percentages are dangerous (as the study of Plato has shown) unless carefully controlled. Much must be allowed for subject-matter: the *Varmapaṭala* is a difficult topic to handle, and if the verse is irregular, as it is, no stress can be laid on that fact. Then even if the subject-matter as a whole is simple, there may be words which cannot easily get into any regular metre, as in the case of the names of the Nakṣatras. More important still is the fact that of the irregularities there are two kinds: the Vipulās are indeed irregularities compared with the Pathyā, but they are always allowable, and they may be regarded by some composers as stylistic merits. The occurrence, then, even of many Vipulās is not necessarily a proof of early date. Other irregularities are far more significant, and if at all numerous must reflect the period before the strict rules of the Śloka had prevailed, unless they can be traced definitely to difficulties of subject-matter or to mere bad

¹ The counting makes no claim to absolute accuracy; moreover, in some cases the text is certainly doubtful.

versification. Further, it is essential to remember that the *Parīṣiṣṭas* are not necessarily as handed down complete wholes. *Dīnāra* is found in xxxvi, 26, 3,¹ but this word does not mark the rest of the text as late; it occurs in a passage naturally distinguished by its absolute regularity from the rest of a somewhat irregular *Parīṣiṣṭa*.

But we are still without means of finding any definite dating. So far as the verses in other than the *Śloka* metre are concerned, the regularity of their construction, often quite perfect, places the pieces of which they form integral parts later than the *Bṛhaddevatā*, in which irregular verses are very frequent; with this coincides the fact that regular *Ślokas* go practically always with these regular verses. In the *Bṛhaddevatā* the irregular verses go with irregular *Ślokas*, though the latter metre evidently took definite form long before the longer metres. The conclusion that the *Parīṣiṣṭas* with such metres² are later than the *Bṛhaddevatā* is one which cannot be doubted, but it would have been *a priori* pretty plain that this was so.

Some confirmation of the validity of these metrical tests can be obtained by the examination of the *Rgvidhāna* in comparison with the *Bṛhaddevatā*. The former text belongs by tradition to Śaunaka; it can be ascribed with good reason to his school, and to a member of the school not unduly separated in time from the founder. It shows clear traces of Vedic forms³ similar to those noted by Professor Macdonell⁴ in the *Bṛhaddevatā*, and its style and manner are comparable with those of that work. Moreover, it has with the *Bṛhaddevatā* certain lines in

¹ It is noteworthy that in xxxvi, 26, 3, the term *māṇḍaliko rājā* is found, a clear sign of lateness; *māṇḍalika* occurs also in lxxix, 31, 4.

² The theory that careless writing explains irregular metre is seldom applicable: in the *Kāthāsaritsāgara*, which is certainly written in decadent Sanskrit, the metre is stiffly regular as a rule; e.g. in sixty-five verses from Taraṅga viii only three irregularities (two third and a first *Vipulās*) are found.

³ Meyer's edition, p. xi.

⁴ i, p. xxviii.

common, as Professor Macdonell has noted,¹ and there is every reason to assume that in neither case was there conscious borrowing, but that there was a school tradition, to which, indeed, the similarity in invocation (*mantra-dṛgbhyo namaskṛtvā*), and the use of *saṁāmnāyānu-pūrvaśaḥ* clearly point. Now the text (omitting two clear interpolations recognized as such on non-metrical grounds by Rudolph Meyer²) contains in all 1,204 half-verses, and the following is a list of the metrical variations. I have here included all cases, even when a Vedic quotation is the prime cause of the variant, for the sake of comparison with the figures given in the case of the *Bṛhaddevatā*,³ and for the same reason: it is clear from other cases of Vedic Pratikas that the author could overcome the metric difficulty when he would, and it may fairly be assumed that when he lets it stand he was willing to be guilty of an irregularity, especially as in most cases he uses the same irregularities in his own verses. It may be added that I have ignored the minor interpolations suspected by Meyer: it is clear that he goes too far in his doubts of the text and postulates a degree of accuracy which is not to be found in writers of Śaunaka's school, and the register of odd verses is too dangerous to accept wholesale. It is also true that Meyer's edition, despite its obvious merits, rests upon too few MSS. to be considered final, but despite this it is accurate enough for useful results to be derived, if not with such certainty as in the case of the *Bṛhaddevatā* itself.

There are 133 occurrences of the Vipulās, thirty-six of the first (twenty-one of form *a*), forty of the second, twenty-seven of the third, and thirty of the fourth. In addition there are seventy-four irregular forms.⁴

¹ i, p. 147.

² pp. v, vi.

³ See Keith, JRAS. 1906, pp. 1-10; and cf. Oldenberg's important article in *Gött. Nach.* 1909, pp. 219-46. I assume throughout that a mute plus a liquid makes position: this is clearly the case.

⁴ ii, 25, 5 may be disregarded as consisting of two Vedic quotations.

Variants of the first Vipulā—24

— — — — —	9
— — — — —	11
— — — — —	2
— — — — —	1
— — — — —	1

Variants of the second Vipulā—7

— — — — —	1
— — — — —	2
— — — — —	3
— — — — —	1

Variants of the third Vipulā—7

— — — — —	1
— — — — —	1
— — — — —	1
— — — — —	2
— — — — —	1
— — — — —	1

Variants of the fourth Vipulā—3

— — — — —	1
— — — — —	2

Of the di-iambic ending there are ten examples: in two cases each the first half is — — — — — and — — — — —; in one each — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; and — — — — —. In three cases the ending is — — — — —, prefaced by — — — — —; — — — — —; and — — — — —. In eleven cases the end is — — — — —; in three the first half is — — — — —; in two — — — — —; and the others are — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; — — — — —; and — — — — —. In nine cases the first half-verse begins with nine syllables, all due to Vedic quotations.

The total number of irregularities is thus 207, which is about 17 per cent of the total of half-verses (1,204); the percentage of irregularities other than the Vipulās is

over 6. In the case of the *Bṛhaddevatā* the percentages are about 16 and over 4. But the explanation of the higher percentages in the *Rgvidhāna* is simply that the handling of Vedic Pratikas is less happy: the nine cases of a nine-syllable Pada as against five in the *Bṛhaddevatā* are conclusive. In both cases the other metres are quite formless, though in the *Rgvidhāna* there are only the introductory verses to use as a comparison.

The metre of the two omitted passages (ii, 6-12 and iii, 26-62) usefully confirms the argument from metre. They are clearly not parts of the original text as a whole. Meyer showed this from their outward form, their contents and style, and concluded that they were later. Now in ii, 6-12, of seventy-six half-verses six only are irregular (one each first Vipulā, second, third, and fourth), two being quite irregular, — ∪ — — ∪ — — and ∪ — ∪ — — —, — —. These are much below the proper allowance of irregularities for the *Rgvidhāna* proper. In iii, 26-42, in 194 half-verses there are thirty-three irregularities, but only eight¹ are other than Vipulās, and there are five of the second form of the first Vipulā, which shows a distinct stylistic preference for a Vipulā. Moreover, there occur in it regular Vasantatilakā and Ṇdravajrā verses.

The *Parīṣiṣṭas* yield disappointingly little new material for the history of religion or culture. It is significant that while Brahman, the god, occurs repeatedly,² Kṛṣṇa never is mentioned, but this is not surprising; Kṛṣṇa as a god lies out of the Vedic pantheon and the Vedic tradition. In grammar they yield more, though still not much, and a few points illustrative of syntax may be noted. In lvii, 1. 5, the editors suggest the reading *pittajvaras tathā śvāsah prajāh pīdayatas tadā* in place of *pīdayate*, on

¹ Probably only seven; 32. 1 is a doubtful reading: the MSS. favour *pradakṣiṇam*.

² ii, 1. 1; xiii, 5. 6; xixb, 2. 5; xx, 7. 1; xxxi, 1. 1, 3; xxxiii, 1. 1, etc.

the ground that metre and concord can best be secured thus. But this is clearly a needless suggestion, and is not supported by this *pīdayate* of A, which is metrically improbable. The singular with the nearest subject is quite as legitimate as the dual, and *pīdayate* is used in the middle as readily as in the active; see e.g. liii, 4. 4, and the reading of ADE in xlii, 2. 6, where we should of course read in place of the text, as reported by the editors (p. 269), *tasmāt pīdayate vastram*. The change between *pīdayate* and *pīdayet* which precedes in the version of ADE, is worthy of notice: in xliii, 2. 17, etc., the editors against the authority of the MSS. read *trpyatām* for *trpyetām*, on the ground that as *trpyatu* and *trpyantu* repeatedly occur, the change of voice or mood is inexplicable. I think the MSS. reading should clearly have been kept with change of voice, not mood. Carelessness in these respects is characteristic of later texts,¹ as it is of the Epic, and the *Tarpanavidhi* is not very old in its Atharvan form.

The parenthetical use of verbs of saying is very strongly illustrated in lxviii, 1. 8: *pracakṣate sā prakṛtiḥ prakṛtijñāna-kovidāḥ*, especially as *tām prakṛtim* is metrically possible, but not one MS. suggests it. In the Paippalāda Mantras appended to i a good case of the nominative, when the vocative is normal, is found: *Agniṣ tuṃ (yakṣmaṇ) ghṛtabodhano 'paskanda naḥ*: it is significant that B has commenced to change to *'paskande(n)*. xviii c, 9, is a possible parallel. In xxxiii, 1. 7, a string of nominatives is taken up by *ity etān*, as often in the Sūtra style. An accusative of time, *pūrṇimām*, when *pūrṇimāyām* is not possible for the metre, is found in ix, 4. 7. A genitive of material seems to be seen in *bahūnāṃ vāpi kārayet* in ix, 1. 3. The comparison is as usual clumsy in ii, 1. 3: *daivāt puruṣakārāc ca daivam eva viśiṣyate*. The interchange of the gerund with a case-form and its reference to some person other than the real

¹ See Meyer, *Rigvidhāna*, pp. ix, x.

subject is very clear in ii, 6. 4, where *sarvadravayaparityāgāt* is parallel with *vedānām adhītyādyottamā ṛcaḥ*, and the subject is quite different (*śuddhir anyair udāhṛtā*). More unusual is the reading in xxxvii, 2. 1: *atha yat kāko 'bhīmṛṣati tan mṛtyum āśaṅkhyam bhavati*. Have we here a real parallel to the Lucretian "aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendumst", and the Greek *διωκτέον τοὺς πολεμίους*? Unhappily it would be unwise to press this instance, while the construction is elsewhere little supported.¹ It is quite possible that the noun *mṛtyu* is for once neuter; such interchanges of gender are not rare in Sanskrit (e.g. *haras* in *Bṛhaddevatā*, v, 19, is masc.), or again *mṛtyur* may be read and *āśaṅkhyam* (which is not so easy a corruption) will be a neuter predicate on the same principle as *śakyam* is constantly used.

In the use of the moods the only point of interest is the use of the optative. In ii, 2. 2, is read *atharvā sṛjate ghoram adbhutam śamayet tathā*, where the change of mood is of course explicable, but which points to the growing equivalence of the indicative and the optative. So also in xii, 1. 10, and lxvii, 8. 7; in lxiv, 4. 8, the change from *vināsyeta* to *kṣīyate* is really little more than a result of the metre, which will not bear *vināsyate*. Good examples of the optative in indefinite relative clauses will be found in ii, 5. 2; xxxvii, 9. 1, 19. 1; 1. 2. 1; lxviii, 2. 54; lxxi, 5. 3; 6. 1, 2; 7. 1, etc. The optative and indicative alternate as in ix, 4. 7: *ya imāṃ paṭhate nityam yaś cemāṃ śṛṇuyād iti | devalokam atikramya sūryalokam sa gachati*, where the placing of the world of the sun above the world of the gods is of interest. In the same clause even they alternate, as in xxxi, 10. 4: *yas tv imāṃ śrāvayed vidvān paṭhate caiva sarvadā . . . rudraloke mahīyate*, and so xxxvii, 17. 1. Future and optative alternate in v, 5. 2. The optative of characteristic is seen in i, 9. 2: *utpātūn yas*

¹ Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, p. 61.

tu yān vidyāt . . . tam vai lipsitum arhati. *Yas-yān* in that passage seems to have the force of "one who can tell whatever portents"; ADE. have *tān*, but cf. *yadā yatra* in lxvi, 9. 4, which has the same indefinite sense, and the difficulties of *Rgveda*, iii. 32. 14, may thus be best explained. Of minor points may be mentioned the pleonastic use of *ca* in ix, 2. 7, and the shortened "compound" *krśa* in *nātiṣṭhūlaṃ krśaṃ tathā* in iii, 2. 3, and xxvii, 2. 2.

Of the many other points of interest I may note that the theory¹ that the mysterious *Vaṅgāvagadhāḥ* in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, ii, 1. 1, contains a reference to *Vaṅgas* and *Magadhas* receives a slight support from the compound *Vaṅga-Magadha-Matsyāḥ* found in i, 7. 7. The use of *khalatīn* for *khalatī* in lxviii, 1. 11, is paralleled by the use of *jñātīn* for *jñātī* in *Rgvidhāna*, ii, 16. 5; iii, 21. 5. *Ākrṣṇa* is interesting, especially as it occurs in the technical sense of "verging on black" in lii, 2. 5.²

Some of the texts show points of contact with other works which afford some evidence of date. Thus the *Tarpaṇavidhi* may be compared with the *Tarpaṇa* in the *Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra*³ and the *Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra*.⁴ It is not only much longer, but it adds names of a modern cast, *Kapila*, *Voḍha*, *Āsuri*, *Pañcaśikha*, and *Pāṇini* (*Paila* and *Sumantu* are common to the *Sūtras*) among others; divides into two persons the female sages *Gargā Vācakanvī*, *Vaḍavā Prātitheyī*, and *Sulabhā Maitreyī*, and the *Rṣis*, *Kahola Kauśitaki* and *Suyajña Śāṅkhāyana*, while it adds a *Mahāśāṅkhāyana*. It is only fair to place this extended version later than either *Sūtra*, but it is much more doubtful if this applies to the still more extended list in the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*,⁵ which is decidedly and admittedly later than that of the

¹ Keith, *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. 46, n. 4.

² Patañjali on Pāṇini, ii, 2. 18, Vārtt. 5; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* ii, 1, 237.

³ iv, 10.

⁴ iii, 4.

⁵ ii, 9.

other two Sūtras.¹ There seems to be no decisive evidence to determine which of these texts is the earlier. The *Kārmaribhāga*, a mythic geography, is clearly not early, for it gives many non-Vedic names, such as Nāsikya (Nasik), Bhṛgukaccha (Broach), Sahyagiri, Vijayanti in the south, Ahichattra and Nāgapura and others. Pāriyātra goes with Kāśi and Kuru-Pañcāla, reminding us of the definition in Vasiṣṭha² of the land of the Āryas to the north of the Pāripātra Mountains. The editors print Pāriyātra without comment, but *p* and *y* in the MSS. of the type they have had available do not differ, and Bühler³ prefers the reading with a *p*, Pāripātra. Unhappily want of MSS. has rendered it impossible to do much more than Bloomfield⁴ has already done for the *Kautsavyaniruktanighaṇṭu*.

It remains to add that the volume is most admirably produced, that the text is printed in transcription, as common sense dictates, that misprints are very few, and that the editors have had the wisdom to add an index of words which, while not aiming at completeness, contains a most useful selection of the terms found in the texts. But does *grāmin* in xxxvi, 16, really mean "headman of a village"? "A lord of a village" seems at least equally likely sense.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY (SOLAR, LUNAR, AND PLANETARY).

A practical guide to the interpretation and verification of Tithis, Nakshatras, Horoscopes, and other Indian Time-records, B.C. 1 to A.D. 2000. By DEWAN BAHADUR L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L. (Madras), LL.B. (London). Crown 4to. Madras, 1911.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's work, the contents of which are summarily indicated by the title, gives complete

¹ Oldenberg, SBE. xxix, 121. *Pañhinasi* occurs only in the Atharvan text; cf. Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda*, pp. 17, 18.

² i, 8; *Baudhāyana*, i, 1. 2. 9.

³ SBE. xiv, 147.

⁴ JAOS. xv, pp. xlviii-1.

information on all topics of Indian chronography and furnishes accurate methods for calculating all items connected with it. For the latter purpose serve numerous tables, which take up 233 closely printed quarto pages, containing little short of a million of figures. They are preceded by 114 pages of letterpress divided into four parts. The first part gives a full and clear explanation of the calendary system of the Hindus, the quantities used in it, and methods for calculating those items which are noticed in an Indian almanac, viz., solar and lunar dates, weekdays, Nakṣatras, the Tyājyam, Yogas, Jovian cyclic years, eclipses, etc. The second and third parts explain the use of the several tables and their construction. The fourth part (planets and planetary chronology) teaches how to calculate the mean and the true places of planets and how to construct Indian horoscopes. The author, who does not believe in astrology (Preface, p. ii), has included the last-mentioned subject in his work because it forms part of Hindu chronology, and because he writes not only for the historian and scholar, but also for the Indian reader who takes a practical interest in these things. He therefore naturally treats all chronological questions from the Indian point of view, and in accordance with it he has invented his methods for solving them. To illustrate this characteristic trait of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, let us consider the most frequent task of the epigraphist, that of verifying a lunar date coupled with the weekday, i.e. of ascertaining the Christian date on which a given *tithi* ended. Now the present reviewer's method in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xvii, and *Epigraphia Indica*, i, as well as that of Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit in the *Indian Calendar*, consists in this, that we first find approximatively the sought-for day and then compute accurately for the beginning of that day the number of the elapsed *tithis* and the fraction of the running *tithi*. The result shows, in most cases at once, whether the right day had been

selected, and the end of the running *tithi* can be found from a proper table. But Mr. Swamikannu Pillai "investigates, directly and once for all, the ending moment of a *tithi*, the very thing required by Indian usage" (p. 89). To solve this problem in the manner of the Hindus would require a most wearisome calculation, but properly constructed tables may save the calculator the greater part of the trouble. This is what the author has admirably succeeded in achieving. His Table x, which covers more than a hundred pages, furnishes for all years from B.C. 1 to A.D. 2000, and for the twelve months of each year, the necessary quantities which, operated upon in a further process with the help of three auxiliary tables (Eye-table), yield the ending moment of the *tithi* in two decimals of a day. The operations to be gone through are easy and not too many, and the whole process, if once clearly understood and its details thoroughly mastered, will require less time than that of Sewell and Dikshit. But the author's boast that the computation can be performed in less than a minute will fill with admiration and envy calculators less practised than Mr. Pillai undoubtedly is. However, if the habits and requirements of Western scholars only are considered, the process of verifying lunar dates can be rendered still more easy, as will be seen from my improved and developed *Epigraphia Indica* tables, which will soon be published in the *Encyclopedia of Indo-Arian Research*. To return to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's work, it must be added that his Table x is based on the Sūrya Siddhānta, but that for the years from 500 to 999 A.D. all the items are given according to the Ārya Siddhānta also, and that the *adhika* and *kr̥ṣṇa* months, as well as the solar and lunar eclipses (from *L'art de vérifier les dates*), are indicated in Table x. The author has given two sets of tables for finding the ending moment of the *tithi* with still greater precision, four decimals of the day, in accordance with the Sūrya

Siddhānta and the Ārya Siddhānta; of course, the process of calculation becomes more complicated when a higher degree of precision is aimed at. A set of similar tables serves for finding the end of Nakṣatras and Yogas. Again, for the years from 1841 to 1920 A.D., which for practical purposes of to-day call for a separate treatment, the same problems are worked out in *ghaṭikās* and *palas* in Tables ix and xii. And for the same period Table xiii furnishes the equation of true to mean sunrise for a number of important places in India from the 8th to the 35th degree of latitude, and Table xviii the true places of the sun and the planets for every tenth day. It is impossible to notice all the tables and their uses in a short review, but attention should be drawn to the planetary tables (xvii) by which the true place of the planets will be found for any time in accordance with the Hindu method, and to the Eye-table, which gives the auxiliary tables constantly used, printed on a rather crowded folio page (also issued separately mounted on strong paper). The Eye-table by itself suffices to solve the usual chronological problems.

As regards the methods of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai in general, they may safely be pronounced to be sound and correct. The author has taken care to prove their correctness by calculating the same dates which have been calculated by his predecessors, and showing that his method yields exactly the same results arrived at by them. His ingenuity in devising these methods, and his indefatigable perseverance in working them out in numerous tables, will ever command the sincere respect of all who are able to appreciate work of this kind. The author has rendered a great service to his science, and will have a lasting claim on our gratitude. It is fortunate that we now possess two works treating of Indian chronology in all its branches, the older one by Sewell and Dikshit, of which a third part has just appeared, and the work under review; they may be said to be rival works, but they act

as supplement the one to the other, as either author takes up an individual attitude towards his subject, and in such cases the reader will always be the gainer.

HERMANN JACOBI.

BONN.

INDIAN CHRONOGRAPHY. An Extension of the "INDIAN CALENDAR", with working examples, by ROBERT SEWELL, late of His Majesty's Indian Civil Service. Post 4to: pp. 187, including 25 tables. George Allen and Co., Ltd.; London: 1912.

The means of calculating and verifying Indian dates are necessary not only to the epigraphist, who has to determine the equivalents B.C. and A.D. of dates given in the records with which he deals and to arrange his historical results accordingly, but also to the civil judge, who has to appreciate the authenticity and bearing of charters, deeds, bonds, and other documents produced as evidence in his court, and to various functionaries who have to verify, with a view to eligibility for admission to the public service, etc., the ages of candidates as disclosed by the horoscopes which in India take the place of our certificates of birth and baptism. One work devoted to such calculation and verification has already been given to us by Mr. Sewell; namely, *The Indian Calendar*, which was published by him, in co-operation with the late Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, in 1896, and of which an appreciative notice, with sample workings by it, was given by Professor Kielhorn in this Journal, 1896, p. 809 ff. And that work has successfully stood the various tests which have been applied to it by all who have made use of it.

It was found, however, that *The Indian Calendar* was in some respects not full enough in explanation of the matters dealt with in it. The present work remedies that: it explains the reason for every step taken in

all calculations made by means of it and *The Indian Calendar*; further, it gives sixty-three additional well-chosen examples (pp. 81 to 128) which illustrate practically calculations of every kind; and it makes several of the processes more simple and easy. In these respects the book should be particularly useful to beginners, in addition to being serviceable to those who are already versed in its topic.

Space does not permit of a detailed notice of Mr. Sewell's new book. But some of the other special features in it may be indicated.

Tables XVII to XIX, B,¹ enable us to turn very easily results obtained by the First Ārya-Siddhānta into results according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, and vice versa; so that a calculation by either authority gives us quickly the result by the other also, without our having to make a separate working in detail.

Tables XX, A and B, save a great amount of trouble in calculating tropical *saṃkrāntis*: the first of them is new; the other is taken from Warren, but the decimal figures, which are a great labour-saving device in actual work, are a new feature.

Tables XXI and XXIV, with §§ 90-94, enable us to calculate mean lunar months and *tithis*.² This is a new feature, and is likely to be of considerable use in disposing of some, at least, of the many historical dates which, examined by true time, do not give correct results, and have therefore been classed as "irregular". A case illustrating this is given as Example 24.

Table XXII shows at a glance, when the longitude of the sun, the moon, or any other 'planet', has been determined for any moment, the exact place of the

¹ The numbering of the tables runs on from after Table XVI, the last table in *The Indian Calendar*.

² In the heading of Table XXI, the words "at the beginning" should be supplied before "of Amānta Chaitra".

'planet' among the signs and the *nakshatras*. And Table XXIII, which is a reproduction of a table published by Dr. Schram, gives what may perhaps be found an easier means of calculating *nakshatras* and *yōgas*.

Tables XXVII, A, to XXXV, with §§ 130 to 187, are devoted to the cycles of Jupiter. The present treatment includes new and very easy means of finding the exact beginning, according to six different authorities, of any of the years of these cycles which are regulated by what is known as the mean-sign system.

Table XXXVIII, B, gives all the principal elements of the years A.D. 1901 to 1950 in continuation of Table I of *The Indian Calendar*, which covers the period A.D. 300 to 1900, and thus makes the two books available for present times as well as past ones. In the other direction, if we want to examine earlier dates on the lines of the present system of the calendar which was developed from about A.D. 400, Table XXXVIII, A, gives the time of the Mēsha-saṁkrānti according to the First Ārya-Siddhānta for all years from B.C. 59 to A.D. 299; and Tables XXXIX and XL, adapted from tables published by Professor Jacobi, enable us to make calculations back to B.C. 500.

Tables XLI, A and B, adapted from tables published by Sir Alexander Cunningham, give easy means—in fact, the easiest of all means—of finding the weekday of any Christian date from B.C. 3200 to A.D. 2400. This is constantly wanted by way of checking the results of all sorts of calculations.

Mr. Sewell has now given us three works on the calculation of Indian dates: (1) *The Indian Calendar*, with a contribution by Dr. Schram on Eclipses of the Sun in India; (2) *Eclipses of the Moon in India*; and (3) the present work, *Indian Chronography*. It would be invidious to make comparisons between his books and other works devoted to the same topic: and everyone will probably prefer to continue to use those processes

and tables with which he first becomes familiar. But it may be said, without objection, that Mr. Sewell's three books give results which are just as good as those given by any other books: even if his processes are in some cases not quite as short as others may be, they are probably easier to master and apply: and his Table I, with its continuation in Table XXXVIII, B, of the present work, is particularly useful because of the great amount of data which it shows at a glance, for the whole period A.D. 300 to 1950, instead of our having to work them out before we go on to other calculations for which they are needed as bases or as guides.

J. F. FLEET.

THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRÆAN SEA. Translated from the Greek and annotated by WILFRED H. SCHOFF, A.M., Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia. Medium 8vo: pp. 323; and a map. Longmans, Green, & Co.; London, Bombay, and Calcutta: 1912.

As is well known, the *Περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης* is an account of the personal experiences of someone who was engaged in the sea-borne trade, carried on mostly by coasting, from the Red Sea and the northern parts of the east coast of Africa to India and down its western coast from the Indus to Cape Comorin and Ceylon: the author's statements regarding parts beyond that point seem to be based on hearsay. The value of the work lies in the number of places which it mentions, and the information which it gives about them, their surroundings, and their trade. And this new translation, with its copious accompaniment of notes, a variety of well-selected illustrations, and a full and careful index, will be found a valuable contribution to our study of the details of the work. But it is to be regretted that the occasion was not utilized to give us also a new edition of the text, with the differing

readings of the two manuscripts and the emendations proposed by the various editors of the work. The published texts, which range in date from 1533 to 1883, are not easily accessible for comparison. But, in places where the present translation differs at all substantially from that which was given by Mr. McCrindle in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 8 (1879), pp. 107-51,¹ we should like to have the means of estimating the merits of the two renderings. Also, we who have lived in Western and Southern India think that we might perhaps do something more towards identifying some of the places which still remain unrecognized, if we had before us the forms in which the names are actually presented in the original and the emendations which have been suggested.

I cannot attempt a general review of Mr. Schoff's book, but will only notice a few special points.

The author of the *Periplus* is not known: so we have no guide of that kind towards determining its date. There is, however, no room for doubt that the work belongs to the first century: and the issues are narrowed to two particular times in that period. Mr. McCrindle followed the view that the work was written between A.D. 80 and 89 (IA, 8. 108). Mr. Schoff has preferred to place it in A.D. 60 (p. 15). Each authority has stated his reasons, which are found mostly in references which the work makes to historical rulers of countries which were not Indian. I must consider the matter from only the Indian point of view.

The *Periplus* mentions three Indian kings by name. Two of them (§ 52) are "the elder Saraganes" [McCrindle] or "the elder Saraganus" [Schoff], who was apparently before the author's time, and "Sandanes" [McC.] or "Sandares" [Sch.], who was a contemporary of the

¹ It was also republished separately, in the same year, with a translation of Arrian's Account of the Voyage of Nearkhos.

author.¹ In the first of these we certainly seem to have a Sātakarṇi king; but whether he may be the Arishta(karman) of the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, as is conjectured by Mr. Schoff, we really cannot say. The other is supposed to be the Sundara-Sātakarṇi of the Purāṇas; which is quite possible if we are to take the form with *r* (not *n*) in the last syllable. But, in any case, we have no independent means of fixing the date either of Arishta-karman or of Sundara, and of arriving thereby at a date for the Periplus.

The third king (§ 41) is "Mambaros" [McC.]² or "Nambanus" [Sch.]. This is certainly the great Kshaharāta king Nahapāna, well known from inscriptions and coins.³ He was a foreign invader, apparently a Pahlava or Palhava, i.e. of Parthian extraction. He established himself first in Kāthiāwār, and then acquired some of the territory on the mainland, on the north of the Narbadā, as far as Ujjain. He then annexed, below that river, Southern Gujarāt and the Northern Koṅkaṇ, with Nāsik, the northern parts at least of Poona and Ahmednagar, and probably Khāndēsh; wresting from the Sātakarṇi kings of the Dekkan those parts of these territories which lie above the Western Ghauts, if not also the country between the Ghauts and the sea. And finally, after reigning for not less than 46 years,⁴ he was overthrown by the great Sātavāhana-Sātakarṇi king Gautamiputra-Sri-Sātakarṇi. In close connexion with Nahapāna we

¹ See fully, the quotation from § 52 on p. 789 below.

² It can only be by a slip of the pen that Mr. McCrindle presented this name as "Mambaros", with *o* (instead of *a*) in the first syllable: see this Journal, 1907. 1043, note 1. In fact, on a subsequent occasion, in *Ind. Ant.*, 13. 325, he used the form "Mambares".

³ On some of his coins his name appears as **NAHPANA**, with omission of the *a* of the second syllable, and with the Latin **H**, *h*, used along with Greek letters. For the transformation of the Nahpana, thus written, into Nampana, Mampana, Mambana, (Mambana), see this Journal, 1907. 1043, note 2.

⁴ His 46th year is mentioned in an inscription at Junnar: Lüders, List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 10, appendix, No. 1174.

have a ruler named Chashtana, —not mentioned in the *Periplus*, but known from coins and an inscription, and noticed by Ptolemy with the information that his capital was Ujjain (IA, 13. 359),— who either was Nahapāna's co-regent at Ujjain, or was his successor, or else was both his co-regent and his successor.¹

Now, the so-called Śaka era, beginning in A.D. 78, was certainly founded either by Nahapāna or by Chashtana; in the sense, of course, not that either of them formally proclaimed the establishment of an era to commemorate any particular event, but that the opening years of the era in question were the years of the reign of one or the other of them, which grew into an era in consequence of the next ruler continuing the reckoning so started, instead of introducing a new reckoning according to his own regnal years. But, if the *Periplus* was written in A.D. 60, then Nahapāna, who is known to have reigned for not less than 46 years, must be placed in or about A.D. 32–78, and the era of A.D. 78 was founded by Chashtana. If, on the other hand, Nahapāna began to reign in A.D. 78, then the *Periplus* was not written in A.D. 60, but is to be placed between A.D. 80 and 89.²

This latter view is the one which seems the right one to me, judging the matter by what we know of the Indian history of the time. The *Periplus* tells us in § 38 that in its author's time "Scythia", by which it means our modern Sind, was subject to "Parthian princes, who are perpetually at strife among themselves, expelling each the other" [McC.], or "Parthian princes who are constantly

¹ For the course of events just after the death of Nahapāna, see this *Journal*, 1910. 821.

² Mr. Schoff has conjectured that before A.D. 78 there may have been a predecessor of Nahapāna bearing the same name (pp. 198 f., 294). But it is difficult to recognize any good basis for this suggestion of a duplication of the name. It appears to rest on the point that the coins of Nahapāna show a variety of faces: this, however, seems to be due to different die-cutters having taken the heads from a number of different Roman coins: see this *Journal*, 1908. 551.

driving each other out" [Sch.]. And there is every reason to regard Nahapāna as having been of Parthian extraction (see p. 785 above): at any rate, we may safely treat him as one of these "Parthian" princes, who, more able and enterprising than the others, struck out a new line and turned his attention to a conquest of territories outside Sind, in preference to continuing the unending strife in Sind itself. But such a state of affairs in Sind cannot have arisen until after the death of Gondopernēs, who was reigning over a wide territory, which included Sind, from A.D. 20 or 21 down to at least A.D. 46:¹ and we certainly cannot make the 46 or more years of the reign of Nahapāna fit in to the 32 years between A.D. 46 and 78. I am therefore of opinion that Nahapāna's reign dates from A.D. 78, and consequently that the Periplus must have been written after that year, and is to be placed between A.D. 80 and 89, or we may say, roughly, about A.D. 85.

The Periplus mentions the capital of Nahapāna's territory by the name Minnagara (§ 41), and tells us that much cotton cloth was brought down from it to Barygaza, which is the modern Broach in Gujarāt, Bombay. There were two cities bearing the name Minnagara in the western parts of India.² The other was the capital of what the work calls "Scythia" (see p. 786 above), and was situated in the delta of the Indus, apparently on or near to the main stream, the central one of the seven which made the "seven mouths" of the river.

Mr. Schoff has mentioned (p. 180) proposals to identify the Minnagara in which we are interested with Indore, and with Madhyamikā, which is the modern Nāgari on

¹ See this Journal, 1905, 234.

² Minnagara is taken, I believe, as a hybrid word meaning "a city of the Mins, the Scythians". The name of a third Minnagara or Minagara, which is placed by Ptolemy on or near the Gangetic Gulf (IA, 13. 334), must have some different explanation.

the north of Chitōr, in Rājputānā. But Nāgarī is too far to the north; and Indore is unsuitable for other reasons.

No such name as Minnagara is traceable now. But a Minagara, which is certainly Nahapāna's Minnagara, is also mentioned by Ptolemy (IA, 13. 359); and the position assigned to it by him, with respect to Ujjain, makes it practically certain to me that it is the modern Dohad in the Pañch Mahāls. "As the name Dohad (or 'two boundaries') implies, the town is situated on the line separating Mālwa on the east from Gujarāt on the west. It is a place of considerable traffic, commanding one of the main lines of communication between Central India and the seaboard."¹ And a study of the sheets of the Indian Atlas shows that it is just the place through which there would go the trade from Ujjain (and of course other parts of Mālwa) to Broach, which is mentioned in § 48 of the *Periplus*.

The *Periplus* alludes in § 51 to the great inland trading route from the east coast, in the Kistna District, right across India diagonally via Tagara, which is Tēr in the Nizam's Dominions,² and Paithan, to Barygaza, Broach. And in respect of the last part of the route it says that the consignments from those two towns "are carried down on wagons to Barugaza along roads of extreme difficulty" [McC.]; or "are brought down to Barygaza by wagons and through great tracts without roads" [Sch.]; or, again (as I would put it), "are brought down to Barygaza by

¹ Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908), vol. 11, p. 366.

² See this Journal, 1901. 537 ff. The name of this place unfortunately figures in the Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908) as "Thair", from one of the misspelt forms in which it has been shown in maps, etc. The name is Tēr; not Tair, Thēr, or Thair. In the Imperial Gazetteer, vol. 23, the notes on the place should have been given under "Ter" on p. 281, and the cross-reference "See Tēr" should have been given under "Thair" on p. 284.

wagon-roads and through vast places that have no proper roads at all."¹

In connexion with this route there has remained, overlooked, a question to which Mr. Schoff has now drawn attention: namely, why was the traffic taken on from Paithāṇ to Broach instead of being diverted to some nearer and more easily accessible port?

The Periplus mentions in § 52 Kalliēna, that is, Kalyāṇ in the Ṭhāṇa District, on the Ulhās River which flows into Bombay Harbour, and speaks of it as "a city which was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the times of the elder Saraganes, but after Sandanes became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels, even by accident, enter its ports, a guard is put on board and they are taken to Barugaza" [McC.]; or as a city "which in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful market-town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard" [Sch.]. Mr. Schoff has observed (p. 196) that Kalyāṇ would be the natural terminus of the Tēr-Paithāṇ route.² And he has suggested that:—"The obstruction of that port by the Saka power in Gujārāt forced the tedious overland extension of the route, through the mountains, to Barygaza." Here by "the Saka power" he means Nahapāna and his people. I would supplement his suggestion as follows:—

¹ The words are:—*Kardyerai δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ποταμῶν ἀναστὰς καὶ ἀνοδίαις μελίσταις*: see the extract given in *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.*, vol. 3, p. 54, note.

² There is no question about Kalyāṇ having been a trading place of some importance in the time with which we are dealing: merchants and goldsmiths of Kalyāṇ are mentioned in some of the inscriptions at Kanheri and Junnar; Lüders, *List of the Brāhmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 986, 998, 1000, 1001, 1024, 1177. But whether it became a seaport in that period, is another question: Ptolemy does not mention the place; and it must have had easy access to Broach along the coast, inland, without having to use boats.

It is certainly the case that there might have been laid out from Paithaṇ to Kalyāṇ, via Junnar and the Nāpāghāt Pass,¹ a route which would have been some eighty miles shorter than the route from Paithaṇ to Broach, and of which the Ghaut portion would have been much easier than the forty or so miles of very difficult descent from the north-west corner of the Nāsik District via Peint into Gujarāt. But Broach seems to have been from a very early time the great collecting and distributing centre, in the trade with the West, for all inland parts: the *Periplus* mentions not only the trade into Broach from the Tēr and Paithaṇ route, and that from Minnagara (Dōhad) and Ujjain, but also a trade via Proclaïs or Poclaïs from Kābul and those parts (§ 48), and a trade from the western parts of China through Bactria (§ 64). The overland route from the Kistna District via Tēr and Paithaṇ had been laid out partly to meet the requirements of those two cities and no doubt of other places along the road, and partly in order to avoid the long and tedious coasting voyage all round the south of India, with the danger from the pirates who infested a portion at least of the west coast (§ 53): and for this last reason, since the said pirates can have had no difficulty in commanding the approaches to Kalyāṇ, the route was taken straight on to Broach, instead of turning from Paithaṇ to the coast with the object of being continued thence by sea or by land to Broach. One of the Sātakarṇi kings, "the elder Saraganus", probably finding himself able to cope with the pirates, sought to establish Kalyāṇ as a rival of Broach. Then Nahapāna blockaded Kalyāṇ, expressly in order to maintain the commercial supremacy of Broach. And it was probably a quarrel over this matter which started hostilities between Nahapāna and the Sātakarṇi

¹ The ancient importance of these two places is well known from the inscriptions at them.

kings, and ended in Nahapāna acquiring a considerable part of their western territories.

In § 47 the Periplus mentions two Indo-Greek kings of previous times, Apollodotus and Menander, and tells us that their coins were still in current use at Broach.

In connexion with this, Mr. Schoff has summarized as follows (p. 184) the account of Menander given in a leading textbook on the early history of India :—

"In the years 155–153 [B.C.] a Greek King Menander, apparently a brother of Apollodotus, whose capital was Cabul, annexed the entire Indus Valley, the peninsula of Surāshtra (Syrastrene) [Kāthiāwār] and other territories on the western coast; occupied Mathurā; besieged Madhyamikā (now Nāgari near Chitōr), and threatened the capital, Pātaliputra, which is the modern Patna. Menander had to retire, however, to Bactria. He is supposed to have been a convert to Buddhism, and has been immortalized under the name of Milinda in a celebrated dialogue entitled *The Questions of Milinda*, which is one of the most noted books in Buddhist literature."

To that we must add that the account taken over by Mr. Schoff says further that Menander "invested Sākētam in southern Oudh." Also, that it is part and parcel of a treatment which includes the Śuṅga king Pushyamitra and the grammarian Patañjali.

We need not hesitate about accepting the identification of Menander with the Milinda of the Pāli work, the *Milindapañha*. And that work presents him as reigning at Sāgala, which is Siālkōṭ in the Panjāb,¹ and as being a powerful, wise, and learned king, fond of discussions with wandering teachers, who eventually, under the effect of the answers which he received to the questions put by him to the Buddhist Nāgasēna, became converted to Buddhism, and abdicated in order to spend his remaining

¹ See my article "Sāgala, Śākala, the City of Milinda and Mihirakula" in the Acts of the Fourteenth Oriental Congress, Algiers, 1905, vol. 1, p. 164 ff.

days in the practice of religion. For the rest, it is necessary, no doubt, in writing a history, to try to fill in details, more or less. And from such a point of view we may admit provisionally some of the achievements attributed to Menander by the writer who is quoted by Mr. Schoff; only remarking that in the references made by Patañjali under Pāṇini, 3. 2. 111, to the Yavana, the Greek, who besieged Sākēta and Madhyamikā, there is nothing to identify the besieger with Menander or any other individual, and that there is still less reason for referring those two sieges with such confidence to the exact years B.C. 155-153: that is all conjecture. But there are two items in this account—the occupation of Mathurā and the threatening of Pāṭaliputra—which we are quite unable to endorse.

These two items rest on the authority of a work entitled Gārgī-Saṁhitā which was brought to notice by Professor Kern in 1865, in his edition of the Bṛhat-Saṁhitā, preface, p. 33 ff., and was referred by him to about B.C. 50. A chapter in this work, bearing the name Yugapurāṇa, professes to give, in the usual prophetic style of the Purāṇas, an account (but a very elementary one) of the kings of the Kali age. It mentions the Śaiśunāga kings, and then Śāliśūka, who was according to the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa the great-grandson, and according to the Viṣṇu the great-great-grandson, of Aśoka. And it then makes a statement translated by Professor Kern as follows:—

“Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Sāketa, Pancāla-country, and Mathurā, will reach (or take) Kusumadhvaṇa (Palibothra);¹ Pushpapura (Palibothra) being reached (or taken)

¹ But Kusumadhvaṇa, ‘having the flower-banner’, would be the god Kāmādēva: the city was Kusumapura, which name, however, did not suit the verse. It might be urged, perhaps, that *Kusumadhvaṇam* is a corrupt reading for *Kusum-dhvaṇam*, with *puram* understood; sc. “(the city) named Kusuma(pura)”: but the reading is *dhvaṇam*; and it is characteristic of the text.

all provinces will be in disorder, undoubtedly. . . . The fiercely fighting Greeks will not stay in Madhyadēśa; there will be a cruel, dreadful war in their own kingdom, caused (?) between themselves. Then, in the course of the Yuga, at the end of the Greek reign, seven mighty kings will be in alliance (? or have we to read *Sāketa*, in *Sāketa*)."

It is not easy to understand how, even so long ago as in 1865, this *Yugapurāṇa* chapter came to be accepted seriously, and to be referred to the first century B.C. Its corrupt and otherwise peculiar diction—(both features are amply illustrated in the extracts given by Professor Kern)—indicate a quite late origin. And its apocryphal character is fully disclosed by the point that it assigns to the *Saiśunāga* kings, who preceded by some time the *Mauryas*, a period of 5505 years, 5 months, 5 days, and 5 *muhūrtas*:¹ that is, among the kings of the *Kali* age, which only began in B.C. 3102, we are to find room for a dynasty which reigned for 5505 years before the year 2781 expired, = B.C. 321, the initial date of the first *Maurya* king, *Chandragupta*.

There certainly was an early writer named *Garga*: he flourished about A.D. 400, and wrote on astronomy and astrology; and a work by him would very likely be known as the *Gārgī-Saṁhitā*, though *Bhaṭṭōtpala* (A.D. 966), who quotes many of his statements, does not seem to use such an expression. But, even if the *Gārgī-Saṁhitā* thus brought to our notice represents his work in any way, we may be sure that he did not write the *Yugapurāṇa* chapter: and we may safely dismiss the statements of that chapter as worthless for any historical purposes, as regards either *Menander* or anyone else.

J. F. FLEET.

¹ Why did not the author round off this statement by saying 5555 years? Apparently, only because he could not cram the word *pañcāśat*, 'fifty', into his verse.

IL "RĀMACARITAMĀNASA" E IL "RĀMĀYAṆA". By L. P. TESSITORI. Reprinted from the *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, vol. xxiv, 1911.

Ever since Growse published his translation of the *Rāmacaritamānasa* students have recognized that that work was in no sense a slavish imitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki.

"The general plan and arrangement of the incidents are necessarily much the same, but there is a difference in the touch in every detail, and the two poems vary as widely as any two dramas on the same mythological subject by two different Greek tragedians . . . The two agree only in the broadest outlines. The episodes so freely introduced by both poets are, for the most part, entirely dissimilar, and even in the main narrative some of the most important incidents, such as the breaking of the bow and the contention with Paraśurāma, are differently placed, and assume a very altered complexion. In other passages, where the story follows the same lines, whatever Vālmiki has condensed—as, for example, the description of the marriage festivities—Tulsī Dās has expanded; and where the older poet has lingered most his successor has hastened on most rapidly."¹

While students of Hindī literature have admitted the correctness of the above statements, they have had no opportunity for entering into details. Hindī literature—a discovery, to Europeans, of only some twenty or thirty years ago—was a vast and unexplored continent, and the few pioneers could do little more than map out its main features. It is encouraging to see these labours bearing fruit. Europe is beginning to recognize that the vernacular literature of India offers new regions awaiting conquest, and new subjects of investigation. In the pamphlet named at the head of this notice we have an example. Signor Tessitori has done what we have all wished to see done, but for which we pioneers never have had time or opportunity.

¹ Growse, Introduction to his Translation.

The poet himself (i, 7) says that his work is based upon Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, "and occasionally on other sources" (*kvaciñ anyatō 'pi*), and taking this statement as his text Signor Tessitori proceeds to compare the two poems in detail. The question of the other sources is not touched by him, but he shows clearly that Tulasī Dāsa has on the whole followed the general path taken by Vālmiki. Omitting the first part of Book i and nearly the whole of the last book, which in the Rāmacaritamānasa are quite independent, the most serious discrepancies between the two works occur in the sixth book—the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of Vālmiki and the *Laṅkākāṇḍa* of Tulasī Dāsa. Here there is great confusion in the accounts of the various combats, one fight being exchanged for another, and the acts of this hero being attributed to that. Signor Tessitori's explanation of this is ingenious, but to my mind not altogether convincing. It is that even we, with our clearly printed texts and modern apparatus, find it difficult to follow the complicated action of Vālmiki's *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, and that Tulasī Dāsa, handicapped by his clumsy manuscript, simply made mistakes. I shall return to this later on.

Other differences between the two poems are shown to be due to various causes. Such are, for instance, Tulasī Dāsa's desire to shorten his work. This led him to omit some episodes, and in other cases to combine two of Vālmiki's episodes into one. In making omissions he has now and then retained a few words corresponding to words in Vālmiki's poem, which were there important but which in the Rāmacaritamānasa, with the episode wanting, are quite superfluous. Another reason for the differences is the poetic originality and the command of vocabulary possessed by the later poet. He disdained to use Vālmiki's language, and substituted new and fresh similes for those of his predecessor. In spite of this Signor Tessitori has collected quite a number of instances

in which, consciously or unconsciously, he has repeated the very words of Vālmiki.

Another question raised by Signor Tessitori is what recension of the Rāmāyaṇa — the Western (*A*), the Bengali (*B*), or the Northern (*C*)—was used by Tulasī Dāsa. The main results are as follows:—

1. Tulasī Dāsa follows *C* in giving the story of Rāma down to his arrival in Citrakūṭa.

2. He follows *B* from the return to Ayōdhyā of Sumantra to the end of the *Araṇyakāṇḍa*, and perhaps also for a good part of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*.

3. He follows *C* from the beginning of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (T. D.'s *Laṅkākāṇḍa*) down to Rāma's ascent of Suvēla after the Crossing of the Ocean.

4. He follows *B* from the beginning of the combats with the Rākṣasas (*B*, vi, 17) to the end of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*.

Now, all this is interesting and important. It throws much light on the origin of the Rāmacaritamānasa, and also on the question of what version of the Rāmāyaṇa was current in Audh and Benares in the days of Tulasī Dāsa, i.e. in the latter half of the seventeenth century,¹ but it seems to me that there is a probable explanation of the discrepancies between the two poems which has not been taken into account by Signor Tessitori. He has gone on the assumption that Tulasī Dāsa had a manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa by him, and that he consulted it as he went along. That hence his variations, except in the *Laṅkākāṇḍa*, were deliberate. This method of writing, with a manuscript within reach, is the way a student in Europe would go to work, but it cannot be thought that an Indian poet would labour on such lines. Tulasī Dāsa was a Vaiṣṇava ascetic, brought up by a Guru in the fear and love of Rāma. Under this Guru he received his education and, if that was anything

¹ In regard to this it is worth remembering that Tulasī Dāsa wrote the *Bāla*-, *Ayōdhyā*-, and *Araṇya-kāṇḍas* in Ayōdhyā, but the remaining *kāṇḍas* in Benares. Cf. iv, 1.

like the education of a literary Vaiṣṇava of the present day, he learned the whole of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa off by heart while yet a boy, and was also familiar with the numerous other versions of the story. When he wrote his poem it was unnecessary for him to consult any manuscript. When he followed Vālmīki it was merely a case of conscious or unconscious memory, and when he departed from it it was either unconscious failure of memory or else a deliberate choice of the account given in some other work. We have seen that Tulasī Dāsa states in so many words that he consulted other sources besides the epic of Vālmīki. The commentators agree in mentioning three works as having been used by him — the *Adhyātma - Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhusuṇḍi-Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Vasiṣṭha-saṁhitā*. Although Signor Tessitori draws attention also (p. 110) to points of agreement with the Raghuvamśa, I venture to think that he has laid too little stress on the importance of these extraneous sources. The *Bhusuṇḍi-Rāmāyaṇa* I have never seen, nor do I know if MSS. of it exist, but the other two works are well known and easily obtainable. An examination of these would very probably explain differences between the works of Tulasī Dāsa and Vālmīki in a manner more simple than that employed by Signor Tessitori. Of one thing I am certain. Tulasī Dāsa wrote his poem with his whole being saturated not only with Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, but also with all the other then existing Vaiṣṇava works dealing with the history of the Master whom he adored. The idea of checking his literary references was unknown to him. If he quoted he often no doubt quoted with verbal incorrectness, as learned Paṇḍits do at the present day, and I daresay that he himself would often have been puzzled to say on what particular work he founded the expressions used by him in any particular passage.

In one respect I heartily agree with Signor Tessitori.

He lays stress upon Tulasi Dāsa's originality. Tulasi Dāsa was a great poet, and though here and there his memory may have played tricks with him and led him to make unintended quotations, as a whole he deliberately avoided copying Vālmiki's language or borrowing his similes. On the other hand, I cannot look upon the variations of the sixth book as due to misunderstanding of Vālmiki's sequence of events or to mental confusion. If my belief is right, Tulasi Dāsa was familiar with every step in the sequence of events from his boyhood. If his account differs from that given by the recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa now available to us, it can only be that either he had been taught a recension unknown to us, or else that he deliberately abandoned Vālmiki and adopted the account of some other authority.

Although I have ventured to differ from Signor Tessitori in one not unimportant particular, I would strongly recommend all students of Tulasi Dāsa to study his paper. It is full of valuable comparisons and of suggestive remarks, and it must necessarily be taken into serious account in all future investigations as to the connexion between the two great poets of the Glory of the House of Raghu.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBRIDGE.

March 26, 1912.

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- A CATALOGUE OF THE TAMIL BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Compiled by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D., and the late G. U. POPE, D.D. London, 1909.
- A CATALOGUE OF THE KANNADA, BADAGA, AND KURG BOOKS in the same. Compiled by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D. London, 1910.
- A CATALOGUE OF THE TELUGU BOOKS in the same. Compiled by the same. London, 1912.

I spare my readers the usual remarks that should commence a notice of such works as the above. We all

know them off by heart. They should refer to the apparent dryness of the subject, to the real value and interest in the catalogue of a great library, and to the labour and learning involved in its preparation. Every member of the Royal Asiatic Society will admit the last two, and most will deny the first. I shall therefore consider such a preface to be taken as read and go at once to the heart of the subject.

The three catalogues of Dravidian languages are built upon the same lines as the preceding excellent Oriental catalogues of Professor Blumhardt. They heavily add to the debt which students owe to the British Museum, and they exhibit Professor Barnett's learning and accuracy in a department of scholarship with which few of us are familiar. In one respect they show a marked improvement. From the former catalogues all mention of dictionaries and grammars written in English for English readers was excluded. Here we have at least all the modern ones.

Examination of these volumes shows the amazing richness of our national library in works by modern Dravidian authors. As regards earlier works it is naturally not so complete, but even here we find many rare treasures. To give even a cursory account of the contents would be manifestly impossible, and so I shall confine myself to a few important topics in each language. It is almost needless to say that if I mention omissions it is not in a spirit of complaint.

In Tamil the old literature is well represented. We find all the principal editions of the *Tol-kāppiya*, the *Kuraḷ* of Tiru-valluvar, the poems of Auvaiyār, the *Nāl-adiyār*, Kamban's *Rāmāyaṇa*, the famous dictionary named the *Divākara*, Pavaṇandi's grammar the *Nan-nāl*, and similar classical works. The only name which I have not succeeded in finding is that of the *Cintāmaṇi*, an anonymous romantic poem by a Jain writer whom

Caldwell dates as not later than the tenth century. The older printed Tamil books also appear in considerable numbers. There does not appear to be any copy of what is usually said to be the first of all—the *Doctrina Christam*, translated into Tamil by Anriquez (Cochin, 1579)—but there is a complete copy of the translation of the whole Bible by Ziegenbalg, Schultze, and Gründler (1714–28). There are also the Rhenius Bible of 1827–33, the Fabricius Old Testament (1777, the F. New Testament is missing), the de Melho New Testament (Colombo, 1759), and the Cramer Gospel of St. Matthew (Colombo, 1741). The list of Beschi's works is a long one, and, so far as modern reprints are concerned, it is apparently complete, but there are none of the old original editions. I may note that a bibliography of Beschi by Vinson is printed in the *Revue Linguistique*, xxxiii, pp. 1 ff., 1900. As already mentioned, it is a great comfort to find all the modern grammars and dictionaries grouped under their respective heads in the Subject-index. One important work of this class has appeared since the catalogue was compiled, viz. *The Twentieth Century Tamil Dictionary*, by P. Ramanathan (Madras, 1909). It is not suited for beginners, as the whole is in Tamil.

As regards Kannāḍa, while there are all the modern grammars and dictionaries, I note that the grammars of Carey (Serampore, 1817) and McKerrell (Madras, 1820) are missing. The three forms of Canarese—ancient, mediaeval, and modern—are all fully represented. For the ancient dialect we have the *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* (about 1100 A.D.), Aggala's *Candra-prabha Purāṇa* (1189), Nāga-varma's Grammar and *Kāvya-valokana* (1145), Keśirāja's (thirteenth century) *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, and Śaḍaksari's (seventeenth century) *Rājaśekhara-vilāsa* and *Śabara-śaṅkaravilāsa*, but not his *Vṛṣabhēndravijaya*. For mediaeval Kannāḍa we have Someśvara's (fourteenth century) *Śataka* and other works, Bhīma's *Basava Purāṇa*

(1369), Kumāra Vyāsa's (sixteenth century) *Bhārata*, Kumāra Vālmiki's (1590) *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Dāsapada*s (from 1530), and Lakṣmīśa's *Jaimini Bhārata* (1760).

In Telugu, besides the modern grammars we have Carey's Grammar (Serampore, 1814), but not W. Brown's (Madras, 1807 and 1817). C. P. Brown is, on the other hand, very fully represented. The earliest specimen of the Bible is the Serampore edition of the Synoptic Gospels (1812). This was the first printed. The list of later versions gives a complete series of typical examples. The *Mahābhārata* and the Grammar attributed to Nannaya (eleventh century) appear in several editions of each. All the great writers of the sixteenth century, the "Augustan age of Telugu literature", are well represented. There are several editions of the *Svārōcisa-manu-caritra* of Allasāni Peddanna, "the Grandsire of Telugu poetry," one of Kṛṣṇa Rāya's *Āmuktamālyada*, three of Nandi Timmanna's *Pārijātāpaharaṇa*, the same number of Sūranna's *Kalāpārṇodaya*, and two of his ingenious *Rāghava-pāṇḍaviya*. Finally, the list of editions of Vēmana, probably the greatest of all the Telugu writers of the sixteenth century, and certainly the most popular, covers nearly two columns.

The above gives a very imperfect idea of the Dravidian literary treasures to be found in the British Museum. I have confined my remarks nearly entirely to classical literature and to early printed books. It is unnecessary to point out that entries dealing with these form but a small proportion of the whole. The rest, dealing with modern literature, cannot here be described. Considerations of space, and also of my own incapacity, forbid it. A few words are necessary to explain the share of the late Dr. Pope, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, on the title-page of the Tamil catalogue. The work was commenced by him more than twenty years ago, but he was unable to bring his task to completion. Professor Barnett revised

and rewrote his descriptions, and catalogued the numerous works acquired during the succeeding fifteen years. In this way the original number of titles became fully trebled. It now only remains to congratulate Professor Barnett on the completion of these three monumental volumes. So far as I am aware, there is nothing like them in any other European language, and if in spite of this I ask for more, it is only in the hope that the set will be soon completed by a volume for Malayalam.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBRIDGE.

March 23, 1912.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MAYURABHANJA. By
NAGENDRANĀTH VASU. Vol. I. Calcutta, 1911.

THE MODERN BUDDHISM AND ITS FOLLOWERS IN ORISSA.
By NAGENDRANĀTH VASU. With an Introduction by
MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ. Calcutta,
1911.

The first of these volumes contains the results of archæological and antiquarian investigations in the State of Morbhanj in Orissa during 1907-9, conducted under the enlightened patronage of the Maharaja, whose recent death adds a tragic interest to the work. The body of the book comprises a series of reports on the antiquities and history of a number of sites visited in the course of the survey, with an appendix containing text and facsimiles of eight copper-plate inscriptions. To this is prefixed an introduction on the various religions that have left their traces in the antiquities or spiritual life of the district. The second chapter treats of Buddhism, tracing its history from the first to the fifteenth century, and showing how it lingered on in half-conscious existence in these regions until 1875, when Bhīma Arakshita began to preach the Mahimā-dharma, boldly combining Buddhist

and Vaishṇava theology into a curious doctrine that has much in common on its practical side with the Hina-yāna and on its theoretical side with the Mahā-yāna. This chapter on Buddhism, reprinted with an introduction from Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri, forms *The Modern Buddhism*.

Almost every form of Hindu religion has left its mark in Morbhanj. Not least has been the influence of the Sauras, with which our author begins his introduction. He holds "that the Magas or Scythic Brāhmaṇas were the first to introduce the worship of the image of the Sun into India", and sees their descendants in the modern Āṅgīrasa Brahmins—a view that may possibly be right, but still awaits decisive evidence to prove it. Śaiva and Śākta influences have also been powerful; and Jainism has left many remarkable monuments. Curiously enough, Vaishṇavism, although the dominant church for many centuries in these regions, is not at all well represented in their antiquities.

Undoubtedly the most interesting part of this interesting survey is the chapter on Buddhism. In his valuable *History of the Bengali Language and Literature* Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen has vividly shown us how deeply the thought of many early nominally Vaishṇava poets of Bengal was coloured with ideas derived from Mahā-yāna theology. Pandit Nagendranāth Vasu, following the same line of investigation, brings the history of Buddhism in Orissa down to the present day. He finds distinct traces of Mahā-yāna cults among the Bāthuri or Bāuri tribe, on whose ethnology he gives some valuable data. He then quotes from the poems of the six great Vaishṇava Dāsas of Orissa, Achyutānanda, Balarāma, Ananta, Jagannātha, Yaśovanta, and Chaitanya, as well as other writers, which all abound in echoes of the Buddhist *Śūnya-vāda*, and after various cognate investigations concludes with a full account of Bhīma Bhoi's modern Mahimā-dharma, in which

Buddha figures as an avatar of the Absolute, Alekha, and is identified with Jagannātha.

In concluding this brief notice of this veritable *ratnākara* of learning, we may add that it is illustrated by numerous plates. Most of these are from photographs; a few, however, are from sketches, which are not all that could be desired.

L. D. BARNETT.

AJMER: HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE. By HAR BILAS SARDA. pp. x, 174. Ajmer, 1911.

This book, written by one who knows Ajmer well and has read much about its history in both Hindu and Moghul times, is an excellent account of that "ancient, beautiful, and interesting place", the name of which is now officially spelt as above, instead of, as we have so long known it, Ajmere or Ajmir, transliterated from **अजमेर** and **اجمير**.

After a general description of the district follows an account of the city, Taragarh Fort, the lakes, the Adhai din ka Jhonpra, the Dargah Khwaja Sahib, the Fort, and other buildings erected in Moghul times, with a chapter on Pushkar, the details of the buildings, the history of their erection, and the inscriptions found on them being fully given.

The second part is a short history of the Chauhan rulers of Ajmer, and the doings of the early Moghul emperors in the city and district. Akbar, making it the head-quarters for his operations in Rajputana and Gujarat, built the city wall and magazine. Jahangir laid out the beautiful Chasma with its palace, Shah Jahan constructed the palace and white marble pavilions on the borders of the Ana Sagar Lake. Aurangzib fought near by the great battle by which he defeated Dara Shikoh and established his position as emperor.

For the history of the later Hindu kings the author has referred a good deal to the *Prithiviraja Vijaya*,

a MS. found by Dr. Bühler, and briefly described by him in the account of his tour in search of Sanskrit MSS., 1877, which is now in the Deccan College, Poona, MS. No. 150. Having been written during or soon after the time of Prithiviraja it is interesting and important, and the genealogy of the Chauhans as taken from it and published by Mr. James Morison in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. vii, p. 189, may be taken as correct, agreeing as it does generally with that gathered by Dr. Kielhorn from inscriptions; it is good to hear that a transcript of the MS. has lately been made with a view to publication in the Bombay Kavyamala Series.

A statement on p. 150 regarding Ajayadeva, that "His queen Somaladevi, says the *Prithiviraj Vijai*, was very fond of designing new coins. Coins of Ajaideva and Somaladevi are met with in large numbers", has led to an inquiry being made to the author as to a description of these coins, for as yet we know of none attributed to the king, and only the two or three rare ones with the name Somaladevi on them, which Professor Rapson in *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 121, showed to be the right reading, instead of Somaladeva as read by Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, pl. vi, Nos. 10-12, and by Prinsep before him. Mr. Sarda has been good enough to reply that the coins of Ajayadeva are those of Cunningham's *Medieval India*, pl. ix, Nos. 7, 8, and Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. i, pl. xxiv, Nos. 7, 8, bearing the legend Sri Ajaya Deva, and attributed by both these authors to Ajaya Chandra Rahtor of Kanauj, and those of the queen are the ones above mentioned as commented on by Professor Rapson. Mr. Sarda also sends extracts from an inscription and from the *Prithiviraja Vijaya* concerning the coins of both the king and the queen, and adds that Pandit Gauri Shankar has sent, for publication in the *Indian Antiquary*, two notes discussing the matter fully. It is strange that coins should be issued some bearing the king's name and others that of

his wife, unless she was at any time a regnant queen, but we must await the publication of Mr. Gauri Shankar's notes in hopes of this and other difficulties being cleared up.

The work is carefully written and well printed. Two mistakes should be corrected, viz., p. 91, l. 17, "1870 A.D. to 1570 A.D.," and p. 148, l. 3, "Govind to Durlabh."

O. C.

BENGALI—LITERARY AND COLLOQUIAL. By R. P. DE.
Calcutta: Dey Brothers, 1911.

In *Bengali—Literary and Colloquial* Babu R. P. De has aimed at providing a concise grammar, together with specimens of literary work of different standards, colloquial dialogues and sentences, and a comprehensive vocabulary. The book is evidently the outcome of much labour and diligence and has been composed after many years' experience in teaching the language, and is specially intended for candidates in the various Government examinations. The best parts of it are the semi-colloquial dialogue between two gentlemen in part iii and the large collection of colloquial sentences in part v, which last comprises one-third of the book.

The grammatical portion is very uneven in its character. The Sanskrit portion, such as the forms of words and sandhi, is as full as is probably necessary for the object aimed at; but the Bengali portion is not treated adequately either in extent or thoroughness and is certainly concise. It is sound generally so far as it goes, yet one meets with strange lapses; thus it is said the letter **व** (*v*) has the sound of *w* in *wife*, but its real sound is *b*, and it is so transliterated in the colloquial sentences. The pronunciation of *jñ*, and of *n*, *y*, and *v* in compound letters is not explained, and the transliteration of the letters *a*, *e*, and *s* is not consistent. The declension of nouns is only sketched out; the various formations of the

instrumental, ablative, and locative are not mentioned, and the accusative is regarded as a dative. The treatment of the verb is the weakest part. In the conjugation of the one verb used, the honorific form of the third person is omitted, only one form of the passive is directly given, the participles are just mentioned, but verbal nouns are overlooked; and the irregular verbs, which are the commonest verbs, are unnoticed. The syntax of both nouns and verbs is elementary. The distinctions between good Bengali and colloquial are not pointed out, thus *āmāke* and *moke*, "me," are mentioned together as if equal. Those two varieties of the language are sometimes blended with highly literary forms, and as specimens of compound words are selected *ālulāyita-keshā*, *chaurāstā*, and *bilāt-pherat*.

The best part of the book is the colloquial sentences together with the vocabularies. The sentences are well-chosen and deal with everyday matters of all kinds, and should provide everyone with words, expressions, and idioms that will be useful to him in his work. The Bengali employed is good ordinary colloquial that is generally understood by all except perhaps in East Bengal. The sentences are given in English and Bengali, and the Bengali is also transliterated into Roman letters (though the transliteration is not always consistent). When a student has been grounded in the grammar and has attained some ease in reading the language, these sentences and the vocabularies should be of real help to him in getting to practical work in Bengal. The grammar portion of the book would then be useful for purposes of reference and to refresh his memory if necessary.

F. E. P.

RENWARD BRANDSTETTERS MONOGRAPHIEN ZUR INDONESISCHEN SPRACHFORSCHUNG. VIII : GEMEININDONESISCH UND URINDONESISCH. Luzern: E. Haag, 1911.

The above-mentioned little treatise is, I am disposed to think, the best thing its author has ever produced. Like other sound scholars Dr. Brandstetter progresses: he goes on learning all the time. In accuracy, insight, and method he is now on a distinctly higher plane than he was when he began to issue this valuable series of monographs; and every additional number has testified to the fact that his capacity for handling a difficult and complex subject has been continually expanding. In the present work, moreover, he deals with a matter of far-reaching importance, namely, the ultimate results of Indonesian comparative philology, so far as they can be apprehended at present, and he has brought to bear upon these central problems that intimate knowledge of individual forms of speech which he has gained by years of patient study, combined with a mastery of synthetic method wherein he is excelled by few scholars of our time.

The Malayo - Polynesian languages constitute a vast family comprising hundreds of forms of speech scattered over a huge area of the world's surface. But the area is mainly insular, and for the most part the individual languages are spoken by small groups of people. With two or three exceptions these languages have no recorded history: we can only take them as we find them to-day or, at best, as they were when first discovered by European travellers and explorers. Only Javanese, of them all, has handed down to us a substantial literature enshrining the mediaeval stage of the language, and even that (archaic as its forms often are) is quite modern in comparison with the unknown, far-off times when the linguistic ancestors of all these nations and tribes parted company and spread themselves over the islands of the South Seas. Yet all

these different languages bear plainly upon them the marks of kinship, of common descent from one mother tongue. What, then, was this mother tongue like? That is the question which Dr. Brandstetter sets himself to answer in the monograph lying before me.

It is reasonable to ask *in limine* whether an answer can ever be given to such a question as that. And when one remembers the hypothetically reconstructed common mother tongue of the Indo-European family which was given to the world somewhat prematurely by a sanguine scholar many years ago, one may be excused for feeling some doubt on the subject. But Dr. Brandstetter does not attempt an actual reconstruction in that sense. His position, briefly stated, is this. Here we have a large number of distinct and scattered languages: that which they have in common (alien loanwords and mutual borrowings being left out of account) must be presumed to have been part of their original heritage. Let us see, then, what it amounts to. In dealing with this problem he confines himself to the Indonesian branch of the Malayo-Polynesian family: rightly, I think, because that branch, apart from its having been more thoroughly and scientifically studied than the others, is on the whole the most perfectly preserved. It falls into a number of sub-groups, the precise limits of which have not as yet been defined in every case; but geographical distribution is a sufficient criterion for the purpose in hand. If a word or a form is found throughout the whole or the greater part of the Indonesian area, or even if it appears in two or three widely separate divisions thereof, it must (saving the above stated exceptions) be regarded as common and therefore primitive. For how else could it have got where it now is?

To me this line of argument seems logically irresistible, and I am fully prepared to accept its general conclusions. We have gone a long way since the days when such

hypotheses as those of separate creation and accidental resemblance, or Crawford's curious notion of the secondary influence of Malay and Javanese on a number of originally unconnected and alien tongues, were held to be sufficient explanations of the many features which the different Indonesian languages have in common. And I can only marvel that, in a work published barely half a dozen years ago, and composed by a man of distinction, Crawford's inadequate hypotheses, obsolete almost before they were written, should have been dished up anew for the edification of an indiscriminating public. Half a century of patient study (initiated and mostly carried on by Dutch scholars) and, as it seems to me, a whole æon of scientific advance, lie between those crude imaginings and the reasoned method of Dr. Brandstetter's treatise.

That does not necessarily mean that the results now arrived at are in every particular absolutely final and complete. As regards completeness, it may reasonably be hoped that important additions to them will yet be made by means of a still more intimate study of some of these languages, and by a comparison of the Indonesian branch with other branches of the Malayo-Polynesian family and with families of speech now generally believed to be ultimately related to it, such as the Munda and Mon-Khmer. The question of finality may also depend to some extent on such further comparative studies. Suppose, for instance, it has been inferred from purely Indonesian evidence that a particular grammatical affix was a primitive feature with a certain force, still traceable in its use in what appears *prima facie* to be a sufficiently large proportion of the living languages of that branch. Such a conclusion may, nevertheless, be liable to be upset if further inquiry should show that the affix in question is used with a different force in the other branches and allied families, even if only a single Indonesian language (provided its independence of them could be safely

assumed) happened to agree with them in that matter. I doubt, however, if such a case is very likely to occur; and what we are mainly concerned with is, after all, the substantial validity of the method as applied to the evidence as a whole.

Speaking generally, then, Dr. Brandstetter's conclusions are that the common Indonesian mother tongue did not differ essentially in its main characteristics from its modern descendants. In spite of the highly complex character of the laws of phonetic correspondence which prevail at present as between these, the primitive system of sounds was (with a few stated exceptions) much the same as still exists in some of the living languages. There were more monosyllabic words in the original language than are now in use; and the grammatical system, though not then as highly elaborated as it has become in some cases (e.g. in the Philippine and sub-Philippine languages) was much fuller than it is in many of the modern tongues, notably, I need hardly say, Malay, the best-known member of the whole family. Dr. Brandstetter deals principally with phonetics and grammar (including the use and formation of stem-words and their further extension by means of affixes and reduplication), leaving syntax to be treated in a separate monograph. The importance of these conclusions, both from the point of view of Indonesian studies in particular and of comparative philology in general, is too obvious to require much comment. I will merely say that the survey contained in this monograph of the leading common features of the Indonesian languages gives one quite a vivid conception of their structure and will also undoubtedly facilitate the learning and understanding of any one of them, varied and diverse as they are. Altogether this is an important and valuable piece of work.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE IRSHĀD AL-ARĪB ILA MA'RIFAT AL-ADĪB, or Dictionary of Learned Men of Yāqūt. Edited by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, and printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial". Vol. V, containing part of the letter ع. pp. xii and 560. Leyden, Brill; London, Luzac & Co.; 1911.

The transition from vol. iii, 1 (JRAS. 1910, pp. 885-91), to vol. v of this important text is due to the absence of any manuscript original for the intervening portion. In dealing with this volume the editor was more favourably situated than in the case of the preceding ones, for in place of the thoroughly bad Bodleian MS., he had for this subsequent portion of the text, in addition to a Constantinople MS., the use of a fairly old copy—dated A.H. 679 = A.D. 1280—acquired by himself and by Mr. Amedroz from the Bombay Professor, Muḥammad 'Abbās, which nearly reaches back to the author's period, for he died A.H. 626 = A.D. 1229. The contents of this volume, which includes *علي بن يوسف* to *عميد الله بن محمد*, are in no way inferior to what has gone before. The letter 'ain yields biographical notices of the highest importance, which Yāqūt's literary knowledge raises to the level of actual monographs. Of priceless value are the notices on Ibn 'Asākir (pp. 139-46), on Abu-l-Faraj al-Isfahānī (pp. 149-68), which gives us a close insight into the character and into the internal and external circumstances of the life of the author of the *Aghānī*, the important article on al-Kisā'i (pp. 183-200), and on Abu Hayyān al-Tauḥīdī (pp. 380-407), who, as we learnt from the former volumes, was a special object of the author's study, and from whose work *مثالب الوزيرين* were probably taken the extracts on pp. 361-75, which give so clear a picture of the intrigues at the Buwaihid Courts. And here for the first time appears, on pp. 208-19, a prolific, but hitherto scarcely known author, 'Ali b. Zaid al-Baihaqi

(ob. A.H. 565 = A.D. 1169-70), a pupil of Maidāni; the titles of his works cover two pages and a half. Yāqūt, in many passages here, makes use of his work, the *مشارب التجارب* (quoted also vol. ii, 314, l. 5), from which he gives us, too, Baihaqī's biography of himself, and what he tells us from this work about the vizier al-Kunduri (pp. 124 ff.) is likewise of peculiar interest.

On p. 409, l. penult., the author's keen insight has detected an autograph—for he seizes on these, as we know, with avidity, and appeals readily to their authority—with the view of including a hitherto unknown *Akhfash* among his "learned men". By similar means he got knowledge (p. 315, l. 8), through a copy made by al-Sukkari, of a work by al-Madā'ini, unknown to the author of the *Fihrist*. Nor is proof needed of the fact that the notice of al-Qiftī (pp. 477-94), to whom Yāqūt was under so great obligation, is of very special importance.

It follows, therefore, that the volume now provided for us by Professor Margoliouth has again proved to be a mine of information on the history of literature and of manners, and to him, and to the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial, we owe our thanks.

In reviewing the previous volumes we dealt with Yāqūt's sources, but we are now relieved of this task in the confident hope that Dr. G. Bergsträsser will apply to this and to the concluding volumes of the text the same thorough critical treatment of the works used by Yāqūt for the *Irshād* that he applied to the first three volumes (ZDMG., vol. lxxv, pp. 798-811, 1911). With regard to the learned family *al-Najīramī* and its members (cf. also this volume, at p. 81, l. 4 a.f., and ff.), and to Dr. Bergsträsser's note thereon, p. 807, n. 2, we would draw attention to what we said in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, Paris, 1909, pp. 202-3. The Najīramī family had received ample notice, too, from Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, probably based on the *Irshād*.

Professor Margoliouth has found in this volume, too, opportunities for the exercise of his critical and philological acuteness in improving the readings of his MSS. where required. Their readings often differ, not merely as regards passages of similar import, but also as regards the substance of the biographical notices themselves. Where this happened the editor put the two versions side by side and supplemented their respective deficiencies from the other. The trifling emendations which we made in the course of reading the text, we now submit to the editor, with the observation that these do not extend to the abundant and very wearisome verses by late poets, of which there is a large quantity given in the volume. Here and there, on a cursory perusal of these, we came upon slight irregularities in metre—p. 269, l. 2, in the second hemistich, and p. 335, l. 3. A large part of the following remarks concern what are presumably mere misprints:—

PAGE LINE

- 5 6 الجريري, read الجريري, i.e. he adhered to the *Madhhab* of Tabari (Ibn Jarīr); and this is the commonly used epithet of Mu'āfa b. Zakariya, cf. W.Z.K.M., vol. ix, p. 364, n. 9; *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, p. 394, l. 15, ونصر مذهب ابن جرير وأحياد ونؤد به وحامى عليه. A declared follower of this *Madhhab* was also Ibrāhīm b. Makhīlad al-Bākarhi, *ob.* A.H. 410 (cf. *Ansāb*, Gibb Facsimile, 61^b, l. 7, وكان ينتحل في الغنم مذهب, ابن جرير الطبري, and *Abul-Mahāsīn*, ed. Popper, 126, l. 12, وكان يتفقه على مذهب محمد بن جرير الطبري, whilst Aḥmad b. Kāmil b. Khalaf, Kādi in Kūfa, *ob.* A.H. 266, واهلكه. واحد اصحاب ابن جرير. العجب فاختر لنفسه مذهباً. On the *Madhhab Jariri* cf. F. Kern's Introduction to his edition of the *Ikhtilāf al-Fuḳahā*, Cairo, 1902, p. 15.

- 9 4 a.f. زمينى, read زمينى. Cf. Damīri, sub voc. كلب,

- ii, 330, 1 (ed. Cairo, 1284), لا يوجد إلا، ويقال إن هذا لا يوجد إلا، في نوع منها (يعني الكلاب) يقال له القلطى وهو صغير الجحر قصير القوائم جدًا ويسمى الصيغى والكلب الصيغى يدلّ: on the explanation of dreams: على مخالطة قوم من الاعجام.
- 11 5 يجدوان، read يجدوان، as in my edition of the *Kitāb al-Mu'ammārīn* (*Abhandl. z. Arab. Philologie*, ii), p. 41, l. 6.
- 11 6 قد تصرف، ib., p. 41, l. 7.
- 11 7 دهرنا . . . أخوها: De Goeje proposed دهرنا: . . . أخوها.
- 33 13 رأسًا (in place of which the editor proposes رأسًا) I take to be رأسًا، a seller of slaughtered beasts' heads; cf. *Lisān*, vii, 394, l. 3 a.f., والعامة . . . بوزن رعاس; and cf. the supposed Rifā'i-Kuṭb Muḥammad al-rawwās (*Rev. Monde musulman*, vi, 459; not "berger").
- 56 12 The gap should be filled thus: [بن مصعب] عطاء، cf. *Mu'ammārīn*, 34, l. 4.
- 65 8 أجل، read رجل.
- 67 ult. The reading هو requires no alteration. The meaning is: if the reader be convinced that the 'Allān of the anecdote is identical with 'Allān al-Shu'ūbī, he may insert this *Laḳab* in the text.
- 71 5 صرفه، read ضربه.
- 71 6 يسرى، read يسرق.
- 81 8 سور الذئب، read، perhaps، سور الذئب، i.e. the remains of the (food of the) wolf.
- 81 ult. المحسن should be المحسن، to accord with the title; and cf. p. 82, l. 4.
- 85 ult. نموّ makes correct sense, as meaning "estrangement".
- 102 7 a.f. غيم، the proposed emendation: رقيق is too remote from the text, more probably غيب.
- 106 8 هتك، read هتل.

PAGE LINE

- 148 11 ^{الأرأ} should be retained. It is thus in *Prairies d'or*, ed. Paris, iii, 133 : "Insight has disclosed to its (Babylon's) inhabitants the wisdom of things," although for أهله one would expect to find أهلها.
- 148 3 a.f. ^{من شرطه الآفات}, read, as ed. Paris, loc. cit., ^{من شرطه الآبانه}, "one of whose requirements is separation," in conjunction with the foregoing التشتيت.
- 203 1 ^{رواية}, read ^{رواية}.
- 214 8 ^{المحظائية} .. ^{الخطائية}.
- 222 11 ^{الطنز} .. ^{الطنز}. Cf. vol. i, 90, l. 2, and vol. iii, i, 23, l. 13, and also *Aghāni*, vi, 198, l. 6 a.f., ^{الضحك}; Ibn Khallikān, No. 666, sub *Abu Bekr b. Kurai'a*, ^{النوادر الطنزية}; and Jepheth b. 'Ali translates Prov. i, 22 ^{الطنز} ^{استهوا لانفسهم} ^{والى متى الطمازين}.
228 5 a.f. ^{البداية}; the title of the work is بدائع البدائه (cf. *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1899, p. 464, l. 15).
- 236 4 ^{مجان}, read ^{مجان}.
- 274 7 ^{ناصر} .. ^{ناصر}.
- 274 penult. ^{مذكرا} .. ^{مذكرا}.
- 284 3 Read ^{في [ما] فسر}.
- 288 3 ^{طلبة}, read ^{طلبة}.
- 381 ult. ^{المقايسة}, read ^{المقايسة}, i.e. the philosophic discussions by the circle of Abu Suleimān al-Mantikī, accessible in a Bombay lithograph.
- 389 11 ^{كتابه}, read ^{كتابه}.
- 403 penult. ^{اقوام} .. ^{اقوام}.
- 430 5 ^{ذخرا} .. ^{ذخرا}.
- 435 4 a.f. ^{افصى} .. ^{افصى}.
- 436 9 ^{مصر} .. ^{مصر}.
- 441 1 ^{اعدوا} .. ^{اعدوا}.
- 441 5 ^{ببحة} .. perhaps, ^{ديباجة}.

PAGE LINE

458 9 Read [אנא].

474 10 وعدت, read وَعَدْتُ.

480 12 البنان .. البنان.

Presenting as we do, and in entire accord with our fellow-workers, our renewed thanks to Professor Margoliouth for the progress he is making with his useful undertaking, one wish may be expressed, viz. that he be somewhat less sparing in adding diacritical marks, more especially so as to fix the form of proper names, e.g. عَمِّي, p. 287, l. 5 a.f., and furthermore so as to indicate grammatical forms, e.g. p. 220, l. 1 ff., and in the case of the more difficult verse citations. In many a case vocalization is the aptest form of commentary, and the best aid to the understanding of a text which, in a framework of consonants alone, often presents very great difficulty.

I. GOLDZIER.

ARAMÄISCHE PAPYRUS UND OSTRAKA AUS EINER JÜDISCHEN MILITÄR-KOLONIE ZU ELEPHANTINE. Altorientalische Sprachdenkmäler des 5. Jahrhunderts von Chr., bearbeitet von EDUARD SACHAU. pp. xxix und 290, mit 75 Lichtdrucktafeln fol. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911.

This is a work of the first magnitude, and although it only saw the light a few months ago it has already called forth a number of books and articles, and will provide material for theological, historical, and linguistic studies for some time to come. The sensation caused by the publication of the Assuan papyri several years ago has been eclipsed by these new finds. They do not consist exclusively of legal documents of a private character, but include a number of state papers of great historical interest, and give the reader an insight into a peculiar civilization built up in a remote corner of the ancient Egyptian empire. They further include private letters,

business papers, lists of names, fragments of an Aramaic version of the *Ahikār* romance and of another tale, also fragments of the famous Darius inscription of Behistun, and finally smaller ones, ostraka and a number of jars with Phœnician inscriptions—altogether nearly a hundred items.

Amidst the general joy of this discovery a sound of discord was heard, voicing a suspicion of forgery. Professor D. S. Margoliouth, in a learned article,¹ cast doubt on the authenticity of the most important documents, but the worst he could say was that the first papyrus "looked in facsimile as if it had been written very recently". We must confess that his argument that "according to the Arabs the practice of keeping copies of state documents commenced with the Caliph Mu'āwīa in the seventh century A.D., and a begging letter is not a state document, and we should still less expect a copy of it to be kept", is weak indeed. It is difficult to see how the Arabs prior to Mu'āwīya *could* have kept copies of state documents. The Elephantine document in question is not a begging letter, but the petition of a political body for protection. Besides, not *one* copy was kept, but two, and the slight differences between them show clearly that they were draught copies. Professor Margoliouth remarks that "the German expedition appears to have gone for the purpose of discovering Aramaic documents belonging to the old Jewish colony". Can we assume that this was done in any but a strictly circumspect and scientific manner? The only motive for a forgery (*viz.* to make money) seems to be entirely absent. The alleged Armenian, English, German, and Turkish words occurring in the texts cannot be taken seriously, and we can but fully agree with Professor Margoliouth's admission that "he cannot pronounce decidedly on a subject which involves so much

¹ The *Expositor*, January, 1912, pp. 69 sqq., but see Mr. St. A. Cook's article in the March number of the same journal; *Expository Times*, March, 1912, p. 235.

varied knowledge". Even if one or two of the smaller fragments and ostraka were not genuine, there would still be enough and to spare for serious consideration.

The situation presented to the reader in the two opening documents is one which surpasses the boldest imagination of a writer of fiction. They consist of a dispatch by the leaders and priests of the Jewish community of Jeb to Bagoas, the Persian governor of Judæa, asking permission to rebuild the temple of Jāhō which had been destroyed by the governor Weiderang at the instance of the priests of the Egyptian deity Hnūb. Now whilst in these documents the strictest monotheism is observed, in others, viz. pap. 5, l. 1; 6, l. 2; 12, l. 1, etc., we find the plural אֱלֹהִים. This may be but a literal translation of Hebrew אֱלֹהִים, although this is not certain. More serious is the list of names in the last column of pap. 18, where we find the names of two other deities, viz. Ishumbēthēl and Anathbēthēl. A third deity, explicitly described as such, is mentioned in pap. 27, ll. 7-8, viz. "HRMbēthēl, the god". In view of this evidence one can only agree with Professor Sachau's observations that the military colony of Elephantine, besides Jāhō,¹ also worshipped these three minor deities, although it does not appear that they had any shrines dedicated to them. The composition of these names with Bēthēl renders the assumption probable that at least a reminiscence of the calf-worship of Bēthēl had been transplanted to Egypt; by whom is, of course, unknown. Professor Sachau rightly suggests that this was done by the Judaic fugitives who carried the prophet Jeremiah along with them. Their persistent idolatry is sufficiently testified to by the censures and threats contained in Jeremiah xlv. More evidence is found in the

¹ The worship of Jāhō alone, unsupported by other evidence, would be no absolute proof of monotheism. The name occurs in old Semitic characters on a coin from Gaza, recently shown by Mr. G. F. Hill in a paper on "Some Palestinian Cults in the Græco-Roman Age" read before the British Academy, and shortly to be published.

fact that (as we gather from the complaint made in line 19 of the first letter) a petition sent to the High Priest in Jerusalem remained unanswered. This looks as if the temple authorities did not wish to have anything to do with their brethren in Elephantine, and considered their temple as well as their priests illegal. What makes the situation still more complicated is the circumstance that side by side with these polytheistic leanings the Elephantine Jews not only observed the laws of the Passah, but actually did so in a form which savours of Rabbinic interpretation. For pap. 6 gives what appears to be a standing order, enacting the celebration of the feast with an addition which is not contained in the regulations of the Pentateuch, but only in the Mishnah. Moreover, in pap. 1, l. 20 the mourning of the people for the destruction of their sanctuary is described in terms which the Rabbinic practice prescribed for the Day of Atonement and for the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, viz. abstention from food, drink ("wine," l. 21), anointing, and conjugal intercourse. All this does *not* look as if it could have been invented. The industry, ingenuity, and learning displayed in Professor Sachau's general and detailed researches in connexion with the papyri deserve the highest admiration. Professor Sachau is somewhat shocked at the cringing form of greeting in the opening lines, viz. that God should inquire into the well-being of the king's lieutenant; but it is scarcely stronger than صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ, and the words יִשְׁאַל שְׁלֹם here as well as in other letters (e.g. pap. 12, l. 1) probably mean nothing more than "may he greet". As to הַמִּוִּנִּית (l. 5), we may perhaps think of *הֵם* and translate "plottingly". The word לְרִיָּא has raised some controversy. Professor Sachau rightly rejects the translation *delator*, and only accepts the other one, *verwünscht*, with a sign of interrogation. I cannot imagine that the writers of an official document would

have indulged in abusive terms.¹ The word may be a denominativum of לחי "jaw-bone", and nothing but a physical characteristic of the person in question, viz. the man with the (large) jaw-bone. It should be noted that in the papyrus Euting A, l. 4 the word is missing.

As to the five gates of the temple (l. 10), Professor Sachau (pp. xvi and 15) reasons that Egyptian temples only had one entrance, but has nothing better to suggest than that, at the time the temple was built, the garrison consisted of five companies only. I believe that the five gates can be found in the following: one principal gate leading from the street into a court; then there was one entrance for the priests, one for the women, one for the officers, and the fifth for the common soldiers and servants. As to קימן (the same line), Sachau accepts Barth's correction of an alleged mistake into קיסן "wooden". This, however, should have been קיסין (cf. **قِسِين**). Why should the material of the doors be mentioned if they were made of ordinary wood, and why not, then, עקן as in the following line? A mistake on the part of the writer is out of the question; as the word occurs again in papyrus 2, I therefore suggest reading קימן.

Line 16, Professor Sachau translates: "welcher [viz. the 'Lord of heaven' of l. 15] uns mit Bezug auf den genannten hündischen (?) Waiderang kund tat, was folgt: Man wird die Kette von seinen Füßen entfernt haben," etc., taking the following sentence as a divine oracle. I would suggest that the line begins a new sentence, viz.: "(Regarding) what we have mentioned about W.," etc. I have the same objection to taking כלביא as an abusive term as above לחיא, and propose to read כְּלָבִיָּא "kennel-men" (cf. **كَلْبِيَا** and **كَلَاب**). We find the same expression in a Phœnician inscription from Cyprus (CIS., 86 B, l. 10), לבלבם ולגרם, which does not mean "dogs" but "dog-keepers". It

¹ In pap. 12, l. 3 he is styled רב הילא.

should be noted that only gods and human beings¹ are mentioned in this inscription. The situation in our text is possibly the following: whilst those who had carried out the destruction of the temple were put to death (l. 17), Waiderang was handed over to the keepers of the (temple?) dogs, who killed him and destroyed all his property. The execution seems to have been accompanied by great cruelty, probably alluded to in הנפקו כבלא. Professor Sachau's suggestion (l. 17, footnote) that he was put to death and the chains were subsequently removed from his feet, his corpse being cast away, seems to be most plausible. He was probably given over to the dog-keepers to be devoured by their dogs (cf. 1 Kings xiv, 11; xvi, 4; xxi, 23-4; 2 Kings ix, 10, 36).

It is, of course, impossible to discuss every item of the work here, as the majority of topics are subjects of study rather than of settled views. On several of them there already exists a small literature; this is the case with papyrus 6, alluded to above. From the passage (l. 5) "And from the 15th to the 21st (of Nisan)" we must infer that Exodus xii, 18 was known at that time even in Elephantine. Now this contradicts the current view of the post-Exilic origin of P (to which this passage is counted). In order to escape the difficulty Professor Sachau assumes that the military colony in Elephantine did not, prior to this document, know anything of the Passah feast, or neglected to celebrate it. The latter opinion is undoubtedly the correct one. The Rabbinic element contained in the royal decree, relating to the prohibition of certain beverages, clearly points to a much greater age of the law in question. Had this been a new enactment, the document would, of necessity, have given all the details required for the proper celebration of the feast, whilst for a practice familiar to everybody, but likely to be overlooked on account of

¹ But not in the sense of "dogs" as "humble slaves of the gods", as Cooke (*Text Book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 68) suggests.

ignorance or carelessness, this brief reminder was sufficient. That the feast was familiarly known can be seen from an Elephantine ostrakon, published by Professor Sayce in PSBA., November, 1911, in which occurs the words תַּעֲבֹרֶן פֶּסַחָה "she (?) shall prepare the Passah". It is thus clear that the last word on this question has not yet been spoken. A lively controversy on its bearing on Pentateuch criticism has already begun, and is likely to have important consequences.

The word זולו (papyrus 11, l. 8), left unexplained by Professor Sachau, is interpreted by Professor Barth as meaning "weigh ye", which is not very plausible. I should suggest to take the word as Pa'el and translate "render cheap" in the sense of "sell cheaply (goods from our houses)". A similar meaning is perhaps to be given to זול in line 7 of the ostrakon just mentioned, viz. "Hōshaiah has rendered valueless", instead of "undervalued" (Sayce).¹

Of great interest are the lists of names, the vast majority of which are Hebrew. Many of these names do not occur in the O.T. A strange contrast appears in papyrus 23, all the fourteen names of which are neither Hebrew nor Aramaic. As several of them are Persian, it is possible that the names are those of officers.

A remarkable fragment is papyrus 42, which contains two lines without the word-divisions, otherwise consistently observed in the other documents. Professor Sachau leaves it undecided whether the text is Hebrew or Aramaic, but both his attempts at translating it are unconvincing. The fragment seems to be a Hebrew amulet. As several words

¹ The word קח (l. 2) has been left unexplained by Professor Sayce. It can only be the imperative Pe'al of נקו "to puncture" (but not "to cut" as Dr. Daiches suggests in PSBA., January, 1912), and probably refers to the practice of pricking small holes in the flattened dough of the "bread" mentioned in the same line. If this be so, the first two lines relate to the preparation of the maṣṣōth. The custom of pricking holes in the dough is still observed, in order to allow the heat of the oven to penetrate the dough as rapidly as possible and to bake it before it has time to become leavened.

are missing on the right, a full translation is out of the question. Perhaps it runs as follows:—

... מֵ אֱלֹהֵי כָּל יִשְׁלַמְךָ יִשְׁלֵם
... שְׁלַמְךָ לְכָל יִפְרֵם וְיִשְׁלֵם

"... the God of the Universe may make thee well, may He make well (*or* repay) thy well-being, to all, may He redeem and repay (?)."

A large field of research has been opened up by the fragments of the Ahikar romance. They bring, in the first instance, the question of the origin of this remarkable piece of ancient Oriental literature somewhat nearer its solution. They further show that this romance is much older than has hitherto been held, and clearly illustrate that critical ardour can err in post-dating as well as in antedating ancient documents.

Among the latest and most incisive writers on the Ahikar romance is Professor R. Smend.¹ He agrees with Dr. R. Harris and J. Halévy that it was a Jewish book composed about 200 B.C. As the papyri date from the fifth century, we must antedate the book for more than another 200 years. Although not maintaining the thoroughly Jewish character, Smend denies its pagan origin upheld by other authors, but finds much Jewish, or at least Semitic, influence in it. The question now is whether the evidence to be found in the Judæo-Aramaic version of the papyri would corroborate its Jewish origin. Such evidence is not forthcoming; at any rate this text is not the original, but a translation, and it is improbable that any member of the military colony in Jeb was responsible for the translation. The parallel offered by the Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription might aid in the formation of a theory. As the latter translation was obviously made on behalf of the Persian government, it may be argued that the Aramaic Ahikar

¹ "Alter und Herkunft des Achikar-Romans und sein Verhältniss zu Aesop," p. 116 (Beihefte zur ZAW. xiii).

was likewise sent down to Jeb as a moral guide and educational reading-book. The question of the real original thus remains untouched, but here Professor Sachau's (p. 147) cautious suggestions in connexion with the stele of Ahikar seem to come very near the truth. In the meanwhile several interesting articles on the exegesis of the didactic part of Ahikar have been published in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (November, 1911, to February, 1912).

Professor Sachau leaves it unmentioned that the ostrakon table 65, 3 is identical with CIS. ii, 137. The doubtful appearance of several letters accounts for the discrepancies in the two explanations. Thus the first sign in A, l. 2 is read by Sachau as the cipher for 3, whilst CIS. reads it as 1. To judge from the facsimile the sign in question looks like the relic of an **𐤌** which may therefore belong to **𐤌𐤌** of the previous line, giving the word **𐤌𐤌𐤌** "dream". In line 2 **𐤌𐤌** CIS. is more probable than Sachau's **𐤌𐤌**. On the other hand, Sachau's **𐤌𐤌** (l. 6) seems to be preferable to CIS. **𐤌𐤌**. In B, Sachau's **𐤌𐤌𐤌** does not seem so good as CIS. **𐤌𐤌𐤌**, although nothing definite can be said on this point.

Not of the same importance as the papyri, yet interesting enough are the jar inscriptions with Phœnician names. It is not likely that the military colony in Elephantine manufactured its own pottery, but probably bought it from Phœnician makers. The name **𐤍𐤏𐤋𐤏** "Epha maker" on one of the jars is sufficient evidence of this. Another interesting fact is that several of the names in the lists mentioned before also occur in the latest instalment of the inscriptions from Carthage published in the CIS.¹

The grammatical sketch appended to the work is of particular value, and fully brings out the importance of the papyri for the study of the development of the Aramaic language through its various stages. They have preserved

¹ No. 2,760, see p. 528 of this Journal.

several archaisms which are no longer visible in the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, and thus hold the mean between these and the dialect of the Zenjirli inscriptions. One must, however, be on the guard against hasty conclusions, as it is likely that the dialect of an isolated colony in a remote corner of a country of different speech developed much more slowly than in Western Asia. An interesting parallel is to be found in the *Espagnol* of the Jews in modern Turkey, which shows archaisms that have long disappeared from present-day Spanish. The grammatical difficulties of the dialect of the papyri are, of course, greatly enhanced by the absence of any Masoretic help. Interesting is the disappearance of נ within the word, as in נהבת for נאהבת, and similarly to this we may regard the loss of ע at the end, the names שמו and שמוע probably being identical. As to the use of ר' at the beginning of a sentence, cf. ר' הן, Daniel ii, 9.

These rapid notes are not meant to give an adequate idea of the fullness of the volume. It will require the combined study of various specialists to cope with the historical, literary, and linguistic material it provides. The scientific excellence of the transcription and the notes is accompanied by splendid facsimiles. The publishers deserve special praise for the way in which the work has been produced.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

SELECTED BABYLONIAN KUDURRU INSCRIPTIONS. By W. J. HINKE, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in Auburn Theological Seminary. (Semitic Study Series, edited by R. J. H. Gottheil and Morris Jastrow, jun., No. XIV.) 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 inches. Leiden: late E. J. Brill, 1911.

Combining, as they do, manners and customs, legal forms, religion, superstition, and the art of the Kassite period in Babylonia, these *kudurrēti* or boundary-stones

offer numerous points of interest which other Babylonian antiquities lack. The book is therefore a much less uninteresting production than it would seem to be at first glance. Originally grants of land to officials, fugitives, and temples, in the second Išin dynasty they include private transfers of property.

The texts given are eight in number, and, with one exception, have all been published before. The special merit of this publication is, that all, with one exception, have been collated with the originals, and the vocabulary which is to enable the student to translate them is greatly improved. The texts themselves occupy 40 pages, the sign-list takes up 12, and the remainder, 38 pages, is devoted to the glossary. An introduction of five short pages gives all that the beginner needs to know before attacking the texts themselves.

The first text, which is a good example of inscriptions of this class, is a grant of land by the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttaš to the god Merodach. This seems to have included the city Mār-ukni, with four other cities. The fields belonged to the city of Risnu on the great Suri River, Tiriqan on the Daban River, in the province of Sin-magir; the cities Šasai and Dūr-šarri on the Daban River, in the province of the city Dūr-Pap-sukal; the city Pilari on the River Šarru (*Nahr Malka*), in the province of Hudadi (read by Scheil and others Bagdadi); the city Dūr-Nergal on the Migati River, in the province of Mesliaš; the city Dūr-Šamaš-ila-ibni on the Sumuntar River, in the province of Bit-Sin-āšarēdu; the city Karē on the Šarru River (*Nahr Malka*), in the province of Upi (Opis). All these extensive possessions were secured by this land-grant; and the gods whose names are recorded, whose emblems are shown, and whose seats are indicated thereon, are invoked to curse any who should have the boldness to diminish them. Among these last are "the seat and the tiara(?) of Anu, king of the heavens; the *girgibu*,

messenger of Enlil, lord of the lands (or of the mountains); the great sanctuary (? or sacred emblem, *āsirtu*) of Éa"; "the crescent, basket, ship of Sin" (the moon-god); "the brilliant torch of Ištar, lady of the lands; the mighty steer of Addu (Hadad), son of Anu," etc. It is a pity that the reliefs on these boundary-stones could not be included in the book—they would have added greatly to its value, especially if accompanied by notes by such a specialist therein as Professor Hinke.¹ With regard to the *girgilu* of Enlil, he notes Hommel's suggestion that this is the cock, the word for which others say (comparing תְּרִנָּגֹל for תְּרִלְוִיגֹל) is *tarlugallu*, though, as I have shown (JRAS., 1911, p. 1150), this bird seems to have been called *bibinakku*.² The first syllable of *girgilu* apparently contains the Sumerian word *gir*, "foot"; the Semitic equivalents are *saahu* (*zaahu*) and *arabā*, the latter being also called *issur mē*, "water-bird" (JRAS., 1911, p. 1061). Perhaps the sea-gull is intended—indeed, this bird seems to occur on two cylinder-seals, one in the British Museum, and the other belonging to Mr. J. Offord, published in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, November, 1911, pl. xl (see my notes thereon, p. 215, l. 5 from below). The Talmud agrees with the Babylonian inscriptions in stating that the cock was sacred to Nergal, god of war (cf. JRAS., 1911, p. 1042).

Besides the sign-list and the word-list, one would have liked to see an index of names, transcriptions of which, in certain cases, would have been of special use in a book intended for students. It is an excellent production, however, for those who are advanced enough, and is written by a thoroughly competent Assyriologist.

T. G. PINCHES.

¹ See his *New Boundary Stones of Nebuchadnezzar* (Bab. Exp. of the University of Pennsylvania, series D, vol. iv).

² Most birds had more than one name in Babylonian.

NOUVELLES FOUILLES DE TELLO, par le Commandant GASTON CROS, publiées avec le concours de LÉON HEUZEY, Directeur Honoraire des Musées Nationaux, et F. THUREAU-DANGIN, Conservateur Adjoint des Musées Nationaux. Deuxième livraison. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911.

This important publication, which continues that noticed in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* for 1911, pp. 1182 ff., consists of pp. 105-222, with numerous inscriptions, figures in the text, and five heliogravure plates. It goes on to describe the reservoir-quarter (*région des bassins*) of Lagaś, and has pictures of two such receptacles, one with sloping bottom (*pentes convergentes*), paved, and the other with asphalted bottom (*réduit bitumé*). Among the objects found in this portion of the excavations may be mentioned two gore-shaped flakes of mother-of-pearl, engraved with the following designs: a man struggling with a roebuck, a horned and whiskered human head (of a man-headed bull), a lion-headed eagle holding with its claws the heads of two serpents rising from the upper part of a disc, and an ibex rising against a bush to eat a bud. These flakes formed the sides of a sword-hilt.

Exceedingly interesting, also, is the description of the Necropolis on Tell H. One of the first things found was a well-built funerary enclosure (*"de beaux murs en briques"*) of rectangular form. The corners are described as being properly oriented, and in that of the west were three platforms, arranged like broad steps, whereon, it is supposed, the bodies were prepared for burial, and rites performed. To the north of this is a brick tomb, and also other details, the nature of which Commandant Cros cannot indicate. Numerous other burial-places were found in this mound, and the various forms of the receptacles are interesting. Space fails here to give an adequate notice of them, or of the objects disinterred on the site.

M. Thureau-Dangin gives us many new inscriptions, among which may be mentioned that of a new king named Sumu-ilu, cut on a remarkable statuette of a dog. As Sumu-ilu's date is about 2100 B.C., this is almost the oldest representation of a dog known. M. Heuzey contributes a description of it from an antiquarian point of view. Another interesting text is a hymn to the goddess Nisaba (Ceres). Several pre-Sargonic account-tablets follow, and are succeeded by inscriptions from tablets belonging to the ends of the dynasties of Agadé and Ur. Certain letters and contracts of the first dynasty of Babylon show that the authority of that city was acknowledged at Lagaš about this period. The first of the series, which was apparently written a little before this period, is unusual:—

" . . . By the hands of my son I raise not my head¹; henceforth shall I not be satisfied with food, my best clothes I have not (upon me); I anoint not my members with oil. Pain like a knife (?) has entered into my heart—would that I might benefit (?) . . . "

After some fragments of hymns and of historical texts mentioning the defeat of Uru-ka-gina (by Lugal-zaggi-si), the destruction of Umma, and the restoration of the stele of Mesilim in the reign of Ê-anna-tum, M. Thureau-Dangin gives some inscriptions of the nature of labels similar to those published in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* for 1911, pp. 1040–1042. Three of the four new texts begin with the same word or words as those referred to, and end, like them, with the name and titles of Uru-ka-gina. Instead of two lines containing the names of men, however, these specimens have one only, in two cases the name of the temple Ê-barbara and in the other the goddess Nina. His rendering of these texts is as follows:—

"Bastion of the enclosing wall, Ê-barbara (or Nina). Uru-ka-gina, king of Lagaš."

¹ Apparently meaning "my son is no comfort to me".

He suggests that these labels show that the object to which they were attached belonged to the temple, god, or person mentioned, and was placed on deposit, in the fortress, during the reign of this king, perhaps at the moment when the city was invested by Lugal-zaggi-si, king of Kis. If this be the case, the investment took place in the third year of Uru-ka-gina (Berens, No. 3, JRAS., 1911, pp. 1040 ff.).

I have regarded these labels as having accompanied the goods to which they were attached and as being addressed to "the lord of the fortification" and his secretary, or the like—the names of both are given.

The five plates include the small statue of Gudea (perfect), three views of Sumu-ilu's dog, bas-reliefs, weapons, and views of the necropolis.

The book is a concise and businesslike production, full of interesting and important material. No Semitic archaeologist can afford to neglect it.

T. G. PINCHES.

NAMEN DER KÖRPERTEILE IM ASSYRISCH-BABYLONISCHEN,
von HARRI HOLMA. (*Annales Academiæ Scientiarum
Fennicæ*, ser. B, tom. vii, 1.) Druck von August
Pries in Leipzig, 1911.

Such systematic studies as these are things of delight for the philologist and general root-hunter. The work is divided into eight headings: the head and its parts; the parts between the head and the trunk; the trunk; the sexual parts; the upper extremities; the lower extremities; the parts of the specifically animal body; and names of parts of the body which are still of uncertain meaning. With the indexes the pages number 182.

In all probability there are but few sections of the Assyro-Babylonian vocabulary better provided with the means of interpretation than that which refers to

the human and the animal frames. This is due not only to the existence of special lists, but also to the words indicating parts of the body in omen-tablets and elsewhere. Notwithstanding that the discussions of the various words are long and detailed, nearly 400 expressions are treated of—an indication of the richness of the Assyro-Babylonian language, already foreshadowed by the 1,200 pages of Muss-Arnolt's Assyrian dictionary and Meissner's *Supplement*.

It is needless to say that a large number of the words treated of had already been rightly rendered, but the author's notes thereon will be found useful, as they not only confirm the renderings adopted, but show how the meanings were extended.

Notwithstanding the many additions to our knowledge of this section of the Assyro-Babylonian vocabulary which the work reveals, there is still much to be done, as the many queries show. A few extracts from the German index will show the present state of our knowledge:—

Head. Besides the common words *qaqqadu* and *rēšu*, two additional words, *gulgullu* and *bibinu*? are given.






Breast, *irtu*. Woman's breast, *dādu*?, *dīdā*, *zīzu*, *habānu*?, *kirimmu*, *muššu*, *širtu*, *tilā*, *tulā*.

Throat, *ganguritu*, *girru*, *girānu*, *hamuritu*, *harurtu*, *napištu*.

Womb, *bēšu*, *edammukku*, *ipu*, *ibāḫu*, *laqlaqqu*, *maklalu*, *nīt libbi*, *pušqu*, *piristu*, *qirbitu*?, *rēmu*, *rēmtu*, *šasurru*, *šilitu*, *šisitu*. [*Ūru* seems also to have been used in the same sense.]

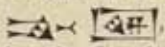
Naturally there are many things in a book like this with which the reader cannot agree. Thus, on p. 25, where the cognates of *laku* or *laqu* are given, though the Hebrew מִלְחָמָה is satisfactory, one may legitimately doubt the Arabic حَنْثُوم, حَنْثُوم, "gums," "throat," and the Ethiopic ሕልቅ. Also, does *lāk pī* mean "the gums of

the mouth"? In Boissier's "DA" (*Présages*), p. 23, l. 2 of the rev., he does not read *l(?)áki pí-šu*, but prefers *láki ázni-šu*, perhaps rightly, though the dual-wedges in the latter case would be expected. I have before me at present, however, the following comparison:—

la-ak pí-šu ša me-e pí-šu

lák pí-šu, which is "the water of his mouth". If I understand this rightly, therefore, *láku* means "spittle".

As an example of the excellence of the work, however, the words for "throat" may be mentioned. These are *napištu* in incantations and other inscriptions; *girru* in omen-texts, *gangurítu* and *hamusítu* in bilingual lists, *girānu* in omens, and *harurtu* in a letter. The windpipe seems to have been *ur'udu*. The lungs are given doubtfully as *irāti* and *ru'tu*, and this appears to be one of the meanings of these words. Though by no means certain, it is probable that the Sumerian for "lung(s)" is , a group which is glossed *bun*, and explained by the Semitic Babylonian *el-la*. . . . The first character is the usual determinative prefix for a part of the body, the second being the character for "wind" within that for "enclosure". Now the "wind-enclosure" of the body is the chest, and by extension it may have included the lungs. Whether the Semitic rendering is to be completed as *ellamu* ("front") or not, is doubtful.

The usual word for "foot" is *šepu*, but a fragment, unprovided with a running number when I copied it, has the rendering *ilki* = *šepi*, from which it would seem that it could also be expressed by *ilku*, probably from *álaku*, "to go." "Hoof" is *šupru*, a word which also stands for "nail", "claw", and the "nail-mark" used instead of a seal. I have long been in doubt as to the Sumerian equivalent being *dubbin*, and read it *umbin*—it is possibly connected with the Semitic *ábanu*, "finger." Apparently the original meaning of *šupru* (var. *zubru*)

was "extremity", or the like, as the real word for "hoof" or "paw" seems to have been *épir-* . . . which translates UZU-UMBIN-IGI-DU, and (probably with an explanatory word) UZU-UMBIN-GIŠ-SIG ("fore-foot" or "-hoof"), UZU-UMBIN-TABTABBA ("the four feet," or "hoofs", or "paws"), and UZU-GIŠ-NIM-GIŠ-SIG ("fore and hind (literally "upper and lower") members"). UZU-UMBIN-TABTABBA is also translated by *qursinnetum*, "the (four) legs" (of an animal).

But sufficient has been said to show the value of the book. One hopes to see more from Dr. Holma's pen—such studies as this make for a precision in translating otherwise unattainable.

T. G. PINCHES.

TABLETTES DE DRÉHEM, publiées avec inventaire et tables, par H. DE GENOUILLAC. Cloth; 8 × 12½. Paris: Geuthner, 1911.

LA TROUVAILLE DE DRÉHEM. Étude, avec un choix de Textes de Constantinople et Bruxelles, par H. DE GENOUILLAC. Avec 20 planches en zincographie. 8 × 11. Paris: Geuthner, 1911. 3s. 4d.

The first thing that one looks at on opening books like these is the copies, and those of M. de Genouillac are things to gladden the eyes. The first book has fifty-one plates, containing about one hundred and eighty inscriptions, many of them with cylinder-seals, whilst the other has about ninety similar reproductions.

Dreheim is described by the author as being about half an hour (by boat, I believe, but that is not stated) from Niffer, which latter was regarded by the Jews of the Captivity as the Biblical Calneh. It is interesting to notice the list of proper names of places compiled by the author from these texts, which thus become documents supplying us with history, especially when their *iššakē* or "mayors" are mentioned. At this time (about 2300 B.C.)

it may be supposed that there was no king in Babylon, but officials of this class, Aršia¹ in the 53rd year of Dungi, and Murteli (or Uru-teli)² in the 8th year of Bûr-Sin. Among the others referred to may be mentioned Kallamu of Ašnun-ak, who owned certain cattle in the 57th year of Dungi; Ituria of the same place, who delivered small cattle in the 9th year of Gimil-Sin; Ā-billaša of Kazallu, in whose name small cattle were transferred in the 8th year of Bûr-Sin. Ugula of Kiš also received cattle on behalf of the king in the 4th year of Bûr-Sin; Gudea of Gudua (Cuthah) delivers cattle to (the temple of) Enlila in the behalf of the king in the 3rd year of his reign; and Libanukšabaš of Marḥaši appears in connexion with the offerings in the festival of Adar in the same year. These and other data of a like nature, contained in the publications of Langdon, Genouillac, and Delaporte, add much to our knowledge of this early period, and more may be expected. In *La Trouvaille de Dréhem* M. de Genouillac gives much geographical material from other inscriptions, to which may be added the names of Gabren, Girnun, Maîr (so rather than Mari or Mair),³ Šimaš(gi), Zaul, Siu, Tahtahhuni (read, apparently, Tahtahuni instead of Gabgabni), Giša, etc. Naturally the same name is repeated in these texts again and again, so that the list is soon exhausted, but it is an interesting one.

La Trouvaille de Dréhem treats also of the find in general, the calendar, and the dates. The tablets often have very fine impressions of cylinder-seals, and these are always given. A plate prefixed to the work has seven half-tone blocks, with reproductions of some of these early Babylonian objects of art.

T. G. PINCHES.

¹ The tablet refers to sheep and lambs belonging to him.

² The text refers to draught-oxen delivered to him.

³ In *W. Asia Inscriptions*, ii, pl. 60, line 20, it seems probable that the deity mentioned is not *Matik*, but *Maîr*, "king of the city Maîr." It is to be noted that the names here are not in all cases misplaced, as has been thought.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April, May, June, 1912.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

April 16, 1912.—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. J. P. Mead, jun.

Mr. R. O. Winstedt.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. E. T. Richmond read a paper entitled "The Significance of Cairo".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Sewell and Dr. Hagopian took part.

TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL PRESENTATION.

May 21, 1912.

The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

SIR MORTIMER DURAND, in opening the proceedings, said :—The Royal Asiatic Society presents every three years a Gold Medal for Oriental Research. On this occasion it has been awarded to Mr. Fleet, whose work you all know. Mr. Fleet served for thirty years in India, and has distinguished himself by researches in History, Chronology, and other matters, which I will not go into now. Lord Minto has been kind enough to undertake to present the Medal, and we are very grateful to him for doing so. I will now ask him to make the presentation.

LORD MINTO said :—I must in the first place thank the Royal Asiatic Society for having invited me to present the Triennial Gold Medal to Mr. Fleet; for I can assure

them, as a former Viceroy, that it is very welcome to me to assist in any way in doing honour to one who has rendered such long and distinguished services to his country. I believe it is something like forty-five years since Mr. Fleet entered the Indian Civil Service, in the Presidency of Bombay. He joined the Revenue and Executive Branch of the service, and served in the usual grades of Assistant Collector and Magistrate—also as Educational Inspector, Southern Division, and Assistant Political Agent, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country—till 1883. In January, 1883, he was appointed Epigraphist under the Government of India. He reverted to the regular line of the Service, as Collector and Magistrate of Sholapur, in June, 1886. He was subsequently Commissioner of the Southern and Central Divisions from December, 1891. He proceeded on furlough to England in September, 1895, and retired from the service in June, 1897. Mr. Fleet holds a distinguished record in Indian Epigraphy, History, and Chronology. In these subjects he is a leading authority in foreign countries as well as in England. In Epigraphy his most important work is vol. iii of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, on the "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors", which was published in 1888: its great merits are (1) the establishment of a model for the modern scientific method of treating Indian epigraphic records; and (2) the settlement of the long-disputed question of the true initial date, A.D. 320, of the Gupta era, one of the fundamental means for adjusting and unifying the chaotic history of ancient India. Equally useful and important are his numerous articles on inscriptions, history, geography, coins, etc., published from 1870 onwards in the volumes of the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Epigraphia Indica*, and the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society and its Bombay Branch: they constitute a monument of scholarly acumen and accuracy. Mr. Fleet's position as

a leading authority on the subjects mentioned above is shown by his being invited to contribute the account of "The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts" to vol. i of the *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896); chapter i, on "Indian Epigraphy", to vol. ii, "The Indian Empire," of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1908); and articles on "Hindu Chronology" and "Indian Inscriptions" to the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Appreciation of his work has been shown in Germany by making him a Philosophiæ Doctor (*honoris causa*) of the University of Göttingen, a Corresponding Member of the Royal Society of Sciences, Göttingen, and an Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society. That, ladies and gentlemen, is merely a sketch of Mr. Fleet's career. I can only tell you again how pleased I am to be here to-day to offer him the congratulations of the Royal Asiatic Society on his work, and to present him on their behalf with their Triennial Gold Medal in recognition of the long and distinguished services he has rendered to the Indian Empire.

MR. FLEET said:—There is so much business before us this afternoon, this being the Anniversary Meeting, that I must make only quite a short statement. I feel it a great honour that the Gold Medal should be given to me in succession to the eminent scholars to whom it has already been awarded,—Professor Cowell, Dr. West, Sir William Muir, Dr. Pope, and Dr. Grierson: it will always be a source of pride to me that my work should be held to rank in any way along with theirs. I would like to add that I regard it as a particular privilege to receive the Medal from the hands of Lord Minto; because, not only has he held the exalted position of Viceroy of India, but also he has shown in many ways, as well as by his presence here to-day, that he takes a strong personal interest in our researches into the antiquities of the country.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 21, 1912, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Babu Jyotish Chandra Bhattacharyya.

Mr. Jonathan David Deane.

Mr. A. S. Fulton.

Mr. Newton Henry Harding.

Rai Saheb Sri Krishna Mahapatra.

Mr. Tan Tiang Yew.

Seven nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

The Secretary then read the Annual Report.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1911-12

In presenting their Report for the year 1911-12 the Council regret to record the loss by death of an Honorary Member, the Ven. H. Sri Sumangala, and of twenty Ordinary Members :—

The Hon. Mr. Warren D. Barnes.

Surgeon-General W. B. Beatson.

Syed Ali Bilgrami.

Sir C. Purdon Clarke.

Sir C. A. Elliott.

Mr. Ferrar Fenton.

Miss Mary Frere.

Mr. M. Ohn Ghine.

Mr. R. T. H. Griffith.

Mr. D. F. A. Hervey.

Mr. William Irvine.

Lieut.-Colonel A. S. G. Jayakar.

Rev. A. Lloyd.

Rai Bahadur S. Mitter.

Mr. Charles J. Morse.

Mr. J. H. Nelson.

Professor J. Campbell Oman.

Lord Stanmore.

Sriman M. S. Vaidyesvara

Mudaliar.

Mr. E. Vesey Westmacott.

The Society has also lost by retirement the following thirteen Members :—

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.

Mr. Alfred W. Domingo.

Mr. E. B. Havell.

Mr. Ram Shanker Misra.

Major-General Mockler.

Mrs. Mond.

Mr. M. Tun On.

Mr. T. Ponnambalam Pillay.

Mr. A. Rea.

Mr. Gulab Shanker Dev
Sharman.

Sardar Sundar Singh.

Mr. Arnold C. Taylor.

Mrs. M. E. Woelker.

Under Rule 25 (d) the following cease to be Members:—

Mr. Sofiullah Saifuddin Ahmad.	Mr. Pyare Lal Misra.
Mr. Mahomed Anwar Ali.	Mr. Manmatha Nath Moitry.
Mr. Muhammad Badre.	Mr. Mounq Mounq.
Rev. James Doyle.	Mr. A. R. Pillai.
Mr. S. C. Ghatak.	Mr. Hakim Habibur Rahman.
Mr. M. V. Subramania Iyer.	Rai Kunja Lal Roy.
Mr. Priya Krishna Majumdar.	Mr. B. C. Sen.
Babu Kedar Nath Mazumdar.	Mr. Kumar Ram Pratap Sinha.

Mr. P. M. Neogi, elected during the year 1911, has not taken up his election.

Professor Jacobi, of Bonn, has been elected to the vacancy among the Honorary Members, and fifty-three Ordinary Members have been elected:—

Nawabzada Khaja Muhammad Afzal.	Professor E. Washburn Hopkins.
Mr. T. M. Ainscough.	Mr. N. P. Subramania Iyer.
Mr. M. Sakhawat Ali.	H.H. the Maharaj Rana Sir Bhawani Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., of Jhalawar.
Raja Naushad Ali Khan.	Rev. Hardy Jowett.
Mr. H. C. P. Bell.	Mr. Habibur Rahman Khan.
Professor Sarat Chandra Bhattacharya.	Mr. Mohamed Hasan Khan.
Kaviraj K. L. Bhishagratna.	Dr. N. J. Krom.
Mr. Aylward M. Blackman.	Dr. Berthold Laufer.
M. l'Abbé A. M. Boyer.	Dr. F. R. Martin.
Mr. Gopal Chandra Chakravarti.	Mr. Manmatha Nath Mukerjee.
Professor Ganes Chandra Chandra.	Babu Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, M.A.
Mr. Aboni Chandra Chatterjee.	Mr. Mirza Kazim Namazi.
Mr. Akhil Kumar Chatterjee.	Mr. J. E. Nathan.
Mr. Birbhadra Chandra Chowdhuri.	Babu Padmini Mohan Neogi.
Rev. Edward James Clifton.	H.H. Maharaja Bupindar Singh Mahindra Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Chief of Patiala State.
Mrs. Coralinn M. Daniels.	Mr. A. P. Peters.
Mr. Pulinkrishna Dé.	Rai Bahadur P. M. Madooray Pillay.
Mr. L. A. Fanous.	Mr. Alan William Pim, I.C.S.
Miss Mary C. Foley.	
Mr. K. Haig.	
Professor Johannes Hertel.	

Mr. Surendra Narayan Roy.
 Mr. M. C. Seton.
 Sardar Labh Singh.
 Sardar Nihal Singh.
 Babu Hira Lal Sood.
 Mr. Donald H. E. Sunder.
 Mr. Francis S. Tabor, I.C.S.
 Rev. W. M. Teape, M.A.

Mr. H. A. Thornton.
 Mr. James Troup.
 Mr. M. N. Venketaswami.
 Mr. Frederick G. Whittick.
 Mr. D. R. Wijewardene.
 Professor Ghulam Yazdani
 Masudi.

The total increase of membership for the year is only three. This is accounted for by the very heavy losses by death. The losses by resignation and removal are about the average.

There is a decided gain in the subscriptions to the Journal: of the Libraries and non-Members subscribing, two have withdrawn but an additional twenty have joined.

During the year the Prize Publication Fund has brought out its third volume, an edition of the *Meghadūta*, by Dr. Hultzsch, with Vallabha's Commentary; and the Oriental Translation Fund has published two works, (1) an edition of the *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* of Ibn al-'Arabi, with a translation and abridgement of the Commentary, by Dr. Nicholson, and (2) the Georgian poem, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, translated by Miss Margery Wardrop and edited by Mr. Oliver Wardrop.

The Council has also undertaken to publish the second volume of the autobiography of the Emperor Jahangir, i.e. up to the nineteenth year of his reign, translated by the late Mr. Rogers and edited by Mr. Beveridge. This has been made possible by the generous offer of Mr. Beveridge to pay about one-third of the cost of printing.

The Annual Dinner was held on May 15, 1911, at the Hotel Cecil, the President in the chair. Among the guests were the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, the Chinese Minister, Sir Richmond Ritchie, and Mr. Fletcher, the Master of Marlborough. At the close of the dinner the President presented the Public School Gold Medal to Mr. Jenkins, of

Marlborough College, who had won the medal for his essay on "The Marquess of Dalhousie".

The Council would remind the members of the Society that this autumn a new lease for seven years of the premises in 22 Albemarle Street will commence, at an increased rental of £130 a year. As was stated at the annual meeting last year, the renewal of the present lease was only made after long and careful consideration of all other possible neighbourhoods and houses. As the decision to stay in Albemarle Street involves a considerable additional expenditure it is necessary to look for additional income. This might be obtained by an increase in the number of *Resident* Members. Attention has been drawn at the annual meetings of the last two or three years to the continuous decrease annually in this class of members. This should not be, for the advantages offered to Resident Members in the shape of the privilege of borrowing books from the Library and in other respects, in addition to the meetings and the ordinary use of the Library, are well worth the difference in the subscription paid by the non-Resident and the Resident Members: yet, although the non-Resident membership has increased in the last six years by over 100, the Resident membership has declined to such an extent that the number of Resident Members at the beginning of this year was only 85. The Council hope that all members will continue to promote the interests of the Society and its work, not only by being members themselves, but also by urging the desirability of joining the Society on others who are interested in the East.

The Journal has well represented all the varied interests that come within its scope, and its value to those studying Oriental matters is shown by the large increase in the number of Libraries and Societies subscribing to it.

The usual Statement of Accounts is appended.

The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS				910	0	0
Resident Members—83 at £3 3s.	261	9	0			
Advance Subscription	3	3	0			
Non-Resident Members—						
8 at £1 1s.	8	8	0			
346 at £1 10s.	519	0	0			
Advance Subscriptions	46	16	0			
Arrears received	18	0	0			
Non-Resident Compounders—2 at £23 12s. 6d.	47	5	0			
Part Subscriptions, etc.	5	19	0			
	910	0	0			
DONATION FOR ALTERATIONS TO PREMISES—						
W. Morrison, Esq.				100	0	0
RENTS RECEIVED				197	17	2
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE				210	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT				354	1	0
Subscriptions	229	10	0			
Additional copies sold	100	12	6			
Sale of Pamphlets	5	17	3			
Advertisements	17	4	3			
Sale of Index	0	17	0			
	354	1	0			
DIVIDENDS				51	7	6
New South Wales 4 per cent Stock	30	4	8			
Midland 2½ per cent Debenture Stock	5	0	0			
South Australian Government 3½ per cent						
Inscribed Stock	2	10	2			
Local Loans Stock...	13	12	8			
	51	7	6			
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS				22	6	4
Lloyds Bank	21	2	8			
Post Office Savings Bank	1	3	8			
	22	6	4			
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				3	10	3
Balance as at January 1, 1911				1,849	2	3
				883	19	1
				£2,733	1	4

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock.
 £212 8s. Midland Railway 2½ per cent Debenture Stock.
 £454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.
 £152 0s. 10d. South Australian Government 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock, 1939.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1911.

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT				432	6	10
Rent	350	0	0			
Insurance	10	13	11			
Repairs	7	18	11			
Lighting, Heating, and Water	32	7	2			
Other Expenditure	31	6	10			
	432	6	10			
SALARIES AND WAGES				304	0	6
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				35	15	5
LIBRARY				27	7	6
New Books	16	6	6			
Binding	11	1	0			
	27	7	6			
JOURNAL ACCOUNT				579	3	11
Printing	467	1	0			
Illustrations	63	8	4			
Postage	47	4	7			
Purchase of out-of-print Copies	1	10	0			
	579	3	11			
DONATION TO PALI DICTIONARY				10	10	0
POSTAGE				38	13	2
LAW CHARGES AND AUDITOR'S FEES				9	1	0
PURCHASE OF £152 0s. 10d. SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 3½ PER CENT INSCRIBED STOCK.				150	0	0
				1,586	18	4
BALANCE as at December 31, 1911, being cash at Bankers and in hand				1,146	3	0
Lloyds Bank	1,072	9	5			
Post Office Savings Bank	70	15	9			
Petty Cash	0	10	11			
Postage	2	6	11			
	1,146	3	0			
				£2,733	1	4

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

R. SEWELL,
for the Council.
W. CREWDSON,
for the Society
N.E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

LONDON, February 2, 1912.

A further contribution of £50 towards the cost of publication of Vol. I is receivable from the Royal Geographical Society during the current year.

SUMMARY.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	316 1 1	Lloyds Bank Deposit Account	...	386 12 6
INDIA EXPLORATION FUND	124 4 0	Do. Current Account	...	87 0 2
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	24 8 7			
MONOGRAPH FUND, Deficit	...			
	474 13 8			
	1 1 0			
	<u>£473 12 8</u>			<u>£473 12 8</u>

FUND—£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent
Irredeemable Stock (Prize Publication Fund).

We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the (R. SEWELL, for the Council,
same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock investments (W. CREWDSON, for the Society,
and Bank balances. (N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor.

February 2, 1912.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

MEDAL FUND.

1911.	£ s. d.	1911.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. Balance	...	Dec. 31. Balance at Bank	...
Dec. 31. Dividends	9 15 0		43 18 8
Interest	0 17 9		
	10 12 9		
	<u>£43 18 8</u>		<u>£43 18 8</u>

FUND—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent
Irredeemable A Stock, £325.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND.

1911.	£ s. d.	1911.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. Balance	...	Dec. 31. Cost of Medal	...
Dec. 31. Dividends	19 7 4	Cost of Prizes and Binding, etc.	...
Donation, A. N. W.	0 1 8		5 0 0
Interest	0 9 0		6 4 6
	19 18 0		
	<u>£38 2 6</u>		<u>£38 2 6</u>

FUND—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent
Irredeemable B Stock, £645 11s. 2d.

A. N. WOLLASTON,

January 1, 1912.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

LONDON, February 2, 1912.

We have examined the above accounts with the vouchers and have verified the Investments above (R. SEWELL, for the Council,
described, and we hereby certify that the said accounts are true and correct. (W. CREWDSON, for the Society,
(N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor

passed to the Auditors—Mr. Crewdson, Mr. Sewell, and Mr. Waterhouse.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year, 1912-13, are as follows:—

Under Rule 30 Dr. Grierson retires from the office of Vice-President.

The Council recommend in his stead and to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Irvine:—

Dr. Gaster,
Dr. Hoernle.

Under Rule 31 Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Codrington retire from their respective offices of Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Librarian.

The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rules 31 and 32 the following Ordinary Members of Council retire:—

Professor Browne,
Mr. Dames,
Dr. Thomas;

and

Mr. Marshall and
Dr. Stein

resign owing to absence abroad.

The Council recommend in their stead and to fill other vacancies:—

Mr. H. F. Amedroz,
Dr. Grierson,
Mr. L. C. Hopkins,
Dr. A. Berriedale Keith,
Mr. Legge,
Mr. Pargiter,
Lieut.-Colonel G. T. Plunkett.

Under Rule 81

Dr. A. B. Keith and
Mr. Crewdson

are nominated Auditors for the ensuing year.

MR. M. LONGWORTH DAMES said: I have pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report which we have just heard read. The principal point I think on which we should concentrate attention is the absolute necessity of an increase in the members of the Society, especially of resident members, for without a large number of resident members it is impossible for a Society like this to maintain its position. Of course, an increase in income is also required as we have had to renew the lease of this house at very considerable extra expense—at £130 a year more than before. I think we are all pleased that we are to remain in the old house; and it is no doubt worth the extra rent that we have to pay. This being so, and in any case, we all ought to devote our attention and try as far as we can to recruit for resident members through our friends from among those returning from service in the East, and so get the resident membership of the Society on to a more satisfactory footing than it is at present. As far as the non-resident members are concerned I do not think we have cause for complaint, for these have gone on increasing, and also the number of subscribers to the Library; it is only among the resident members, the most important class, that we do not make the progress we ought to make. Otherwise, I feel we have every cause to be pleased at the position and progress of the Society, and also in regard to the level at which the Journal is maintained, its general interest and the variety of subjects with which it deals. Therefore I have much pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

DR. W. PERCEVAL YETTS said: At the Anniversary Meeting three years ago the eminent orientalist, Sir Ernest Satow, called special attention to that part of Asia in connexion with which his name has long been famous. He advanced the claims of the Far East to the Society's more ample consideration. I would venture now to reiterate and enlarge upon some of Sir Ernest Satow's remarks, especially those relating to the Middle Kingdom.

The Society has reason to be proud of the Journal published for the year 1911. It contains thirty-two original articles, and, in addition, a large number of miscellaneous contributions and reviews. The high standard of scholarship maintained by the contributors is of course beyond my criticism, but what I would venture to comment upon is the somewhat inadequate representation of matters relating to the Far East. Of the thirty-two articles only six have any direct connexion with this the greater part of Asia, and of these one is concerned with Tibet and one relates chiefly to India. Japan, Siam, and Malaya are not represented at all. Three articles only are devoted to China, a country which holds at least a third of the population of Asia and possesses a civilization unique among the nations of the world.

Perhaps no other oriental country offers such a wide and at the same time such an imperfectly studied field for research; yet we look in vain for a sufficient number of younger scholars to follow in the footsteps of those who have placed the British in the front rank of sinologues. I am sure that the Royal Asiatic Society would wish to take the lead in fostering a renewed interest in things Chinese, and in maintaining the supremacy of our nation in this department of oriental scholarship. An important step in this direction might be made by the individual enterprise of members by recruiting for the Society more of those interested in the Far East.

In this connexion I would like to mention how fortunate we are in gaining as a new member Dr. Laufer, whose work on Chinese archæology and Tibetan subjects is so well known. Let us hope that he will soon become a regular contributor to the Journal.

The Society is also to be congratulated on the addition to the Council of such a distinguished Chinese scholar as Mr. Hopkins. As everyone knows, Mr. Hopkins is the recognized authority on ancient Chinese script, and I am

sure we all look forward to a continuation of his important contributions to the Journal.

May I venture to suggest that there is another method, apart from the Journal, by which the Society might advance the study of East Asian subjects. It is by enlarging the scope of its Monograph Fund. And this brings us to a question of money. I understand that the fund is at present not in very affluent circumstances; in fact, it consists of some £50 only.

Would it not be possible to obtain help from the Government? The India Office recognizes the work of the Society by giving an annual grant, and surely the Colonial or the Foreign Office would do the same if only the matter were suitably represented.

British possession of Hong-Kong and of Wei-hai-wei and of the Straits Settlements, together with our vast commercial interests in China proper, should be reasons sufficiently strong to obtain for us official recognition. The lack of such help seems extraordinary, especially when we realize what is being done by governments of other countries with interests in China fewer than our own. The Dutch Government has shown us an example by subsidizing the publication in English of Professor De Groot's great classic, *The Religious System of China*.

So far as I know, there is no instance of the publication of a scholarly work relating to China, except museum catalogues, having been aided by a subvention from Government. Nor have our universities undertaken this important duty. Intending writers are naturally discouraged from embarking upon projects which after years of toil may involve them in serious financial loss, even if they are even lucky enough to find a publisher.

I have much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report.

SIR MORTIMER DURAND said: The remarks that we have heard from Dr. Yetts are valuable, and we shall think over them carefully.

So far as I am able to judge, the state of things this year is on the whole fairly satisfactory. I think the number of new members who have come forward is altogether what we should have wished to see except, as has been pointed out, in the matter of Resident Members. Both classes of members are really necessary for the work of the Society, and the want of more Resident Members has a bad effect upon our funds. I hope that any one of you who is able to do so will induce other people to join as Resident Members.

With regard to the Journal, I think we have had this year a very large number of extremely interesting and scholarly articles. It is quite true that we have not had as much with regard to the Far East as we should have liked to have, but we have had a certain number of articles about China. We have had articles from Professor Chavannes, Mr. Hopkins, and from Dr. Yetts himself, and we may hope that in future years a larger proportion of articles will be devoted to the Far East.

We have also had valuable articles from Mr. Fleet, Professors Sayce and Chavannes, Dr. Pinches, Colonel Waddell, and Mr. Blagden on inscriptions, and we have had an especially valuable paper from Dr. Marshall in regard to archaeology. And as I am on that point I may as well mention, what some of you know, that the Society did its best to prevent a little while ago the threatened abolition of the Archaeological Department in India. I am happy to say that the Archaeological Department has not been abolished; it would have been a great misfortune if it had. Our experience went to show that handing over archaeological work to the Local Government, having nobody really in charge at head-quarters, was fatal. If the Department had been abolished, undoubtedly the study of archaeology in India would have suffered. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Government of India have not carried out the proposal, and the Department continues as before under the superintendence of Mr. Marshall.

We have had some interesting papers from M. Gauthiot, Prof. Poussin, Dr. Hoernle, and Mr. Cowley with regard to the discoveries of Dr. Stein in Central Asia. They are very important discoveries, and I am glad so much interest has been taken in them not only in this country but elsewhere.

Our funds unfortunately are not in a very wealthy condition; we really have extremely little money in hand for the publishing which we should like to undertake, and it would be no doubt a desirable thing to increase our funds. Whether it would be possible to get some grant from a Public Department, as Dr. Yetts suggested, I do not know; I should much like to think it was. But my experience of Government Departments is that they do not rush forward in matters of this kind, that they require a good deal of persuasion. I quite agree that it would be an excellent thing to try for; but whether we shall succeed is another matter. However, with the small funds that we have at our disposal we have done everything we can in the way of publishing. I think we have done and are doing a great deal, and we hope to do more. If we had more money there are any amount of things we should like to publish.

As the Report has pointed out, we have to deplore the death of a considerable number, over twenty, of our members; and I am sure that everyone here will feel that several of those are men we could ill spare: Mr. Irvine, for instance, Sir Charles Elliott, Lord Stanmore, and others. Mr. Irvine was one of the most regular frequenters of this Society, and he did a great deal for us. We deeply deplore his death.

I have spoken to you already about the subject of Resident Members, and I will not say more except to ask you to think over what Mr. Dames has said. We cannot get along unless we have the proper number of Resident Members; but if any of you by personal exertion can increase that number we shall be extremely grateful to you.

There is only one other matter I had better touch upon before sitting down. I am sorry to say that our Annual Dinner has had to be given up this year. It has been carried on now a good many years, and last year it was particularly successful. But this year we have had so few applications for tickets that we have decided to give it up. I hope, however, that in future years we shall be able to revert to our old practice, and that the dinner will be as great a success as before. I have also to announce to you that the Public School Gold Medal has been awarded to Mr. H. F. A. Keating, of Eton, for a remarkably good paper on Lord Lawrence; and it will be presented to him on the 18th June by Lord Harris.

With these few words, ladies and gentlemen, I put the adoption of the Report.

The Report was adopted unanimously.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1912

XXIII

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF FARS, IN
PERSIA, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWELFTH
CENTURY A.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE MS. OF IBN-AL-BALKHI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
BY G. LE STRANGE

(Concluded from the April Journal, p. 339.)

THE QUBAD KHURAH DISTRICT

Arrajān.¹—This city was first founded by King Qubād, the father of Chosroes Anūshirwān. It was a great city, with many dependencies, but during the troublous times when the Assassins held sway in the land it fell to ruin. It has a warm climate, and the city lies adjacent to the *Thakān* Bridge, where it spans the great river called the *Nahr Tāb*, which flows down from the neighbourhood of *Sumayram*. Further, many other streams flow past near here, with much water, whereby the land in this neighbourhood is most productive, growing all kinds of fruit. Groves of date-palms and of pomegranates abound, especially of the kind called *mīlāsī*,² which is most excellent. There are also many aromatic plants. The districts round and about *Arrajān* are very numerous, and a mosque for the Friday prayers stands in the city.³

¹ The ruins of *Arrajān* lie near a place called *Sih Gunbadān* ("the Three Domes"), a short distance to the north of *Bihbahān* (FNN. 275, 276).

² Variant *malīṣī*, a name not given in the dictionaries.

³ The MS. here repeats the text in the opposite column, and apparently a paragraph has been omitted.

*Jallādjan, Niv, and Dayr.*¹—These are all districts of Arrajan, with climate and general conditions the like thereto, so that it is needless to say more. Of this district too is the hamlet called Chahār Dīh, "Four Villages."

*Khabs, Furzuk, and Hindījan.*²—These are districts lying between Arrajan and the inner districts of Fārs. Khabs was a post for the customs, and all these places in climate and general conditions exactly resemble Arrajan in all points.

*Rīshahr.*³—A small town lying on the seashore, near by o the castle of the Amīr Firāmurz ibn Handāb.⁴ The climate here is extremely hot, so that the men have, in summer-time, to wrap the inner rind of the acorn on parts of the skin in certain places, otherwise it would chafe into sores by the excess of sweat and the heat engendered there. Further, they have the habit of putting on many shirts, and they wear them very long. By reason of the dampness and the unwholesome climate no one who is not a native of the place can stay out the summer here; all others go up to Diz Kilāt⁵ and the castles that belong to the Amīr Firāmurz, and there they remain [during the hot months]. In this district nothing is to be had except sea-borne goods that are brought hither in

¹ In one place spelt Jallājan. None of these three places, nor Chahār Dīh, now appear on the map, but they are mentioned by the Arab geographers. Niv (printed without points) is given by Iṣṭakhri (p. 111), who names Dayr Ayyūb and Dayr 'Omar (Ist. 112, 113) as of this region.

² Common variants are Jins, also Jis in place of Habs or Khabs. Neither this place nor Furzuk occurs on the map, but they appear in the Itinerary. Hindījan, which Muqaddasī (p. 422) writes Hinduwān, is now known as Bandar Hindiyān (FNN. 239). See above under Bilād Shābūr.

³ Probably to be identified with the modern Zaydūn (FNN. 278), for this Rīshahr cannot be the small town of that name lying 1½ leagues and to the south of Būshahr, though this last is stated to be "one of the ancient cities of Fārs" (FNN. 210).

⁴ The name of his father is uncertain. It may be read Nadāb, Hadhāb, or Badāb. Not given in Ibn-al-Athīr.

⁵ The MS. may be read Diz Kilāb or Gulāb, and there exists a Qal'ah Gulāb or Kilāb, this castle standing 6 leagues south of Bihbahān and 4 east of Zaydūn (FNN. 278, 336).

ships, for nothing except fish, dates, and Rishahri flax is to be come by in this place. The people are almost entirely occupied with the sea trade, but they have neither excellence nor strength of character, being of a weak nature. The town stands on the frontier line between the Arrajān District and Khūzistān. The men here are honest, occupying themselves with their own affairs, but they have been mishandled by one tyrant after another, fate having been against them. Further, some of the districts near by are far more populous than that round Rishahr.

Jannābā.¹—A small town lying on the seashore, and in Persian they call it *Ganfah*, which signifies "Stinking Water". Now, a city that has "Stinking Water" for its name must be described as of an evil stinking character, and therefore there is no occasion to speak of its condition. Nothing that need be mentioned is produced in this place, and all that can be said is that it lies on the road of one going from Mahrūbān to Sirāf.

Sinīz.²—A little town lying on the seashore. There is here a small fort. The place lies between Mahrūbān and Jannābā, and they weave linen cloths here which are very thick and soft, and these are known as *Sinīzi* stuffs. They, however, do not wear well. Nothing else is produced excepting dates and oil for lamps. The climate is good.

Mahrūbān,³ with its District.—Mahrūbān is a place lying so much on the seashore that the waves of the sea beat on the houses of the town. It has a warm, damp, unwholesome climate, worse even than that of Rishahr. It is a seaport that all ships come into that sail either from Fārs going towards Khūzistān, or that set out by sea from Baṣrah and Khūzistān. Likewise all the ships from

¹ The ruins known as *Gunāvah* lie somewhat to the north of *Bandar Rīg* (FNN. 209).

² The name of *Sinīz* has disappeared from the map; its site is probably near modern *Bandar Daylam*, the chief town of the *Qirāvi* District (FNN. 279).

³ Now written *Māh Rūbān* (FNN. 239).

the sea that have cargoes from, or for, the districts inland come and go from Mahrūbān, whereby its custom-dues from these ships are very considerable. Except for dates they grow no fruit here. They breed sheep, however, in great numbers, and likewise goats; also they raise calves, which are for size like those they breed in Baṣrah, for it is reported that some weigh as much as 80 to 100 *raṭl* in weight, or even more.¹ Linseed and flax are grown here abundantly, being exported to neighbouring parts. In the town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers. The people of Mahrūbān are weak in character.

The Islands which belong to this district of Qubād Khūrah are as follows: Jazīrah Hangām, Jazīrah Khārik, Jazīrah Ram [or Dam], and Jazīrah Balūr.²

The description of the towns and districts of Fārs being completed, we shall now proceed to notice all the great rivers and the lakes, and then the meadow-lands and such castles as are still in good repair. These, therefore, are the great and celebrated rivers other than those of which a part only [lies in the Fārs province].³

RIVERS

Nahr Tāb.—This river takes its rise in the neighbourhood of Sumayram,⁴ increasing in size till it reaches

¹ The Baghdād *raṭl* was under three-quarters of a pound avoirdupois: hence 4 to 5 stone-weight.

² An Island of Hangām (FNN. 318) lies to the south of the Long Island (Jazīrah Tawīl), near Hurmuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, but this Hangām Island could not be counted as of the Qubād Khūrah district. The Island of Khārik is well known (FNN. 315), but Ram (or Dam) and Balūr cannot be identified.

³ In FNN., pp. 322-30, an alphabetical list of 109 of the rivers and streams of Fārs is given. Each of these now for the most part takes its name, section by section, from the district through which it flows; hence one river during its course goes by many names, and the 109 enumerated do not stand for that number of distinct streams.

⁴ The Tāb-Kurdistān-Jarrāhī River does not rise near Sumayram, for the upper basin of the Shustar River lies in between. Furthermore, its mouth now lies far to the north of Sinz, the Shīrīn River flowing down to the sea here in the intervening country.

Arrajān, where it passes under the bridge called Pūl-i-Thakān. Then it waters the district of Rishahr and flows into the sea near Siniz.

Nahr Khwābdān.¹—The source of this river is at Jūyikān. It waters the district round Nawbanjān, and then flows through Jallādjan until it joins the River Shīrin, by which its waters reach the sea.

Nahr Jirrah.²—This river rises in Māsaram, and it waters the district of Nahast Masjān, thence passing on it waters Jirrah and its district, also part of the Ghundijān District. Beyond this it joins the Bishāpūr River, and thus its waters reach the sea.

Nahr Burāzah.³—The Burāzah River is that of Firūzābād, and its source is at Khunayfghān. It irrigates Firūzābād, with its district, and then joins the Thakān River, by which its waters reach the sea. This river has its name from Burāzah, the great engineer, who drained the [lake] off from round and about the city of Firūzābād [as described above].

Nahr Kur [Cyrus River].⁴—This river rises in the neighbourhood of Kallār, and it is a rebellious stream that will irrigate no lands unless a dam has been thrown across it to raise the level, and thus enable the waters to be led over the surface of the soil. Now the dams that have been built across its stream are the following: The Rāmjird Dam⁵ is of very ancient construction, and it gave irrigation to all the villages of the Rāmjird District. It

¹ The Zuhrah-Fahliyan River.

² The Dāliki-Jamilah River. Māsaram is the name of a village in this district (spelt now with a *sān* in place of *gād*, FNN. 281). The spelling Nahast Masjān is uncertain; possibly it is a clerical error for Nahiyat Sittajān, "the Sittajān District," near the head-waters of the Thakān River (see below in the Itinerary). There is, however, a village in this region still called Dih Masghān, or Masqān, lying 1 league south-east of Shikuft (FNN. 281), which may be the place indicated if the reading be taken as Masjān.

³ The Dihram-Firūzābād-Hunayfqān River.

⁴ The Kāmfirāz-Rāmjird-Kirbāl River.

⁵ FNN. 325.

had, however, fallen to ruin, and has been restored recently by the Atabeg Chāuli, who has given it the name of Fakhris̄tān [after himself, he holding the title of Fakhr-ad-Dawlah]. Next comes the 'Aḡudi Dam,¹ the like of which, as is well known, exists nowhere else in the whole world. To describe it it must be known that the Kirbāl District [which lies round and about] originally was a desert plain without water. But 'Aḡud-ad-Dawlah seeing this opined that if a dam were built here the waters of the River Kur would work wonders on this desert land. He therefore brought together engineers and workmen, and expended great sums of money to make side canals to lead off the waters of the river from the right and the left bank. Then he [paved the river-bed], above and below the dam, with a mighty weir [*shādurwān*] constructed of blocks of stone set in cement. Next he built the dam itself with [stones set in] tempered cement and sifted sand, so that even an iron tool could not scratch it and never would it be burst asunder. The summit of the dam was so broad that two horsemen could ride abreast across it without the water touching them, for to carry this off sluices were made. Thus, finally, the whole of the district of Upper Kirbāl received its irrigation by means of this dam. The Band-i-Qaṣṣār² [the Fullers' Dam] had been built of old to water the district of Lower Kirbāl, and it too had fallen out of use; but the Atabeg Chāuli has likewise restored this to working order, and [some distance below it] the River Kur flows out into the Lake of Bakhtigān.

*Nahr Masin.*³—The source of this stream lies in the hill country near Sumayram and Simtakht. It flows down to join the River Tāb.

¹ FNN. 257, the Band-i-Amīr.

² Now known as the Fayḡābād Dam (FNN. 257).

³ The Armish and Zard streams. Its source is much to the south-west of Sumayram.

*Nahr Shīrīn*¹ [the Sweet-water River].—This river has its source on the frontier of the Bāzrang District, and it flows past Gunbad Mallaghān, giving water to many districts, for besides that of Gunbad Mallaghān it irrigates certain of the lands of Arrajān, finally flowing out into the sea between Sīnīz and Jannābā.

Nahr Bishāpūr.²—The source of this river lies in the mountain land about Bishāpūr. It waters the city of Bishāpūr and its district, as likewise the homesteads of *Khish*t and Dīh Mālik, and falls into the sea between Jannābā and the Māndistān District.

Nahr Thakān.³—The source of this river is at a village called Jatrūyah [or Chatrūyah], which same is a well-known village with its district belonging to the Māsaram sub-district lying round about Shīrāz, all of which lands this stream waters. From here it flows on, passing in turn Kavār, *Kh*abr, Šimkān, Kārzin, Qīr, Abzar, and Lāghir, giving water for irrigation to each in turn, and finally irrigating part of the district round Sirāf. In its last reach the river passes the village of Thakān, from which same it takes its name. Then finally it flows out into the sea between Najiram and Sirāf, and in all the province of Fārs there is no stream that is more bountiful for irrigation purposes than is this Thakān River.

Nahr Purvāb.⁴—The source of the river is at a village called Purvāb. This is a most blessed river. Most of the

¹ The Shīrīn, Sar Faryāb River. Whatever it may have done in the past, the mouth of the Shīrīn is now at a place on the Persian Gulf, lying far to the north of Sīnīz and Jannābā.

² The Zirah, *Kh*ish, and Shāpūr River. Dīh Mālik is no longer marked on the map, but its position is given in the Itinerary.

³ This is the very long river of many names, of which the first portion is now known as the Qārah Aghāch ("Black Wood"), and the last reach as the Mand River of Mandistān. Jatrūyah is possibly identical with the village of Bāndhūyah, lying 6 leagues north of Shikuft and a little south of the village of Māsaram (FNN. 280). The village of Thakān is probably represented by Kākt, the chief town of Mandistān (FNN. 214).

⁴ Otherwise written Pulvār. The Purvāb-Kamīn River. The village of Purvāb no longer exists.

district of *Marvdasht* is irrigated by its waters, and it flows to join the River Kur. This, therefore, as given above, is the description of the greater and most celebrated rivers of Fārs, and besides them there are many other streams and rivulets of lesser size, but these cannot be noticed lest the matter run to too great length.

SEAS AND LAKES

In regard to the seas and lakes of Fārs, the Persian Gulf [*Baḥr Fārs*, otherwise called] the Sea of Fārs, is an arm of the Great Sea, which best is known as the Green Sea, being also called the Circumambient Ocean. On the shores of the Green Sea lie the lands of China, Sind and India, 'Omān, 'Aden, Zanzibar, and Baṣrah with diverse other districts; and each particular arm of the Green Sea bears the special name of the province whose lands lie on its shores. Thus we have [one arm called] the Sea of Fārs, another the Sea of 'Omān, and then the Sea of Baṣrah, or the like; hence it comes that the arm [washing the coast of Fārs] is known as the Sea of Fārs.

[And now as to the lakes of Fārs, they are as follows.]

*Buḥayrah Dasht Arzin*¹ [the Lake of the Plain of the Wild-almond].—This is a sweet-water lake, and when there has been much rain it is very full, but when there has been lack of rain the lake dries up almost entirely, hardly any water remaining. It measures 3 leagues round and about.

Buḥayrah Bakhtigān.²—This lake lies surrounded by many well-cultivated lands. Such are those surrounding the towns of Ābādah, *Khayrah*, *Nayriz*, and *Khabraz*; further, all these districts lie at no great distance from the lake shore. The waters of the lake are salt, and the circumference of the same is 20 leagues.

¹ More correctly spelt *Arzhin* or *Arjin*, *Dasht Arjin* being now the name of a neighbouring village (FNN. 280).

² FNN. 321. The places mentioned here have all been noticed above.

Buḥayrah Māhalūyah.¹—This lake lies between *Shirāz* and *Sarvistān*. Its waters are salt. All the streams from near *Shirāz* and its district flow into this lake. Its size round and about is 12 leagues.

Buḥayrah Darkhwīd.²—This is a small lake, and a stream flows out of it that is called the *Barvāt* River.

Buḥayrah Mūr.³—A small lake lying between *Kāzīrūn* and [the district of] *Mūr-i-Jirrah*. It measures 2 leagues in circumference.

MEADOW-LANDS

The most celebrated Meadow-lands of *Fārs* are these.

Marghzār Ūrd.⁴—This is a very rich meadow-land, of the cold region. From end to end it has springs of fresh-water and populous villages, and of these last are the hamlets of *Bajjah* and *Ṭaymurjān*. There are others too, and their lands are the property of the villages, though they have to pay the Land-tax to the government. This meadow-land measures 10 leagues in the length by 5 across.

Marghzār Sīkān. — This meadow-land lies between *Shirāz* and *Kavār*. It is a very pleasant place, and there is here a great mass of standing water, near which is a forest abounding in lions. The length of this meadow-land is 5 leagues by 3 across.⁵

¹ The name is now spelt *Mahārū*, and it is also known as *Buḥayrah Namak*, "the Salt Lake" (FNN. 322).

² The *Darkhwīd* Lake and River are mentioned by the Arab geographers. They do not give any other name to the river, and the reading *Barvāt* is uncertain. The MS. may read *Purvāb*, which is, however, inadmissible. The lake appears to have occupied the position of the present swamp, called *Sarāb Bahram*, at the source of the *Nūrābād* River (FNN. 302, 303).

³ The *Mūr* (in error often given by the MSS. as *Mūz*) Lake is that now known as *Fāmūr*, or *Daryāchah Parīshān*, lying east of *Kāzīrūn* (FNN. 322). *Mūr-i-Jirrah* has already been mentioned, p. 51.

⁴ For *Ūrd* see above, p. 21. *Ṭaymurjān* is no longer to be found on the map. The name may be read *Ṭamirjān*; it is probably to be identified with *Timāristān*, which *Yāqūt* (i, 197, 908) gives as the chief town of *Ūrd*.

⁵ The name of *Shīkān* is now unknown.

Marghzār Dasht Arzin.¹—This meadow-land lies beside the Arzin Lake; there is here a forest where lions are found. The length of the meadow-land is 10 leagues by 1 across.

Marghzār Dārābjird.—This is a small meadow-land, measuring only 3 leagues in the length by 1 in the breadth.

Marghzār Qālī.²—This meadow-land lies on the bank of the Purvāb River. It is a most pleasant place, and here [a certain] Baldāhī built the palace of Qālī, with its beautiful garden and a fine tank. This meadow-land is 3 leagues in length by 1 in width. In winter-time the fodder here is excellent for cattle, but in the summer it is noxious for them to eat the grass here.

Marghzār Kālān.³—This lies near the tomb of the Mother of Solomon. It is 4 leagues in length, but has no breadth to speak of. The tomb of the Mother of King Solomon is of stone, in the form of a cube. No one can look into the chamber within the tomb, for, as it is said, a talisman has been laid on it, whereby anyone who shall give a look into it forthwith becomes blind. I myself, however, have never found one who had made the experiment.

Marghzār Rān.⁴—This is a fine meadow-land, but not so good as that of Ūrd. It is, like the last, of the cold region, and has many springs of water, also villages, that are either the freehold property of the villagers or granted to them in fief for military service. The length of this meadow-land is 7 leagues by 5 across.

Marghzār Bīd and Mashkān.⁵—A fine meadow-land,

¹ See p. 872, note 1.

² See above under Khabrak and Qālī (p. 22). The reading of the name Baldāhī is very uncertain; he is an unknown personage.

³ Near Pasargadæ, but the name is not to be found on the map. The tomb is in point of fact that of King Cyrus.

⁴ See above, under Rān (p. 23).

⁵ Probably near Dih Bīd. The village of Mashkān or Mashkūn, of the Qunqurī District, lies on the Pulvār River, 10 leagues north of Pasargadæ (FNN. 245). In Hamd-Allah Rubāt Mashk, in the Itinerary, occupies the position of Dih Bīd. The Arab geographers give Mushkān as the

and the district of Basirā is of those parts. They report the climate as cold, and it is 7 leagues in length by 3 across.

Margh Bahman.¹—This lies above Juwaym [to the north of] the *Shirāz* District. It measures 1 league across by the same in length.

Margh Shidān.²—This is a very beautiful meadow-land, the equal of which can hardly be met with elsewhere. All round and about it are well-cultivated lands, with many springs of water and running streams. In spring-time water collects here, and being held back forms a lake in the midst of the meadow-land. The length of this land is 10 leagues by the like in breadth.

Marghzār Kāmfirūz.³—This is a meadow-land that stretches level after level along the banks of the Kur [or Cyrus] River. There is here a forest, which is the lair of lions, and the lions of Kāmfirūz are noted for their savageness and strength.

Now besides all the above there are many other smaller meadow-lands, which, however, are places not necessary to mention in detail. Moreover, since throughout Fārs, from one end to the other, there are valleys and mountain regions; everywhere, therefore, grazing-grounds for cattle are to be found in an abundance. Lastly, the *Marghzārs* of Kamah and Sarvāt⁴ are meadow-lands, which, though not of the most celebrated, are such that cattle grazing on them soon become extraordinarily fat.

chief town of the Jawbarqān District, which lay at the head-waters of the Farvāb or Pulvār River (Ist. 121; IH. 192; Yaq. ii, 141; iv, 543). For Basirā or Lasirā see above under Kamah and Fārūq (p. 24). Dih Bid is given below in the Itineraries.

¹ *Margh* is apparently an abbreviation for *Marghzār*, "meadow-land." There is a place marked on the map, 2½ leagues north-east of Tall Baydā, which is called Bahmanī. Juwaym, as already said, is modern Jāyum or Gāyum (FNN. 191, 194).

² *Shidān* was one of the Earthly Paradises (see above, p. 58). Its position is nowhere given.

³ See above, p. 24.

⁴ See above under Khabraz and Sarvāt, pp. 22, 24.

CASTLES

Description of the Castles in Fārs

Qal'ah Istakhr.¹—In all the whole world there is no castle more ancient than this one, and every governor [of Fārs] who has held power has been master of this castle. From the times of the Pishdadian kings this castle with two others standing near by have been known as the Three Domes. The other two are called *Qal'ah Shikastah* [the Broken Castle] and the castle of *Shankavān* [or *Shakanvān*], but these last are now in ruins. [For the castle of *Istakhr*] 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah built a mighty tank, which is known as the *Hawz-i-'Aḍudī*. It was constructed in a deep gully, down which the stream that passed by the castle flowed. First, 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah with boardings closed the end of this gully, making the like of a great dam, and next inside this he set cement [in forms] with wax and grease laid upon *kirbās*-stuffs, with bitumen, bringing the whole structure to the upper level all round, and afterwards when it had settled down firmly nothing could be stronger. Thus was the tank made, and its area was a *qafiz* [a square of 144 ells] all but a fraction, being 17 feet in depth, wherefore if a thousand men for a whole year were to drink therefrom, the water-level would not sink more than a foot. Then in the middle part of the tank they built up twenty columns of stone, set in cement, on which they rested the roof that covered over the tank. Further, 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, besides this tank, built here other water-tanks and cisterns. The fault of this castle, however, is that it can very easily be taken by assault. Its climate is cold, being very like that of Isfahān. Within its walls are many fine kiosks and

¹ For the Three Castles of Persepolis see above (p. 26) under *Istakhr*. The *Istakhr* Castle lies 2 leagues to the north of the village of *Fathābād*. *Qal'ah Shikastah* (the Broken Castle) is now known as *Miyān Qal'ah* (the Midmost Castle), and lies 2½ leagues to the north-west of *Fathābād*. The castle of *Ashkanvān* stands one league south-east of *Dashtak*, the older *Abraj* (FNN. 332-6).

beautiful palaces, also a broad *maydān* [or ground for reviews].

Qal'ah Būshkānāt.—This is a strong castle, that at the present day is still in the hands of Siyāh Mil ibn Bahurast.¹ For he being a good man [the Saljūq Sultan] has allowed him to keep the command here, and has not dispossessed him [as has been the case with other local chiefs], and so this castle remains in his hands.

Qal'ah Khurshah.—This castle stands 5 leagues distant from Jahram.² *Khurshah*, the man after whom the castle takes its name, was a certain Arab who had been appointed governor in these parts by [Muhammad] brother of [the Omayyad Viceroy of 'Irāq] Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf. Now *Khurshah* having amassed much money built this castle, and taking up his abode therein rebelled. On account of this, in later times the governor of the [Dārābjird] District has never been allowed to be master of this castle as well; for of a surety power and wealth in a governor will breed conceit, and to possess this castle would breed further conceit, and where in a man's head two causes of conceit exist, without fail these result in the disorder of rebellion. The castle of *Khurshah* is so strong a fortress that it cannot be taken by assault. Its climate is that of the hot region.

Qal'ah Ramm Zavān.³—This is a very strong castle which stands near *Ghundijān*, and it commands that district. The climate here is that of the cold region. Their water is from cisterns.

Qal'ah Abādah.⁴—This is a well-fortified castle, but in all general particulars like many other small castles. The climate is temperate, the water is stored in cisterns, and it would be possible to take the place by assault.

¹ Probably a mistake for *Vištāsf* (see Introduction, p. 12). He was chief of the Mas'ūdi tribe. And see p. 39.

² See p. 34.

³ See above, under *Ramm Zavān*, p. 43.

⁴ Of *Tashk*, near Lake *Bakhtigān*. See p. 30.

Qal'ah Khuvār.¹—This is a fortress that is not very strongly fortified. The climate is cold but temperate; and its water is obtained from wells.

Qal'ah Ištahbānān.²—A strong castle that was in the hands of Ḥasūyah. But Atābeg Chāuli went to war with Ḥasūyah, and though he afterwards made peace with him he dismantled this castle. Now, however, recently, it has again been re-garrisoned.

Diz Iqlūd.³—This is merely a village that is well fortified, not a castle.

Diz Abraj.⁴—Above Abraj stands a hill, one half of which is fortified, the other half remaining unfortified, so that it could be surrounded and easily besieged; still, it could not be taken by assault, or quickly invested. There is a running stream that passes along the fortified part of the hill, flowing down thence to the plain, where its waters are used by the people of the village.

Qal'ah Abādān, or "the Garrisoned Castles".—This is the name of certain castles which are mentioned [in the histories], for in times past there were seventy and odd notable castles in the province of Fārs, all of which the Atābeg Chāuli took by force of arms, and then dismantled for the most part, all indeed but those which are more particularly mentioned in the foregoing section of the present work.

Qal'ah Ispīd Diz, or "the White Fortress Castle".⁵—This in the most ancient days had been fortified, but for long years had been dismantled, so that no one could say at what time it had last been garrisoned. Then Abū Naṣr of Tir Murdān, the father of Bā Jūl,⁶ during the

¹ See p. 22. Now known as Qilāt Khār, lying 1 league to the south-east of Arsinjān (FNN. 174).

² See above, p. 34, and for Ḥasūyah, of the Ismā'ili, Introduction, p. 11.

³ A *Diz* is smaller than *Qal'ah*, a castle. See above, p. 23.

⁴ Now known as Hīsār, lying half a league south-west of Dashtak. See above, p. 25.

⁵ Now called Qal'ah Safīd (FNN. 334). See p. 58. ⁶ See above, p. 53.

times of trouble [at the end of the Buyid rule] rebuilt the fortifications. Now this is a fortress that entirely covers the mountain-top, measuring 20 leagues round and about, so that it is not a mere castle nor a place to be held by a handful of men. It is a great circular mountain plain, the cliffs below it being of white rocks, but on the upper level of the fortress there is arable land, the soil being red, which they sow for crops. Here too they have vineyards of grapes and orchards of almonds with other fruits: for there are many springs of water, everywhere in the ground, and when they dig down water is easily found. The air here is quite cool and pleasant, the crops too are most abundant. The fault of this castle, however, is that it must be garrisoned by a great company of troops, and that when the rightful sovereign [namely the Saljūq Sultan]¹ approaches to take possession thereof, the country folk will steal away [with the needful supplies and the forage]. The White Castle stands at a distance of 2 leagues from Nawbanjān, and below the castle there has been built a small fortress, but one that is well fortified, called Astāk. All round the White Castle there are many hunting-grounds among the hills, and within the castle limits there are numerous fine kiosks, and there is also a broad review ground.

*Qal'ah Sahārah.*²—This stands on a great hill, which lies 4 leagues distant from Fīrūzābād. The castle was built by the Mas'ūdī Kurds,³ and it is a very fine place. The climate is cold, the water excellent, and it lies surrounded by arable lands that are never let to go out of cultivation, for they are tilled by the *Shabānkārah*.

¹ *Pādīshāh-i-mustaḡīm*: the sense is by no means clear, and the text is probably corrupt. The passage has been copied verbatim by both Hamd-Allah and Hāfiẓ Abrū. *Mustaḡīm* generally means "rightly directed" by Allah, but it might be taken to mean (the king who) "marches straight" on the fortress.

² Now called Qal'ah Sārah (FNN. 334). See p. 46.

³ See Introduction (p. 12).

It is indeed a great place, and all the year round corn is grown here.

Qal'ah Kārẓīn.¹—This is a castle that is not so strongly fortified as some others. The climate here is very hot. It stands on the banks of the *Thakān* River, and they have constructed a syphon-tube, by which water from the river is brought up to the castle.

Qal'ah Samīrān.²—This is a strong castle standing near by to Juwaym of Abū Aḥmad. The climate is hot, and their water is from cisterns.

Qal'ah Khwādān, or *Khwābdān*.³—A strong castle standing in the midst of many broad lands. The climate is temperate, and the water is from cisterns.

Qal'ah Khurramah.⁴—A well-fortified castle, standing among cultivated lands. The climate is temperate, and the water is from cisterns.

Qal'ah Tīr-i-Khudā [the Castle of God's Arrow].—This castle is near *Khayrah*,⁵ and it is a strong place, standing upon the summit of a high hill. It is for this reason that it is called God's Arrow, for it cannot be taken in war. The climate is cold, and their water is from cisterns.

Qal'ah Iṣṭakhr.⁶—This is a very strong castle, for the which reason it has been given the name of *Iṣṭakhr-Yār*, "the Friend of *Iṣṭakhr*" to wit. Its climate is temperate, and for water they have springs here, also cisterns.

¹ See above, p. 40.

² Now known as *Qal'ah 'Uthmānī*, standing 2 leagues south of Juwaym, or Jāyūm, of Abū Aḥmad; see above, p. 35 (FNN. 335).

³ Muqaddasī (p. 453) spells it *Khwādhān*, but it is probably identical in position with the village, or stage, of *Khwābdān*, mentioned below in the Itineraries and standing on the River *Khwābdān*, which has been already described (see p. 64). In that case, probably, it is the present *Nārābād*, lying $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to the south of *Fahliyān* (FNN. 303).

⁴ See above, p. 30.

⁵ See above, p. 29. *Tīr*, "arrow," is also the name of the planet Mercury.

⁶ Probably on the hill above *Iṣṭakhr*, Persepolis, and not one of the *Sih Gunbadān*; see above, p. 26.

*The Castles of Purg and Tārum.*¹—The castle at Purg is very great and strong, it cannot be taken in war. The castle of Tārum is not so strong as the other in regard to its fortifications. Both have a hot climate, and their water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Ranbah.*²—This castle stands in the Ranbah Pass. It is a strongly built and well-fortified place, and the control of the city of Dārābjird belongs to him who holds this castle. The climate is excellent, and its water comes from springs and from cisterns. At the present time it is in the hands of the people of Kirmān.

*Qal'ah Gunbad Mallaghūn.*³—This is a castle that could be held by one single armed man, so strongly fortified is it. Its climate is temperate, and water is plentiful in the cisterns. They keep here a store of corn sufficient for three or four years.

*The Irāhistān Castles.*⁴—These are so numerous as to be beyond count, for in this district every village has its own fortress, perched either upon a rock or crowning a hill, or again built on the level ground. And in all times the climate hereabout is extremely hot.

ITINERARIES

Distances in Fārs

The distances [along the high roads] all start from *Shirāz*, because this is the central point in the province. From *Shirāz* going towards the *Iṣfahān* frontier there are three main roads, namely, the way by *Māyin* and *Rūn*, the way by *Iṣṭakhr*, and the way by *Sumayram*.

Of these, on the *Māyin* and *Rūn* Road it is counted as 52 leagues from *Shirāz* to *Yazdikhwāst*, the frontier stage

¹ The castle near Purg is that now known as Qal'ah Bahman, and it stands 2 leagues to the south of modern Furg. The castle at Tārum is not given (see FNN. 217, 218). See p. 31.

² The castle stands 4 leagues to the east of Dārābjird (FNN. 334). See p. 33.

³ See above, p. 52.

⁴ See above, p. 48.

between Fārs and the Iṣfahān District. The first stage is of 6 leagues, from Shīrāz to Dih Gurg in the Shīrāz District; the second stage is 6 leagues to the head of the Bridge over the River Kūr; the third stage is of 4 leagues to Māyin; the fourth stage is of 6 leagues to Kūshk-i-Shahriyār in [the plain of] Dasht Rūn; the fifth stage is 6 leagues to Dih Bāsht in [the plain of] Dasht Ūrd; the sixth stage is 7 leagues to Kūshk-i-Zar, also of Dasht Ūrd; the seventh stage is of 7 leagues to Dih Gawz; and the eighth stage is of 10 leagues to Yazdikhwāst.¹

The road by Iṣṭakhr. This also comes out by Yazdikhwāst, and going by Iqlid and Surmaq it is 69 leagues in length, being longer than [the Māyin Road]; and this is the Winter Road, which is used when the other roads are impassable [from snow]. The first stage is of 7 leagues from Shīrāz to Zarqān, the second stage is 6 leagues to [Pādust or Pāvdašt], the third stage 4 leagues to Iṣṭakhr, the fourth stage is of 6 leagues to Kamah, the fifth stage is 4 leagues to Kamhang, the sixth stage is of 8 leagues to Dih Bid, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Dih Pūland, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Surmaq, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Abādah, the tenth stage is 7 leagues to Shūrīstān, and the eleventh stage is 8 leagues to Yazdikhwāst.²

¹ Neither Dih Gurg, "Wolf Village," nor the Bridge over the Kur now exists; Shahriyār's Kiosk must have been at or near modern Ūjān; the village of Bāsht (or Māsht) near Aspās; while Kūshk-i-Zar (Golden Kiosk) is now generally called Kūshk-i-Zard, the Yellow Kiosk (FNN. 220). Māyin and Dih Gawz (Nut Village) have been already noticed. Hāfiẓ Abrū adds that this last was also known in Arabic as Qariyat-al-Khamir, "Yeast Village."

² Part of this route is given below, p. 82, in duplicate, in the itinerary for Shīrāz to Yazd. The village of Zarqān exists (FNN. 201). The stage called Pādust, which may also be read Māvdašt, is uncertain, and possibly represents the village of Marvdašt. Kamah, as already said (p. 24), stands for Kalīlak. Kamhang (for variants see Iṣṭ. 129, Muq. 457, 458) in the other itinerary has, probably, a double, under the form Kaminak; there given as another stage; it must stand for some place lying between Mashhad-i-Murghāb and Mashhad Mādir-i-Sulaymān, the Tomb of Solomon's Mother, otherwise the Tomb of Cyrus (FNN. 301).

The road to Sumayram; and from Shīrāz to Sumayram it is 45 leagues. The first stage from Shīrāz is of 5 leagues to Juwaym, the second stage, on to Baydā, is 3 leagues, the third stage is 4 leagues to Tūr, the fourth stage is of 5 leagues to Tir Māyijān of Kāmfirūz, the fifth stage is 4 leagues to Jarmaq, the sixth stage is 4 leagues to Kūrad: the seventh stage is 5 leagues to Kallār, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Dih Tarsaān, and the ninth stage is 8 leagues to Sumayram.¹

From Shīrāz to the province of Kirmān there are three main roads, namely, the Rūdān Road, the Shīrjān Road, and the road by Purg to Tārum.

The Rūdān Road; and from Shīrāz to Rūdān it is 75 leagues. The first stage is in 10 leagues to the head of the Dam built by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, the second stage is in 10 leagues to the village of Khuvār, the third stage is 10 leagues to Abādah, the fourth stage is 6 leagues to Dih Mūrd, the fifth stage is 7 leagues to Šāhah, the sixth stage is 11 leagues to Rādhan, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Shahr-i-Bābak, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Mashra'ah Ibrāhīmī, and the ninth stage is 7 leagues to Rūdān.²

Dih Bid, "Willow Village," exists (FNN. 244). Dih Pāland or Bāland, "Long Village," must have stood near the present caravanserai, marked on the map as Karvān Sarāy Khān Khurrah, lying 6 leagues north-west of Dih Bid. The remaining stages have already been noticed.

¹ The name of Tir Māyijān, probably the chief town of Kāmfirūz (see above, p. 24) does not exist on the map, and is not given by the Arab geographers. It must have stood near modern Ardakān (FNN. 172); Tir Axjān, 6½ leagues to the north of Fahliyān, lies too far to the west (FNN. 304). The remaining stages to Sumayram are not to be found on the present map. Jarmaq may be for Kharbuq, given by Iṣṭakhri (p. 106) as the capital of Al-Aghrastān; and Muqaddasī (p. 447) gives the spelling Kharmaq. Dih Tarsaān would appear to be identical with a stage given by Ibn Khurdādbih as Tajāb, and by Muqaddasī as Az-Zāb.

² This is the route by the north side of Lake Bakhtigān, and most of the stages have already been noticed. The ruins of Shahr-i-Bābak exist, but Mashra'ah Ibrāhīmī, "the Passage of Ibrāhīm," is wanting, and for Mashra'ah Hāfiz Abrū gives Mazra'ah, "the Field of Ibrāhīm," while the Arab geographers put about here Qariyat-al-Jamal, in Persian Dih Shuturān, "Camel Village." Rūdān, too, they give as the name of the district lying between Yazd and Shahr-i-Bābak (see above, p. 18).

The Shirjān Road; and from Shirāz to Shirjān is 80 leagues. The first stage is in 4 leagues to Dih Būdan, the second stage is 3 leagues to the two villages of Dāriyān, the third stage is 7 leagues to Khurramah, the fourth stage is 6 leagues to Kath [or Kisht], the fifth stage is 7 leagues to Khayrah, the sixth stage is 9 leagues to Nayrīz, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Qūtruh, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Mashra'ah, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Parbāl [or Parbāk], the tenth and eleventh stages are together 15 leagues to Mashra'ah Muhaffafah ["the Passage of the Mirage"], and the twelfth stage is of 10 leagues to the border of the stony [or salt] plain of Shirjān.¹

The road by Purg to Tārum; and from Shirāz to this last it is 70 leagues. The first stage is in 6 leagues to Māhalūyah, the second stage is 9 leagues to Sarvistān, the third stage is of 9 leagues to the village of Kurm, the fourth stage is in 5 leagues to Pasā, the fifth stage is 7 leagues to the village of Fustajān, the sixth stage is in 4 leagues to the frontier of the Dārābjird District, the seventh stage is in 6 leagues to Dārābjird, the eighth stage is in 6 leagues to Rustāq-ar-Rustāq, the ninth stage is 12 leagues to Purg, and the tenth stage is 10 leagues to Tārum.²

¹ This is the route along the south side of Lake Bakhtigān. The village of Būdan is probably modern Pādinak, lying a league or more to the east of Shirāz. The MS. of Hāfiẓ Abrū gives "Two Villages and Dāriyān"; also at the present day there are two hamlets, one called Dā Dih, "Two Villages," the other Dāriyān, lying respectively 7 and 8 leagues to the east of Shirāz (FNN. 191). Kath (or Kisht) is now known as Khān Kat, standing 9 leagues to the north-west of Iṣṭahbānāt (FNN. 178). Here, again, both the places called Mashra'ah, "Pass" or "Passage", are given in Hāfiẓ Abrū as Mazra'ah, "a Cultivated Field"; and neither they nor Parbāl (with other variants, as Sarbāk, etc.) are to be found on the modern map.

² The route along the south side of Lake Māharlū and most of the places have been already noticed. The stage Māhalūyah is modern Māharlū, a village on the southern shore of the lake, 8 leagues to the south-east of Shirāz (FNN. 194).

From Shirāz to the frontier of the Khūzistān province is 62 leagues. The first stage [from Shirāz] is to Juwaym in 5 leagues, the second stage is 5 leagues to Khullār, the third stage is 5 leagues to Kharrārah, the fourth stage is 4 leagues to Dih Gawz of Tir Murdān, the fifth stage is 3 leagues to Kūsjan, the sixth stage is 3 leagues to Nawbanjān, the seventh stage is 4 leagues to Khwābdān, the eighth stage is 6 leagues to Kishn, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Gunbad Mallaghān, the tenth stage is 4 leagues to Šāhah, the eleventh stage is of 4 leagues to Habs, the twelfth stage is of 6 leagues to Furzuk, the thirteenth stage is 4 leagues to Arrajān, and the fourteenth stage is of 4 leagues to Būstānak.¹

From Shirāz to the coast towns (*Sāhiliyyāt*), namely, Jannābā, Sinīz, and to Mahrūbān, it is 62 leagues. The first stage [from Shirāz] is 4 leagues to Juzhīrkān [or Jūhīrkān], the second stage is 6 leagues to Dasht Arzān, the third stage is 10 leagues to Kāzirūn, the fourth stage is 9 leagues to Khishṭ, the fifth stage is of 7 leagues to Tawwaj, the sixth stage is 4 leagues to Dih Mālik, the seventh and eighth stages are 10 leagues to Jannābā, the ninth stage is 6 leagues to Sinīz, and the tenth stage is 6 leagues to Mahrūbān.²

From Shirāz to the coast districts (*A'māl-i-Sīf*), being 39 leagues. The first stage [from Shirāz] is in 7 leagues to Māšaram, the second stage is 6 leagues to the Sittajān river-bed, the third stage is 3 leagues to Jirrah, the fourth stage is 4 leagues to Ghundijān, the fifth stage is 6 leagues to Rawā-adh-Dhiwān, the sixth stage is in

¹ Kūsjan is modern Kūsingān, 3 leagues to the south-east of Fahliyān, but neither Kishn (which may be read Kathan or Kanash), Šāhah (like Šāhah near Nīrīz), nor Būstānak are to be found on the map. The other stages have been already noticed, and all are mentioned in the Itineraries of the Arab geographers, from whom this road is copied.

² The name Juzhīrkān is uncertain, and not found elsewhere. Hamd-Allah gives it as "the Wall of Hājji Qawwām". Dih Mālik, as already said (p. 67), is no longer to be found. The other places have been noticed.

6 leagues to Tawwaj, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to the coast.¹

From Shirāz to Najiram, which is 65 leagues. The first four stages [from Shirāz] to Ghundijān are in total 20 leagues by the road that has just been given. Then the fifth stage is in 7 leagues to Būshṭakān, the sixth stage is in 5 leagues to Būshkānāt, the seventh stage is in 10 leagues to the village of Shanānā, the eighth stage is in 8 leagues to [the beginning of] Māndistān, the ninth stage is 7 leagues to the further limit of Māndistān, and the tenth stage is 8 leagues to Najiram.²

From Shirāz to Sirāf by way of Firūzābād it is 86 leagues. From Shirāz the first stage is of 5 leagues to Kafrāh,³ the second stage is 5 leagues to Kuvār, the third stage is 5 leagues to Khunayfqān, the fourth stage is 5 leagues to Firūzābād, the fifth stage is 8 leagues to Šimkān, the sixth stage is 7 leagues to Habrak [or Hirak], the seventh stage is 5 leagues to Kārzīn, the eighth stage is of 8 leagues to Lāghir, the ninth stage is 8 leagues to Kurān, the tenth stage is of four days' march from Kurān to Sirāf, this being of 30 leagues.

From Shirāz to Yazd it is 60 leagues. The first stage is to Zarqān, in 6 leagues; the second stage [is of 6 leagues to Pādust, and thence on to Ištakhr it is 4 leagues];⁴ the third stage is of 6 leagues to [Kamah], the fourth stage is of 4 leagues to Kamhang, the fifth stage is of 4 leagues to Dih Bid, the sixth stage is of 12 leagues to Abar-qūyah, the seventh stage is of 5 leagues to Dih Shīr, the

¹ Rūdbāl-i-Sittajān, "the river-bed of the Sittajān," appears to be the river otherwise called the Thakān (see above, p. 65, and cf. Ist. 130, l. 6). Also it seems likely that the stages are inverted, and that Māṣarām should come after, south of, the river-bed. Rawā-adh-Dhiwān is identical with Ramm-Zavān already noticed (p. 43).

² All these places have already been noticed (see above, p. 39).

³ Modern Kafr or Kafrī, lying 2 leagues or more to the south-west of Shirāz (FNN. 294). The remaining stages have all been noticed.

⁴ Added from the route already given (p. 78), Kamah, the next stage, is given in the MS. as Kamhang, a repetition.

eighth stage is of 4 leagues to Tūmarah Bastar [or Tūfarah Basb], and the ninth stage is of 9 leagues to Yazd.¹

[Ibn-al-Balkhī next relates the history of the Shabān-kārah and of the Kurdish Ramms, with a short discussion of the characteristics of the Persians from the point of view of their government. These sections have already been given in epitome in the Introduction. After which follows a succinct account (fols. 89b-90b) of the revenues of Fārs, which needs to be translated in full; and then the MS. closes with the long paragraph, epitomized in the Introduction, relating the closing years of the last of the Buyids.]

REVENUES

In the Histories it is reported that in the days of the early Persian [Sassanian] kings and until the reign of Chosroes Anūshīrvān the revenue of these provinces was assessed at one-third or one-fourth or one-fifth of the crop, according to its abundance, and this custom of Fārs was similar to that in usage in other parts of the kingdom. When, however, Anūshīrvān established his land-tax (*kharrāj*) in all his kingdoms, the land-tax of Fārs amounted to 36 million [silver] dirhams, equivalent to 3 million [gold] dinārs.² In the early days of Islām, after Fārs had been conquered [by the Arabs], for a time there was nothing but massacre and pillage and all things were taken by force, but at length matters quieted down, and the ruin and disorder that had overspread the land began to be amended. Then finally, in the reign of the Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik, Hajjāj [Viceroy of 'Iraq] dispatched

¹ The first half of this Itinerary as far as Dih Bīd is a duplicate of that already given (p. 78). Dih Shīr, "Lion Village," is marked on the map between Abarqūh and Yazd, but Tūmarah Bastar (with variant) is uncertain, not being mentioned by the Arab geographers, or to be found on the modern map, where, in the position indicated, now stands the village of Taft, possibly the same name corrupted.

² The gold Dinār was equivalent to about ten shillings, and the silver Dirham to about ten pence.

his brother Muḥammad to be Governor of Fārs, who founded Shīrāz and built many towns throughout the province; at this time the total revenue from the customs¹ of Fārs, which included the one-tenth on the sea ships, amounted in all to three million dirhams. Next, in the geography of Qudāmāh² it is stated that the land-tax of Fārs in the reign of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd was registered at two million dinārs. Then during the troubles of the reign of Amīn, with the massacre of the people and the disorders, all the registers were carried off and burnt; but as soon as Māmūn found himself firmly established in the Caliphate he ordered new assessments to be drawn up, when it was established that the total of the revenue of the provinces of Fārs, Kirmān, and 'Omān was to amount to 2,600,000 dinārs. This assessment was effected in the year 200 (815). Next, in the reign of the Caliph Muqtadir [295 to 320 (908 to 932) the Wazīr] 'Alī ibn 'Īsā made a [new] general assessment, and the copy of the portion relating to Fārs, with which province Kirmān was also reckoned, is as follows: The total revenue of Fārs, Kirmān, and 'Omān, in regard to the yearly receipts from the customs, amounted to 2,331,880 red gold dinārs. Of this total the portion paid over by Fārs with its dependencies, including the customs collected at [the port of] Sirāf and the one-tenth levied on the sea-shipping, amounted to 1,887,500 dinārs. And of this last total Fārs with its dependencies, excluding the Sirāf customs, paid in 1,634,500 dinārs, while Sirāf, with the one-tenth levied on the sea ships, paid 253,000 dinārs.

[Of the grand total first given] Kirmān and 'Omān together paid 444,380³ dinārs, but of this sum Kirmān

¹ The word used is *mu'āmalāt*.

² Cf. text of Ibn Khurdābih, p. 237, and the translation, with notes, pp. 6-11. Our MS. gives the name as Ja'far ibn Qudāmāh; it should be Qudāmāh ibn Ja'far.

³ The MS. in error gives 4,044,380 by a mistake of *hazār* for *ṣad*; the addition of the two items gives the sum as above.

with its dependencies contributed only 364,380, this being reckoned as excluding the revenues of [the towns of] Fahl and Fahraj, and also not counting the [revenue of] districts collected in the name of individual Amīrs by their agents, and further not including the revenues set aside for the two sanctuaries [of Mecca and Medina] and which Mūnis the chamberlain [of the Caliph Muqtadir] was responsible for collecting. [The sum therefore above given is] the net remainder which is paid over to the Divān. But taking the places in 'Omān by themselves, these paid 80,000 dinārs.

In [early] times the Amīrs [of Fārs] called themselves the Sons of the Caliph, for none would call himself merely Amīr. Further, they had seized, on their own behalf, upon much property that of right belonged to the State, and this mostly by force of arms; then those parcels of land which had now come to belong to them were ever afterwards reckoned to be their own fiefs, those who had come into possession taking for themselves the revenues, though before these had all belonged to the State. At the time when 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah came to power he made buildings [and constructions] without number, such as dams [on the rivers for irrigation which watered] the lands he brought under cultivation. Wherefore in his days the sum-total of the revenues of Fārs, Kirmān, and 'Omān, including the one-tenth derived from the seaports at Sirāf and Mahrūbān, amounted to 3,346,000 dinārs. Of this sum Fārs, with the one-tenth levied on the ships which sailed from Sirāf and Mahrūbān, paid 2,150,000 dinārs; while from Shīrāz and [the new suburb of] Gird Fanā Khusrū came 316,000 dinārs. Then Kirmān with [the port of] Tiz and its districts gave 750,000 dinārs; while the towns in 'Omān, not including Fara',¹ paid in 130,000 dinārs.

¹ The reading is uncertain, and what place is meant unknown. The MS. might be read Maza' or Maragh, with other variants.

XXIV

NOTES ON A KURDISH DIALECT, SULAIMANIA (SOUTHERN TURKISH KURDISTAN)

By E. B. SOANE

THE short sketch of the Sulaimania dialect of Kurdish here presented is part of the result of a study during residence of several months in and about that town.

The dialect is closely allied to, and its grammatical forms identical with, that of the Mukri, a widespread tongue probably meriting the title of the main Kurdish language. The dialect used in Sulaimania is spoken with slight variations by the Kurds of Shūān, Qaradāgh Bāna, Sardasht, the Qarachūlān district, and Shahr-i-Zūr (Gul'anbar or Khulmar), whose lands lie around the Sulaimania plain. The language of the bazar is somewhat more developed than that of the district, but as it is only by the addition of technical words imported from the Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, which stand as foreign words, the Kurdish is not affected, nor do words of the native tongue appear to have dropped out to give place to importations. Certain of the Turkish words, which are the same as those adopted by most of the other Kurdish dialects, may be considered almost as a part of the tongue of the district, and have entered from the time of the settlement of Turks in the districts of Kirkuk and Altun Keupru on the plains to the west of this part of the Kurdish mountain system.

Sulaimania is the most southerly point at which the northern and middle—or true type—of Kurdish is spoken. Farther south and east, over the Persian frontier, the correct Kurdish form becomes replaced by

the old Persian and semi-Lurish dialects of Aorāmān, Gūrān, Kalhur, and Zangana, which are separated from the Sulaimania and allied Jāf dialects by the River Sirwān and the considerable mountain systems of Aorāmān and Jūānrū.

Sulaimania, as a centre of the present district, has only existed some 230 years (it was founded by Sulimān Bābān in A.D. 1677) since its rebuilding upon an ancient site by the founder, who was of the Pishdir district of the Bābān tribe (still found near Erbil), which itself was allied to the Hakkārī race, once the most powerful and authoritative of all Kurdish races, and still a famous tribe and country. By this means the secondary tongue of the Mukrī (above referred to) was extended as far south as Shahr-i-Zūr, a little district previously inhabited by peasants speaking the Aorāmān (or sedentary Gūrān) dialect, that also spoken by the old Ardalān dynasty of Sina in Persian Kurdistan.

The Mukrī language above indicated is spoken in the districts around Sauj Bulāq, and to the east as far as the Turk tribes, north-west to the borders of the Hakkārī Kurds, whose tongue is similar, north to Lake Urumia, and south to Ardalān, the old dialect of which has been driven out by Kurdish, to linger still in Pāva, Palangān, Rizho, and Aorāmān.

Generally speaking, it is the Sunni tribes of Kurds who use the true Kurdish language, and the Shī'ah tribes whose dialects are those with an admixture of Lur forms in verb, noun, and grammar.

It will therefore be readily understood that the Sulaimanian will comprehend with little difficulty a Kurd of Bitlis or Erzerum or Bayazid, while he is put to some pains to understand the language of the Aorāmāni or Gūrān, who live but a few days' journey away.

The corruptions due to mispronunciation are numerous in Sulaimania, but have been quoted in the following

notes in some instances, as they are not without value in affording comparisons with words in Persian, which have developed along the lines of change usual in that language. Some of the bad pronunciation of the townspeople is due, they themselves assert, to the large number of Jews and Chaldeans who were converted to Islam and became Kurds in dress and language after the change, influencing to a small extent the general pronunciation of the place and introducing Arabic and Syriac words.

The local dialect has become fixed, to a certain degree, by the large amount of poetry written by the extraordinarily large number of Kurdish poets who have flourished there. A considerable literature exists, but there is no prose amongst it, and as is usually the case in Kurdistan a large number of poems have been written in Persian and some in the Horām or Aorāmī dialect, formerly the Court language of the old Valis of Ardalān, to which reference has already been made.

The Sulaimanian is often termed Kurmānji, like that of the Hakkāri and Northern Kurds, and can be counted, as has been indicated, to be a part of the general "Kurmanj"¹ language.

In passing it may be remarked that the dialect quoted by de Morgan in his *Etudes Linguistiques*, tome v, as that of Sulaimania is not that of the immediate district, but of the villages beyond Qara Dāgh, which partakes of the idiom of the Jāfi tribe. The Jāfi described in the book is not that of the Jāfi tribe at all, but merely that of one of the alienated subsections speaking degraded Kermanshāhi. The true Jāfi is very different from that quoted by him, and is nearer to Sulaimanian.

The pronunciation of the Sulaimanian is remarkably ill-sounding. As in most dialects many fundamental

¹ There is a popular interpretation of this word among the Kurds themselves, who say that it is "Kurdmanj", meaning the "people of Kurds". It is still applied to all peoples of undoubted Kurdish origin.

consonants have entirely disappeared, medial *d* suffering most, giving such examples as

<i>mān</i> ,	for <i>mādyān</i> ,	a mare.
<i>ayam</i>	„ <i>aidam</i>	I give.
<i>laiya</i>	„ <i>laida</i>	strike!
<i>kām</i>	„ <i>kudām</i>	which.
<i>jū</i>	„ <i>jūd</i>	a Jew.
<i>baiākh</i>	„ <i>baidāq</i>	a standard.

d occasionally changes to *l*, as in

<i>kitilaka</i> ,	for <i>kilidaka</i> ,	a key
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or even to *ng* (pronounced like *-ng* in English wrong),

<i>tuṅg</i> ,	for <i>tund</i> ,	speedy
<i>ziṅg</i>	„ <i>zinda</i>	alive
<i>paiwaṅg</i>	„ <i>paiband</i>	a shackle

unless the *ng* be simply the result of losing the final *d* and making the *n* nasal.

b has, as in so many Kurdish and Persian dialects, undergone the usual change to *w*, as in

<i>duwāl</i> ,	for <i>dumbāl</i> ,	a boil.
<i>quricākh</i>	„ <i>qurbāq</i>	a frog.
<i>arawa</i>	„ <i>arab</i>	an Arab.

In *wafr* (Persian *barf*, *bafr*) the *w* is not a change, but merely a preservation of *v* in Zend *vafra*; *gh*, which exists in Persian words, often disappears, as in

<i>dū</i> ,	for <i>dūgh</i> .
<i>rūn</i>	„ <i>rūghan</i> .
<i>dru</i>	„ <i>durūgh</i> , etc.

st often softens to *z*, as in

<i>daz</i> ,	for <i>dast</i> .
<i>rāz</i>	„ <i>rāst</i> .

The initial *h* often appears where Persian does not possess it, but it would seem that the Kurdish *h* is not necessarily redundant, but a preservation of the initial *h* in the Zend, to which Kurdish lies much closer than does

Persian. On the other hand, there is a great tendency to add an *h*, as will be seen in the following words:—

<i>hanjuman</i> ,	against Persian	<i>anjuman</i> ;	Zend	<i>hanjuman</i> .
<i>hagar</i>	„	„	<i>agar</i> .	
<i>hañgicîn</i>	„	„	<i>angabîn</i> , cf. English <i>h</i> in “honey”,	
			the same word.	
<i>hâtin</i>	„	„	<i>âmadan</i> . ¹	
<i>haor</i>	„	„	<i>abr</i> .	
<i>hushtr</i>	„	„	<i>ushtur</i> .	
<i>hailâna</i>	„	„	<i>lâna</i> .	

In some dialects, notably that of Sina, there is a tendency to add *h* wherever possible, such recently imported words as *avval* appearing as *hawal*.

s has been preserved where Persian has changed to *h*, as in

<i>mâsî</i> ,	against Persian	<i>mâhî</i> ;	Zend	<i>masya</i> .
<i>âsen</i>	„	„	<i>âhan</i> ;	Sanskrit <i>ayas</i> .

As in many other dialects, words presenting *kh* in Persian occur with *h* or *k*, as

<i>kar</i> ,	against Persian	<i>khar</i> .
<i>hishk</i>	„	<i>khushk</i> .
<i>hawir</i>	„	Arabic <i>khamîr</i> .

g changes often to *î*, as

<i>tayar</i> ,	for	<i>tegarg</i> .
<i>maish</i>	„	<i>migas</i> .

There are two vowel sounds which are very difficult to indicate adequately on paper; these are the two forms of *ê*, met with in such words as—

(1) *ê*, where *ê* is represented by a *ê* so narrow as to be almost *î*, and followed immediately by an almost imperceptible sound of *e* as in *bet*. This diphthong will be represented here by *û*.

¹ The common rule of consonant change covers this apparent incongruity. *Amadan* becomes *âwadan* (cf. Bakhtiari, Mamaseni *owaidan*), the *d* hardens. The initial *h* needs no further explanation.

(2) دۆست گۆل, where the *zamma* or *vāv* is represented by the same narrow *u*, very short, followed by *o* short, the two forming a diphthong difficult to pronounce. This sound will be represented here by *u*.

Apart from these there is the *û* sound, as of the similarly marked letter in German, and the *w* value of *و*, which, following Kurdish use I have written *û*; where its value is *w*.

The long *î* sound, or *ی*, is, in nearly all cases where the same peculiarity exists in obsolete Persian, pronounced *ai*, as

سەیف *saif*, an apple,

شیر *shair*, a lion,

where شیر, meaning "milk", is pronounced *shîr*.

The Mukri, Sulaimania, and allied dialects are notable for the liquid pronunciation of the letter *l*, exactly as in Russian, which will be indicated here by *l̥*.

The marked *ng*, or nasal, has been noted above.

THE SUBSTANTIVE

It is probable that the Sulaimania dialect once possessed all the Kurdish forms of inflexion of the noun, some of which appear in the Mukri, and nearly all in the Hakkâri and Northern Kurmānj.¹ At present, as in Persian, recourse is had to prepositions to form most of the cases.

The plural is formed, as throughout all pure Kurdish, by the addition of *-ân*,² but the termination (originally a diminutive) *-ak* is almost invariably prefixed to the syllable, so that words which in some cases hardly admit of a diminutive sense, adopt them in the colloquial (but not in the written) language, which presents often enough

¹ See my "Notes on a Kurdish Dialect, the Shādî Branch of Kermānжі": JRAS., October, 1909, pp. 898-9.

² The final *-al* occurring in Kermanshāhi, Kalhur, and the Persian-adopted *Jāf* is a Lurish ending.

the pure *-ān*. So, in poetry, the plural *pandān*, colloquial *panakān* = "thoughts", "ideas".

On the other hand, a word ending in a vowel takes *-ak-* or *-k-* as a support for the vowels, as in the plural *gaurākān* from *gaurā*, where *gaurān* would be feeble.

There is no use of the singular form with a plural meaning as is so general in Persian; the plural sense must be expressed by the plural form.

There exists also in Kurdish a definite singular form, which is seen in Persian in the final form *-ī*—

قاطرى خريدم *qāfirī kharīdam*, I bought one mule.
آدمى آمد *ādamī āmad*, one man came.

The Kurdish has the particle *-ek* which it uses in precisely the same manner—

استرکم کړى *aistr-ek-m kirrī*, I bought one mule.
پياوک هات *pīāwek hāt*, one man came.

not to be confused with—

استرکه ام کړى *aistraka-am kirrī*, I bought the mule (dim.).
پياوکه هات *pīāwaka hāt*, the man (dim.) came.

Genitive. This case is formed with the use of *ī* between the thing possessed and the possessor, as

منالى کچم *minal-ī-kichm*, my daughter's child.
روجى هۆين *rujī hāwīn*, a summer's day.

In Sulaimania the particle *-ī* is sometimes so lengthened as to form the principal sound in the phrase *objective*. There is no case ending or indication of the objective sense.

Prepositional Cases

There still remains in the Sulaimanian dialect the form *-dā*, which is a regular rule in Mukri and Northern dialects, occurring in a noun following a preposition. In Sulaimania

it is occasionally heard in the following senses, in the dative and ablative cases:—

هاتم لدهدا *hātm la deh dā* = I came from the village.
 راکردوڤ بو شارددا *rrā kurdaṭwa bō shār-dā* = He has fled to town.

It will be noticed that the word *bo* = "for" is used in place of *ba* = "to", and not infrequently the word *la* = "from" is used in the same sense exactly, a habit still observed by the Kurd when he speaks Persian, it being quite common to hear a Mukri, Jāf, or Sulaimanian say از کجا میروی *Az kujā mīravī?* "To where are you going?" translating from his own language *lakū dachī*.

Sulaimania possesses a curious diminutive form in *-ūla*, which is rarely encountered in vulgar Persian of Shiraz (in one or two words, as *kūchulū* for *kūcheka*), and in Sina of Persian Kurdistan, as in

pehukūla = a small, little one (tiny).
maishūla = a little fly, from *maish*, a fly.
mairūla = a little ant, from *māra*.
kūlaka = *kū* + *ūla* + *aka*, double diminutive.
jūlaka = *jū* + *ūla* + *aka*, double diminutive.

This is very common in Sulaimania.

Below is a comparative list of some of the commoner nouns in use:—¹

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
هور <i>haor</i>	Vulgar Persian <i>aor</i> , old form <i>avra</i>	clouds
با <i>bā</i>	Deletion of final <i>d</i>	wind
وڤر <i>wafr</i>	Zend <i>rafra</i>	snow
مانگشو <i>māṅgisho</i>		moonlight
باران <i>bārān</i>	As in Persian	rain
تیر <i>tair</i>	Loss of medial and final <i>g</i>	hail

¹ "Northern" and "Middle" Kurdish are used for Hakkārī, Kermanjī (North), and Mukrī, Bīlbāsi, Rawandūzi, and Pishdir (Middle).

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
سَاهُل <i>sāhul</i>	As in Mukrī	ice
آگِر <i>āgir</i>	As in all Kurdish	fire
آگِرْدَان <i>āgirdān</i>	As in all Kurdish of the north	a stove
پَلِیتَه <i>plīta</i>	Inversion of <i>l</i> and <i>t</i> , cf. Persian <i>fitla</i> ; obsolete Persian, however, gives <i>pīlta</i> ; all apparently from Arabic فِطِيل	a wick
آیِم <i>āim</i>	Deletion of <i>d</i> after آ	mankind
مِنَال <i>mināl</i>	As in Southern Kurdish, <i>d</i> has disappeared from <i>mindāl</i>	a child
کُر <i>kurr</i>	As in all Kurdish and in South Persian	a boy
کِچ <i>kich</i>	North and Middle Kurdish. (?) from Turkish قِز	a girl
پِیَاو <i>pīaw</i>	As in all Kurdish and in Lurish	a man
ژِن <i>zhin</i>		a woman
مِرْد <i>mird</i>	"The man," Sulaimania and Mukrī use	a husband
بِرَا <i>brā</i>	The final syllable <i>-dar</i> does not appear in any of the Kurdish tongues in this or other words like <i>mādar</i> , <i>khvāhar</i> , <i>shuḥar</i> , <i>dukhtar</i> , etc.	a brother
خَوَشَک <i>khwaishk</i>	The root <i>khvā</i> as in Persian <i>khvāhar</i> minus <i>-ar</i> and with diminutive	a sister
بَاوِی <i>bāwī</i>	As in all Kurdish	a father
دَايِک <i>dāik</i>	The Southern Kurdish gives دَالِک	

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
زاولا <i>zāwā</i>	Change of <i>m</i> to <i>w</i> and disappearance of final <i>d</i>	a bridegroom
ناو <i>nāw</i>	Change of <i>m</i> to <i>w</i> from نام	a name
هتاو <i>hatāw</i>	Corruption of <i>aftab</i> with initial <i>h</i> . Southern Kurdish shows only the word <i>khwar</i>	the sun
مانگ <i>māng</i>	As in all old dialects of Persian and in all Kurdish	the moon, a month
استار <i>astāra</i>	Sometimes given an initial <i>h</i>	a star
بیانی <i>baiānī</i>	Also in Caspian coast dialects	to-morrow morning, the morning
سبهمینی <i>subhainī</i>	Mukrī also. From Arabic یمنی + صبح	the morning
نیمرو <i>nīmarū</i>	Mukrī also	noon
پاش نیمرو <i>pash-i-nimrū</i>	"	early afternoon
ایوار <i>icāra</i>	All Kurdish and obsolete Persian	late afternoon
روج <i>ruj</i>	Zend <i>raocho</i> , Persian <i>rūz</i> , Persian dialect <i>rūzh</i>	the day
شو <i>shaw</i>		night
دوینە <i>ducaīna</i>	Root دی = yester + یە	yesterday
پیری <i>pairī</i>	Zend <i>para</i>	the day before yesterday
پار <i>pār</i>	Also obsolete Persian; modern Persian پارسال	last year
چور <i>chūr</i>	Also Hakkārī	the face
چو <i>chaw</i>	All Kurdish	the eyes
ناوچو <i>nāwchaw</i>	"	the forehead
دان <i>dān</i>	Northern Kurdish also	the teeth

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
دم <i>dam</i>	Northern Kurdish and	the mouth
لیو <i>liw</i>	(The distinction between the two lips appears only in local Sulaimania dialect)	the upper lip
لیخ <i>lich</i>		the lower lip
نی نوک <i>nīnūk</i>	Persian ناخن, Sanskrit <i>nakha</i>	the nails
برو <i>brū</i>	Sanskrit <i>bhru</i> , other Kurdish	the eyebrow
بره‌ان <i>brzhān</i>		the lashes
برج <i>prch</i>	General Kurdish use; cf. obsolete Persian برچین, "crooked"	a rainbow, curls
آگریجه <i>āgiriĵa</i>	North and Middle Kurdish	the side locks of a woman
قش <i>qish</i>	Also used by Turkomans of the district	tangled hair
سمیر <i>smīr</i>	Other dialects, <i>smīl</i> , <i>swīl</i> , etc.	the moustache
سنگ <i>sink</i>	Also Northern Kurdish	the breast
مل <i>mil</i>	Middle and Southern Kurdish.	the neck
	Northern has <i>ustū</i> , which is also sometimes used	
اموست <i>amūst</i>	Southern dialects use <i>kilk</i> , a word signifying "an appendage"	a finger
ژنی <i>zhnī</i>	Variation of forms of the same word in all Persian and Kurdish dialects	the knee
سقان <i>sqān</i>	Also <i>isq</i> ; Zend <i>asta</i>	a bone
سردل <i>sardl</i>		the heart
زک <i>zik</i>	As in all Kurdish and Northern Lurish. Persian شکم	the belly
لش <i>lash</i>	Persian uses لش for "a body" or "corpse"	a body, living or dead

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
دار <i>dār</i>	Obsolete Persian, also Sanskrit <i>dāru</i> , Zend <i>dāru</i>	a tree
تری <i>tirī</i>	As in all pure Kurdish	grapes
گلا <i>glā</i>	As in all pure Kurdish, except when <i>g</i> is hardened to <i>ch</i>	a leaf
تروزی <i>trāzi</i>	Middle Kurdish	a kind of cu- cumber, <i>Cassia</i> <i>fatularis</i>
نيسک <i>nisk</i>	Middle Kurdish	lentils
آلت <i>alat</i>	All Kurdish, except Northern	pepper
کالک <i>kalak</i>	All Kurdish. Persian گرومک	a small melon
شوتی <i>shūti</i>	All Northern Kurdish. Southern = شامی	a water-melon
هرمی <i>harmī</i>	Obsolete Persian امرود, ارمود	a pear
برسیله <i>barsiala</i>	Sulaimania only	unripe grapes
لاسک <i>lāsik</i>	Middle Kurdish	a carrot
دنگ <i>dang</i>	All Kurdish	a noise
آسن <i>āsen</i>	Zend <i>ayan̄h</i> , Sanskrit <i>ayas</i>	iron
زَر <i>zīr</i>	Obsolete Persian زَر	gold
زَبُو <i>zīw</i>	Obsolete Persian سیم	silver
پاکھر <i>pākhīr</i>	Northern and Middle Kurdish use also	copper
مِر <i>mīz</i>	Sulaimania and South Kurdish use	copper
خوی <i>khūi</i>	North and Middle Kurdish. Southern = خَوَا	salt
برخ <i>birkh</i>	Pehlevi <i>barak</i> , Persian <i>barra</i>	a lamb
بِزَنک <i>bizink</i>	Other Kurdish, <i>bizin</i> , <i>bizinka</i>	a goat
اسک <i>ask</i>	Preservation of <i>s</i> in Sanskrit	a gazelle

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
بیمقش <i>baiqush</i>	Turkish <i>bayaqush</i>	an owl
کلشیر <i>kalashir</i>	All Kurdish, "the lion-headed"	a cock
روئی <i>rewi</i>	" "	a fox
هنگ <i>hang</i>	Persian has not preserved the <i>h</i> , presenting the obsolete انگ	a bee
زردواله <i>zardwala</i>	"The yellow one"	a hornet
مروملکه <i>marmilka</i>	Approximately the same in all Kurdish	a lizard
دوپشک <i>dūpishk</i>	"Two claws"	a scorpion
وارن <i>waran</i>	All Kurdish	a ram
پز <i>paz</i>	All Kurdish (Middle), Zend <i>pasa</i>	a sheep
پسنگه <i>psinka</i>	Northern Kurdish	a cat
کتکه <i>katka</i>	Sulaimania only	a cat
ملوشک <i>malushk</i>	Similar in all Kurdish	a sparrow
مَر <i>mar</i>	Middle Kurdish	a ewe
کۆراشک <i>kawerashk</i>	Middle Kurdish. Southern Kurdish <i>kāwir</i>	a sheep
ماین <i>māin</i>	As in all Kurdish, loss of medial <i>d</i>	a mare
ماسی <i>māsī</i>	Preservation of Zend and San- skrit <i>s</i>	a fish
میرشک <i>mirishk</i>	One of many Kurdish variations of Zend root word <i>maregha</i>	a fowl
میش <i>maish</i>	Loss of medial <i>g</i> ; cf. Fr. <i>mouche</i>	a fly
خشی <i>khishi</i>	Similar in all Kurdish	a centipede
کرویش <i>karuīsh</i>	" "	a hare
میرول <i>mairāla</i>	Northern and Middle Kurdish (see text)	an ant

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
الاح <i>ulākh</i>	Middle Kurdish use. Persian meaning = donkey	any beast of burden
ایستر <i>aistr</i>	Obsolete Persian	a mule
کرلآخ <i>karulākh</i>	<i>Kar</i> + <i>ulākh</i> = donkey + beast of burden	an ass
وَرَج <i>wirch</i>	Cf. other Kurdish, <i>birs</i> , <i>birch</i> , etc. Persian خرس	a bear
چولیکه <i>chylaiika</i>	"The inhabitant of wilds"	a sparrow
براز <i>birāz</i>	Zend <i>varaza</i>	a hog
بوق <i>būq</i>	Cf. vulgar Persian غوق (from the sound of the creature)	a frog
قالونچه <i>qālāncha</i>	Kurdish also فلنج, etc.	a beetle
میشوله <i>maishūla</i>	Diminutive of <i>maish</i>	a gnat
میش <i>maish</i>	Northern and Middle. Southern gives <i>maias</i>	a fly
باوش <i>baush</i>	Northern and Middle	the side of the body
لوت <i>lut</i>	Northern and Middle	the snout
قاچ <i>qāch</i>	Turkoman use	the foot
پازنه <i>pāzhna</i>	Northern Kurdish. Pers. پاشنه	the heel
خوری <i>khūrī</i>	All Kurdish, used to name a woollen cloth in Persia about 300 years ago	wool
مچیر <i>machīr</i>	All Kurdish	thread
رقاله <i>raqāla</i>	Middle Kurdish	the ankle
تشی <i>tishī</i>	All Kurdish	a thread spindle
مال <i>māl</i>	All Kurdish and Lurish use	a tent or a residence
خابو <i>khānū</i>	Northern and Middle only	a house (built)

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
حوش <i>haus̄h</i>	Mid. Kurdish. From Ar. حوش	a court
بیر <i>bir</i>	" " بیر	a well
زیر <i>z̄h̄ir</i>	Middle Kurdish (= that which is underneath)	a room
کراس <i>kerās</i>	All Kurdish except Kermanshahi	a shirt
درپی <i>darpai</i>	Middle and Mukrī	trousers
کوا <i>kawā</i>	All Kurdish. From Arabic قبا	a tunic
سلته <i>salta</i>	From Arabic <i>salta</i>	a waistcoat
گریغان <i>girīfan</i>	All Kurdish; cf. obsolete Persian گریبان, a collar, from "the edge being sewn"	a pocket
چایر <i>chāir</i>	Loss of medial <i>d</i>	a veil
گلوونکه <i>giluucanka</i>	= <i>gelu</i> + <i>band</i> + <i>aka</i>	a necklace
ملوونکه <i>miluucanka</i>	= <i>mil</i> + <i>band</i> + <i>aka</i>	"
جلیک <i>jilik</i>	All Kurdish; cf. Persian use of <i>jul</i> for "horse clothing"	clothing
برز <i>barz</i>	All Kurdish. Zend <i>berēz</i>	a high place
برد <i>bard</i>	Northern and Middle; cf. برد in Persia, a stony promontory	a stone
کانی <i>kānī</i>	"An excavation," all Kurdish	a well
کیو <i>kīw</i>	All Kurdish	a mountain
ریگه <i>raiga</i>	"	the road
چم <i>cham</i>	"	a river
تم <i>tam</i>	" also Persian	mist
قور <i>qūr</i>	"	mud
کولم <i>kūlam</i>	Middle Kurdish. "Blind water," the word <i>kulaw</i> , where <i>w</i> has not changed to <i>m</i> , is also used	a lagoon

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
کل <i>kal</i>	All Middle and Northern dialects	a high peak
میل <i>mīl</i>	" "	a pass, or neck
هه‌وین <i>hāwīn</i>	Northern Kurdish also. Old Persian <i>āf</i> , Sanskrit <i>ābhā</i> , formed by addition of initial <i>h</i> + <i>av</i> + <i>in</i> (attributive affix) = the sun season	summer
گلاوین <i>glāwaīn</i>		the star Sirius
قسه <i>qsa</i>	All Kurdish use; ? for Ar. قسه	a word
درو <i>drū</i>	Disappearance of <i>gh</i> . Zend <i>draugha</i>	a lie
سوڤنگ <i>suwāṅg</i>	Northern and Middle Kurdish. Obsolete Persian سوگند	an oath
زاواونک <i>zāwāwāṅg</i>	<i>Zāmād-band</i>	a wedding
بوک <i>bāk</i>	Middle and Northern Kurdish	a bride
ایش <i>aish</i>	Middle and Northern Kurdish (Southern has ایش)	an ache
شیت <i>shīt</i>	All Kurdish. Old Persian شید	a madman
فیر <i>fair</i>	Middle Kurdish	habit
شارزا <i>shārazā</i>	"Free of the town," Mukrī and Hakkārī (Middle and Northern)	acquainted with a country
خزوره <i>khazūra</i>	Middle Kurdish	a mother-in-law
نام <i>tām</i>	From Arabic طعم	taste
میشک <i>maishik</i>	Similar change to that in <i>maish</i>	the brain
باوراز <i>nawrāz</i>	Mukrī <i>nawrās</i> = "right in the middle"	the centre
نوخا <i>nawkhā</i>	Cf. Persian <i>naodān</i>	a spout for water

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
خوی <i>khwi</i>	Similar in all Kurdish	salt
ویر <i>vir</i>	All Kurdish	memory
هناَس <i>hinas</i>	"	breath
باورِشە <i>bārūsha</i>	Middle and Northern Kurdish "wind-sweeper"	a fan
اَوْرِشینی <i>awrishānī</i>	Middle and Northern Kurdish "water-pouring"	sprinkling
دویر <i>hawir</i>	Arabic خمیر, change <i>kh</i> to <i>h</i> and <i>m</i> to <i>w</i>	dough
چیشْت <i>chaisht</i>	Persian چاشت very seldom used	food cooked
ههکه <i>hilka</i>	Northern Kurdish gives <i>hek</i> , Southern <i>khā</i>	an egg
چرم <i>charm</i>	Old <i>v</i> of <i>charva</i> changed to <i>m</i> (to <i>b</i> in Persian)	grease
چور <i>chaur</i>	Same as above	a greasy thing
قزان <i>qazān</i>	Local use of Turkomans also	a cooking-pot
رون <i>rūn</i>	Disappearance of <i>gh</i> , all Kurdish	clarified butter
کوکچک <i>kauchik</i>	Turkish قاشق	a spoon
ههلوشه <i>halūsha</i>	Initial <i>h</i> . Persian آلوچه. Kurdish gives initial <i>h</i> in all compounds of آلو; also cf. Persian گهلو, "a peach"	a plum
گهچمه <i>gulchila</i>	Other Kurdish gurchī, Lurish <i>gurdāla</i>	kidneys
دیزه <i>dīza</i>	Obsolete Persian دیزو	earthen pot
شوینه <i>shuīna</i>	Middle Kurdish	a large basin
بهرزک <i>baizhink</i>	N. Kurdish, from root بهزر, "sift"	a sieve
ههیلک <i>hailak</i>	Northern Kurdish	a small sieve

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
بтал <i>batāl</i>	From Arabic بطل	emptiness
دریک <i>darīk</i>	"What tears"	a thorn
قِرْزَالَه <i>qirzhālā</i>	Mutilated گِرْزِهَرْد, Persian خَرَزِهَرْد	colocynth
درزی <i>dirzī</i>	All Kurdish; root دِرَز, "sew"	a needle
کنا <i>kunā</i>	All Kurdish; cf. Persian کون	a hole
مِرْگوت <i>mizgūt</i>	Arabic مسجد. Remarkable example of mutilation and consonant change	a mosque
نَوَیژ <i>nwaizh</i>	Softening of <i>m</i> to <i>w</i>	prayer
کابرا <i>kabrā</i>	Middle Kurdish	"so-and-so," a fellow
برین <i>brīn</i>	Middle Kurdish and Northern, from root بَر, "cut"	a wound
هَرَق <i>haraq</i>	Erroneous initial <i>h</i> ; Arabic عَرَق	sweat
هاجزی <i>hajzī</i>	Erroneous initial <i>h</i> ; from Arabic عاجز	fatigue
ایش <i>ish</i>	Mid. and North. Turkish ایش	work
هشک <i>hishk</i>	Middle and Northern Kurdish; cf. Persian هوش	thought
سام <i>sām</i>	All Kurdish and obs. Persian	fear
خَرِیک <i>kharīk</i>	Middle and Northern Kurdish	employed, busy
گَرِک <i>gerek</i>	Middle Kurdish, also Turkish	necessary
پَرِت <i>pṛt</i>	Northern Kurdish	a bridge
کَلِک <i>kīlk</i>	Obsolete Persian and modern Southern Kurdish meaning = "a finger". Sulaimania and Mukrī use it with the meaning of	a tail
رَشْوَالَه <i>rashwālā</i>	"The black fellow"	a swift

SULAIMANIA.	REMARKS.	MEANING.
کله <i>kulla</i>	Northern and Middle Kurdish	a locust
بازرگان <i>bāzargān</i>	Obsolete Persian	a merchant
جانباز <i>jānbāz</i>	„	a broker
چرخى <i>chirehī</i>	Mid. Kurdish and local Turkish	a pedlar
دروسى <i>draūsī</i>	Mid. Kurdish, "him at the door"	a neighbour
تەنشە <i>tanisht</i>	Middle Kurdish	alongside
شین <i>shīn</i>	Other Kurdish <i>hashīn</i> , obsolete Persian <i>khashīn</i>	blue
سور <i>sūr</i>	All Kurdish	dark red
ال <i>āl</i>	Middle and Northern Kurdish and Turkoman	full red
رش <i>rash</i>	Middle and Northern Kurdish	black
سپى <i>spī</i>	Middle and Northern Kurdish (Southern Kurdish = <i>charmū</i>)	white

THE VERB

The Sulaimanian verb presents features of great interest and is here quoted fully, and a moderately complete list of its verbs is given. These impart to Kurdish generally (for the Sulaimanian are very little different from those of Hakkāri, Kurmānji (North), and Mukri) that character which allows it at once to stand as a different language from Persian, and not a corrupt dialect.

Every sense that the Persian can obtain with its verb forms can be expressed by the Kurdish by its own very dissimilar forms, which may be compared by students with those of old Iranian tongues.

The verb "to be" demands first attention, and one is confronted immediately with its similarity to the verb "to become", a feature common to Kurdish and Lurish; cf. Bakhtiari *bāa* = "it has been", *būa* = "it has become", and other examples. The similarity is so great as to at

first engender a belief that they are one and the same verb, but examination shows otherwise.¹

I place the two verbs side by side here, showing only the simplest moods, which are most used.

The infinitives are—

بين *bīan*, to be

بون *būn*, to become

as in all Kurdish dialects.

Present Indicative

"To be"

"To become"

AFFIRMATIVE.		NEGATIVE.		AFFIRMATIVE.		NEGATIVE.	
أَمْ	<i>am</i>	نِیم	<i>nīm</i>	أَبِم or دِیم	<i>abim or dabim</i>	نَابِم	<i>nābim</i>
أُی	<i>i</i>	نِیت	<i>nīt</i>	أَبِیت or دِیوت	<i>abīt or dabūt</i>	نَابِیت	<i>nābīt</i>
د	<i>ah</i>	نِیا	<i>nīa</i>	أَبِی or دِیو	<i>abī or dabū</i>	نَابِی	<i>nābī</i>
أَین	<i>in</i>	نِین	<i>nīn</i>	أَبِین or دِیون	<i>abīn or dabūn</i>	نَابِین	<i>nābīn</i>
أَین	<i>in</i>	نِین	<i>nīn</i>	أَبِین or دِیون	<i>abīn or dabūn</i>	نَابِین	<i>nābīn</i>
أَین	<i>in</i>	نِین	<i>nīn</i>	أَبِین or دِیون	<i>abīn or dabūn</i>	نَابِین	<i>nābīn</i>

The dual form in the affirmative of "to become" is due to the loss of initial *d* (the sign of the present indicative in Kurdish verbs), which is replaced in the more southerly of the true Kurdish dialects by initial *a*, and in either form provides one of the truest signs of a Kurdish or Lurish tongue, for the latter uses no prefix in this place except the Southern dialects (Bakhtiari, Mamaseni, Kuhgelu, etc.), where an initial *ī* occurs, corrupted from Persian *mī*.

In the negative form of the verb "to become" we have probably *nā + bim*, for in dialects using only *da-* in the

¹ See my "Notes on the Shādi Branch of Kermānījī": JRAS., October, 1909.

affirmative it is replaced by *nā* in the negative, such a form as *nādabim* never occurring.

Preterite

"I was," etc.

"I became," etc.

بوم or ام بو	<i>būm or am bū</i>	Negative formed by prefix <i>nā</i> .	بوم	<i>būm</i>	Negative formed by prefix <i>nā</i> .
بوی	ات بو ,, <i>būī ,, at bū</i>		بوی	<i>būī</i>	
بو	ای بو ,, <i>bū ,, ī bū</i>		بو	<i>bū</i>	
بون	<i>būn</i>		بون	<i>būn</i>	
بون	<i>būn</i>		بون	<i>būn</i>	
بون	<i>būn</i>		بون	<i>būn</i>	

The verb "to be" shows here an irregularity which does not occur in Mukrī, etc., which shows بيم, *bīm*, etc. For note on the formation of preterite with initial pronominal forms, see after.

Perfect

"I have been," etc.

AFFIRMATIVE.

NEGATIVE.

1	2	3	
بوم	<i>būma</i>	بیم	<i>bīma</i>
—	—	ام بود	<i>ambūa</i>
—	—	ات بود	<i>atbūa</i>
بود	<i>būa</i>	بو	<i>būa</i>
—	—	امان بود	<i>amān būa</i>
—	—	تان بود	<i>tān būa</i>
—	—	ایان بود	<i>ayān būa</i>
نام بود	<i>nambūa</i>	نات بود	<i>nathbūa</i>
نای بود	<i>naibūa</i>	نامان بود	<i>namānbūa</i>
ناتان بود	<i>natānbūa</i>	نایان بود	<i>nayānbūa</i>

The two verbs here are in such similarity that it is necessary only to indicate that form 3 of "to be" is the regular form for "to become", the negatives being identical.

The imperfect sets, Nos. 1 and 2, are met with in their entirety in other allied dialects.

Conditional Form

(Equivalent of Persian باشم and بشوم)

"To be"

"To become"

With *hagar* = "if"

هگر بيم	<i>hagar bīm</i>	هگر بيم	<i>hagar bibim</i>
هگر بيمت	<i>hagar bīt</i>	هگر به بيمت	<i>hagar bi biait</i> ¹
هگر بي	<i>hagar bī</i>	هگر به بيه	<i>hagar babaya</i>
هگر بين	<i>hagar bin</i>	هگر بين	<i>hagar bibin</i>
هگر بين	<i>hagar bin</i>	هگر بين	<i>hagar bibin</i>
هگر بين	<i>hagar bin</i>	هگر بين	<i>hagar bibin</i>

Imperative

"Be!"

"Become!"

بي *bī!*به *bā!*بين *bīn!*بين *bīn!**Past Participle*بيه *bīa*بود *būa**The Infinitive*

This is formed, as in all Kurdish dialects, by *-n*, *-in*, or *-din*.

In connexion with infinitive terminations it may be noted that most of the Persian verbs ending in *-khtan* have their root ending in *z*, as—

bākhtan = *bāz**sākhtan* = *sāz**āmākhtan* = *āmāz*, etc.,

and Kurdish has in every case where it uses the same root formed its infinitive from it direct, as—

sāzin, from *sāz*,*bāzin* „ *bāz*, etc.

¹ There is a form *bībiaitin* which follows Lurish use, and is very occasionally heard in Sulaimania.

The Present Indicative

The regular Kurdish verb forms the present indicative on the model of *da* + $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ + pronominal particle, but in the southern forms *ai* or *a* takes the place of *da*¹ (the *d* having been weakened and dropped, as is so common), and a little variation may occur in the pronominal terminations, particularly in the second person singular, where *-it* often takes the place of *i*, as *aizhit* for *aizhi*. Again, by a coincidence, the same confusion may occur in the 3rd singular, where the Kurdish *i* = "he" may be replaced by the Persian *-ad* hardened to *-it*. It is therefore possible for—

aizhi to mean "thou speakest", or "he speaks",
 or *aizhit* " " " "

owing to the similarity of form but difference of meaning of the purely Kurdish and the Kurdo-Persian suffixes. This confusion, however, occurs as a rule only in dialects where a proximity to Lurish or Gūrān tongues has led to the interchangeability of form.

In Sulaimania town as a regular thing it may be said that the *ai*- prefix in the present indicative is heard as often as the *da*-, which was formerly universal. A kind of custom has thus sprung up by which certain verbs are constructed with *da*- and others with *ai*, which distinction will be shown in the verb tables.

The following is the present indicative of a regular verb:—

From *kaotn*, "to fall"

AFFIRMATIVE.	NEGATIVE.
اکۆم <i>akawam</i>	ناکۆم, etc.
اکۆی <i>akawi</i>	
اکۆد or اکۆی <i>akawi or akawa</i>	

¹ This is particularly noticeable in the modern dialect of Sina of Ardalan, Persian Kurdistan.

AFFIRMATIVE.

اکون	<i>akawan</i>
اکون	<i>akawan</i>
اکون	<i>akawan</i>

From *iln*, "to speak"

Both prefixes are equally used.

ایلم	<i>ailm</i>	دلیم	<i>dalim</i>
ایلی	<i>aili</i>	دلی	<i>dali</i>
ایله or ایلی	<i>aili or aila</i>	دله or دلی	<i>dali or dala</i>
ایلن	<i>ailn</i>	دلین	<i>dalain</i>
ایلن	<i>ailn</i>	دلن	<i>daln</i>
ایلن	<i>ailn</i>	دلن	<i>daln</i>

Negative = نیلم *nailm*, etc., for both forms.

The liquid *l* makes this a very difficult verb to pronounce properly, *ln* becoming a peculiar concrete sound.

A very large number of verbs have prefixial words (adverbs, etc.), such as *hal*, *par*, *tai*, *lai*, *dā*, which are so closely connected, and so easily form junctions with another word, as to appear at first sight an integral part of the verb. So closely are they joined that the modifying letter of the verbal tense is lost in many cases, e.g.:

1. *laikhistn* = to strike hard.
2. *laidān* = to pulverize.
3. *feradān* = to cast away.

Present Indicatives

1.	2.	3.
<i>laikham.</i>	<i>laiam.</i>	<i>ferayam.</i>
<i>laikhī.</i>	<i>layī.</i>	<i>feraiyī.</i>
<i>laikha.</i>	<i>laia.</i>	<i>feraya.</i>
<i>laikhin.</i>	<i>layan.</i>	<i>ferayin.</i>
<i>laikhin.</i>	<i>layin.</i>	<i>ferayin.</i>
<i>laikhan.</i>	<i>layan.</i>	<i>ferayan.</i>

Preterite

The Sulaimania tongue follows the proper Kurdish use here. The regular form is (from *kaotn* = "to fall", "I fell", etc.).

ام کۆت	-am kaot	امان کۆت	-emān kaot
ات کۆت	-at kaot	اتان کۆت	-itān kaot
ای کۆت	-i kaot	ایان کۆت	-ayān kaot

There is a form which serves all purposes to Lurish and Southern Kurdish, but which is, among the pure Kurdish, only used when the verb itself forms a complete sentence, and in the affirmative only. It is—

کۆتم	kaotm	کۆتمان or کۆتن	kaotimān or kaotin
کۆتی	kaotî	کۆتان „ کۆتن	kaottān „ kaotin
کۆت	kaot	کۆتیان „ کۆتن	kaotayan „ kaotan

This is necessary, as the regular form required some letter before the pronominal prefix of the regular form, even if it be only the negative, as *namkaot* = "I fell not", for which it is not permissible to use the Lurish and South Kurdish *nakaotm*, the negative of the alternative form. The use of the alternative is therefore very limited, as any sentence with a word in front of the verb provides the necessary support for the regular form. Example of both uses: *la barzîm kaot* = "I fell a long way", equivalent to *la barzî + am kaot*, the pronominal prefix joining itself to the preceding word.

Kaotm could only be used if no other words were uttered.

The answer to such a phrase might be: *Chlūnit kaot?* = "How didst thou fall?" not *chlūn kaotî*?

Past Imperfect

This form, in Persian, constructed of *mī* + *√* + pronominal affix, in Southern Kurdish *√* + *îā* + pronominal

affix, occurs but rarely, the preterite or perfect form being usually employed. Occasionally, however, the Southern Kurdish form is heard—

"I used to fall," etc.

کۆتیا <i>kaotîam</i>	* کۆتیا <i>kaotîain</i>
* کۆتیا <i>kaotîāi</i>	* کۆتیا <i>kaotîāin</i>
کوتیا <i>kaotîa</i>	کۆتیا <i>kaotîān</i>

* The Kermanshāhi کۆتیايت, کۆتيا من, کۆتيا ئین are never used.

Perfect

"I have fallen"

This is quite regular, and follows the pure Kurdish usage = pronominal form + $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ + *awa*, as follows:—

AFFIRMATIVE.	NEGATIVE.
ام کۆتۆد <i>am kaotawa</i>	نم کۆتۆد
ات کۆتۆد <i>at kaotawa</i>	نت کۆتۆد
ای کۆتۆد <i>ī kaotawa</i>	نی کۆتۆد
امان کۆتۆد <i>amān kaotawa</i>	نمان کۆتۆد
اتان کۆتۆد <i>atān kaotawa</i>	نتان کۆتۆد
ایان کۆتۆد <i>ayān kaotawa</i>	نیان کۆتۆد

In the case of verbs with a prefixial word with the infinitive as *laikhistu* (see before), the form becomes naturally—

AFFIRMATIVE.	NEGATIVE.
لیم خستۆد <i>laim khestawa</i>	لیم ^ن خستۆد
لایت خستۆد <i>lait khestawa</i>	لایت ^ن خستۆد, etc.
لی خستۆد <i>lāi khestawa</i>	
لیمان خستۆد <i>laimān khestawa</i>	
لایتان خستۆد <i>laitān khestawa</i>	
لیمان خستۆد <i>layān khestawa</i>	

The negative changes position from its place before the pronominal prefix (see simple verb) owing to its place being already occupied

Perfect Past

This is seldom used, and has three forms, the first of which is most heard—

1	2	3
ئەم کۆتووڤ <i>am kaotūwa</i>	کۆتو بوم <i>kaotū bām</i>	کۆتووما <i>kaotūma</i>
ات کۆتووڤ <i>at kaotūwa</i>	کۆتو بوی <i>kaotū bāi</i>	کۆتوتا <i>kaotūta</i>
ای کۆتووڤ etc.	کۆتو بو <i>kaotū bā</i>	کۆتووا <i>kaotūwa</i>
اوان کۆتووڤ	کۆتو بون <i>kaotū bān</i>	کۆتونا <i>kaotūna</i>
اتان کۆتووڤ	کۆتو بون <i>kaotū bān</i>	کۆتونا <i>kaotūna</i>
ایان کۆتووڤ	کۆتو بون <i>kaotū bān</i>	کۆتونا <i>kaotūna</i>

The third form is that commonly heard in Sina of Ardalan (Persian Kurdistan) and Kermānshāh, and the first is the purest Kurdish. The compound infinitive verb shows—

ئەم خستووڤ <i>laim khestūwa</i>
ایت خستووڤ <i>lait khestūwa</i>
etc. etc.

THE CONDITIONAL

Present

"That" or "if I fall"

SIMPLE VERB.	COMPOUND INFINITIVE VERB.
بیکوام <i>bikawam</i>	لی بیخم <i>lai bīkham</i>
بیکوێ <i>bikawē</i>	لی بیخی <i>lai bīkhar</i>
بیکوئا <i>bikawea</i>	لی بیخه <i>lai bīkha</i>
بیکوین <i>bikawin</i>	لی بیخن <i>lai bīkhin</i>
بیکوین <i>bikawin</i>	لی بیخن <i>lai bīkhin</i>
بیکوان <i>bikawan</i>	لی بیخن <i>lai bīkhan</i>

Past

"That" or "if I should fall"

SIMPLE VERB.	COMPOUND INFINITIVE VERB.
بِم كَوْتَوُود <i>bim kaotūwa</i>	لِيم بَخْسَتَوُود <i>laim bikhistūwa</i>
بِت كَوْتَوُود <i>bit kaotūwa</i>	لِيت بَخْسَتَوُود <i>lait bikhistūwa</i>
بِی كَوْتَوُود <i>bī kaotūwa</i>	لِی بَخْسَتَوُود <i>lai bikhistūwa</i>
بِمَان كَوْتَوُود <i>bimān kaotūwa</i>	لِیمَان بَخْسَتَوُود <i>laimān bikhistūwa</i>
بِتَان كَوْتَوُود <i>bitān kaotūwa</i>	لِیتَان بَخْسَتَوُود <i>laitān bikhistūwa</i>
بِیَان كَوْتَوُود <i>bīyān kaotūwa</i>	لِیْمَان بَخْسَتَوُود <i>layān bikhistūwa</i>

This is seldom heard, but it is encountered in poetry, and occasionally in oral translation of Turkish or Persian where the Kurd is rendering with exactitude the sense of the foreign language.

Imperative

بِمَكَا <i>bīkawā</i>	لِیخه <i>laikha</i>
بِمَكَاوِ <i>bīkawin</i>	لِیخِن <i>laikhin</i>

The imperative may also take an initial *dābī* a word common to Sulaimania and Mukri only, and renders the imperative more emphatic.

It also may be added to the conditional in the sense of certainty of occurrence of the action, as—

<i>dābī bīkawam</i>	= that I shall certainly fall.
<i>dābī bībistm</i>	= that I shall certainly hear.

Such a phrase also has a purely future signification.

Future

The future is usually formed by (1) use of *abī* = "it will become", (2) *-awa*, or (3) with both—

- (1) *abī bigāra* = he will change it.
- (2) *daitawa* = he will come.
- (3) *abī birāwa* = he will go.

The second is most generally employed. It is the present indicative + *-awa*, and is not heard in Hakkāri and Northern Kurmānжі.

They are all three obviously purely Kurdish uses, as there is no parallel to them either in Gūrān, Persian, or Lurish.

Past Participle

There are two forms of this: (1) in *-ā* or *w*, (2) in *-rā*; the latter being a peculiar and novel feature of this branch of Kurdish.

One verb may use both these forms, as appears most convenient euphonically; for instance, from the verb *dān* appears *dāw* = "given", and in the perfect, "I have given," it would and does naturally occur as *-m dāwa*, but the second form may be, and often is, made use of, in some of which cases the pronominal particle is placed after the root thus: *dāmrā* = *dā* + *m* + *rā*, a formation of great peculiarity.

This occurs in a great many instances, and it may be taken that in the case of a verb whose root terminates in a vowel, the pronominal consonant precedes the *-rā* for the sake of avoiding a weak word like *dā* + *rā* + *m*, though this is quite a regular rule with all verbs whose roots end in a consonant; thus, from *kuzhdū*, past part. *kuzhrā*, perfect = *kuzhrām*, not *kuzhmā*.

This formation in, and use of, *rā* appears to exist only in Sulaimania, for I never heard it in Hakkāri, Erbil, nor Mukri.

The verb tables will show the verbs usually taking *-rā* in the past participle.

Infinitive Prefixes

These are, as above remarked, so essential to many verbs, and have so little use apart from them, that they may be quoted here. The commonest are—

<i>hal</i> ,	giving the meaning	back, up.
<i>lai</i>	„	destroying, crushing.
<i>tai</i>	„	in it, to it.
<i>rā</i>	„	movement.
<i>dā</i>	„	away, down.
<i>par</i> or <i>far</i>	„	out, away.

Of these *hal* (the equivalent of the Persian *bar*) is by far the commonest.

Causative Form

The Persian forms the causative by the insertion of *-ān* before the infinitive ending. The Mukri and Sulaimania form by the same method, using the syllable *-īain*, as *irsiainin*, "to affright," from *tirsin*, "to fear," and so on.

Certain Peculiarities

1. The language has almost lost the use of the verbs *dîn*, "to see," *paîā krdu*, "to find," and uses the first only in the 1st person singular preterite and perfect, *mdî* = "I saw", *mdîwa* = "I have seen", otherwise using the phrase *chao paî kaotn* = "the eyes falling upon". This signifies both seeing and finding.

2. In common with all Kurdish tongues, the verb "to have" does not exist, the sense being conveyed as in Turkish and Arabic = "to be", "to . . .", as—

pāra hayya la lāt ? = Hast thou money ?

Is there money to thee ? (lit. at thy side).

Na, pârām niyya = No, I have no money.

No, money to me is not.

3. There is only a relic of the verb "to want", "to wish", which is complete in Northern Kurdish, which gives *khāzin*, *wāzin*, etc.¹ Sulaimania, in colloquial language,

¹ As an example of how often Kurdish has produced, by its consonant and vowel changes, a word closely resembling English, we have the verb *wissin*, "to wish," in a middle dialect.

possesses no such verb, expressing its meaning by *haz krên* = "to be pleased to".

4. Owing to the position and nature of the pronominal particle certain curious forms occur, where an objective pronoun is introduced; thus, in colloquial Persian the word *bibaram* has a meaning "take me away" or "take me", and can also be interpreted "I may take". Kurdish, however, avoids this ambiguity by a transposition, presenting for the first meaning—

- bimba* = "take me".
bî = imperative prefix.
-m- = pronominal particle.
-ba = root "take".

Bibam would mean correctly and only "that I take". This use leads to such complications as—

- tadâimî* = thou gavest it to me.
ta = thou.
dât = gavest.
m = me.
î = it.

Persian would have to use the analytic form *tû dâdi ânra bî man*.

It will be noticed that the Kurdish by this means produces a highly synthetic form. In the phrase *woutishî* another peculiarity is observed—

- wout-* = he said.
-ish- = also.
-î = to him.

Persian presents *guftish ham*, but *ish* in Persian means "to him", not "also" as in Kurdish. This form in Kurdish is produced by the necessities of euphony, as *woutî-ish* (the regular form) would allow the sense "to him" to disappear.

LIST OF VERBS

The 1st person singular of the various moods is quoted

INFINITIVE.	TRANSLITERATION.	PRES. IND.	PRETERITE.	IMPERATIVE.	PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
آفرین	<i>afirin</i> (3rd pers. sing.)	دافره	آفری		آفریو	to create
آگریان	<i>agrian</i>	آگریم	آگریام	آگریه	آگریو	to fire a cannon
ایشن	<i>aishn</i> (3rd pers. sing.)	ایشی	ایشی			to ache
بازان	<i>bazan</i>	see	دازان, <i>bāzān</i>	being prefixed		to jump
بانگ کردن	<i>bang kirdn</i>	see	کردن, <i>kān</i>	being prefixed		to call
بارین	<i>barin</i>	بارو (3rd sing.)	باری			to rain
بازن	<i>bāzin</i>	دبازم	باری			to gamble
بجیرین	<i>bichirin</i>	بجیرم	بجیر		بجرو	to pluck off
بخشین	<i>bakhshin</i>	بخشیم	بخشی	بخشه	بخشی	to excuse or grant
بردن	<i>birdn</i>	ایتم	ام برد	بیه	برو	to take away
برن	<i>birin</i>	ایتم	ام بری	بیه	بریو	to cut
بریان	<i>bariān</i>	بریم	بریمدا	بریه	بریاو	to release
برین	<i>bhairin</i>	ایتم	ام بری	بریه	بریو	to exchange or give back

INFINITIVE.	TRANSLITERATION.	PRES. IND.	PRETERITE.	IMPERATIVE.	PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
بستن	<i>bastā</i>	ایستم	ام بست	بست	بستو	to bind
بون	<i>bān</i>	ام	بوم	به	بود	to become
بین	<i>bān</i>	ام	بوم	بی	بیه	to be
بستن	<i>bāstā</i>	ایستم	ام بستم	بست	بستو	to hear
بیزن	<i>bāzān</i>	ایزم	ام بیز	بیز	بیزا	to sift
پار د بیان	<i>pāra nān</i>	see	بیان being prefixed			to push
پیرین	<i>pirān</i>	ایهرسم	ام پرسی	پرس	پرسو	to ask
پیر کون	<i>pir kaotā</i>	see	کون being prefixed			to lie down
پک کون	<i>pak kaotā</i>	see	کون being prefixed			to suffer loss or indignity
پیچین	<i>paichin</i>	ایهچیم	ام پیچی	پیچ	پیچو	to twist
پینه کردن	<i>pīna kirān</i>	see	پنا being prefixed			to patch
ترش کردن	<i>tarāsh kirān</i>	see	ترش being prefixed			to shave the beard
ترسن	<i>tirsān</i>	اترسم	ام ترسی	ترسه	ترسو	to fear
ترسیمین	<i>tirsānīn</i>	اترسیمین	ام ترسیمین	ترسیمین	ترسیمینو	to affright
تکانی	<i>takānī</i>	اتکانم	ام تکانی	تکانه	تکانیو	to shake
تقانی	<i>taqānī</i>	اتقانم	ام تقانی	تقانه	تقانیو	to fire a cannon

INFIXITIVE.	TRANSLITERATION.	PRES. IND.	PREFERTIVE.	IMPERATIVE.	PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
تکین	<i>takîn</i>	د تکى (3rd sing.)	ای تکی	—	تکيو	to drip
تشرین	<i>tashrîn</i>	د تشرى (3rd sing.)	ای تشرى	—	تشریشو	to become sour
برژان	<i>birzhan</i>	د برژد (3rd sing.)	ای برژا	—	برژاو	to be roasted
برژینیم	<i>birzhianim</i>	د برژینیم	ام برژین	نهی برژینمه	برژینو	to roast
تلاشیم	<i>talâshim</i>	د تلاشیم	ام تلاشى	بیستلاشه	تلاشرا	to shave wood
توانیم	<i>tecânim</i>	د توانیم	ام توانى	—	—	to be able
توریان	<i>tarân</i>	ایتورم	توریام	—	توریاو	to quarrel
تی کردن	<i>tai kirîn</i>	see	tai being prefixed		to pour out	
تی خستن	<i>tai khiştin</i>	see	tai being prefixed		to pour, or throw into	
تی گیشن	<i>tai gâişhtin</i>	see	tai being prefixed		to understand	
تی یک کردن	<i>tai yek kirîn</i>	see	tai being prefixed		to stir or mix	
چون	<i>çûn</i>	ایچوم	ام چوف	یلاچود	چود	to chew
چوین	<i>çûvin</i>	ایچوم	ام چوین	یلاچود	—	to shake
چوش کردن	<i>çûş kirîn</i>	see	jûş being prefixed		to boil	
چوش دان	<i>çûş dân</i>	see	jûş being prefixed		to cause to boil	
چیا کردن	<i>çia kirîn</i>	see	çia being prefixed		to separate	

INFINITIVE.	TRANSLITERATION.	PRES. IND.	PRET. IMP.	IMPERATIVE.	PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
جی اشته	jai ishta	جی ایلم	جیم اشت	جی ایله	جی اشته	to leave, to set down
چسپین	chaptānin	چسپینم	چسپینم	چسپینه	چسپاؤ	to stick
چسپین	chaspīn (3rd sing.)	چسپین	چسپین	چسپینه	چسپاؤ	to adhere
چسپین	chamīn	چسپینم	چسپینم	چسپینه	چسپاؤ	to bend
چو ترکین	chao turkin	چو ترکیم	چو ترکین	چو ترکه	چو ترکاؤ	to wink
چون	chān	چونم	چونم	چونم	چو	to go
چوشت کردن	chawisht kirin	چوشت کردن	چوشت کردن	چوشت کردن	چوشت کردن	to cook
چمین	chāmīn	چمینم	چمینم	چمینم	چمینم	to plant
خوین	khurīn	خوینم	خوینم	خوینم	—	to irritate
خوینین	khurīnin	خوینینم	خوینینم	خوینینم	خوینینم	to scratch
خوشتن	khushān	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	to throw
خوشتن	khushān (3rd sing.)	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	to soak
خوشتن	khushān	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	to go to sleep
خوشتن	khushān	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	to suffocate
خوشتن	khushān	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	to eat
خوشتن	khushān	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	خوشتنم	—	to want ¹

¹ A defective verb, its parts are only used with *chaw*, to give the meaning "asking pardon" or "excusing oneself".

INITIATIVE.	TRANSLITERATION.	PRES. IND.	PRETERITE.	IMPERATIVE.	PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
خوین	<i>khūin</i>	دخوینم	ام خوین	بخوین	خوینو	to read or sing
دانیش	<i>dānīshn</i>	دانیشم	دام نیش	دانیشه	دانیشتو	to sit
دان	<i>dān</i>	ایم	ام دا	بیه	داو	to give
دانیان	<i>dānān</i>	see <i>nān</i>	نیان, <i>dā</i> being prefixed			to put down
داخستن	<i>dā khīstn</i>	see <i>khīstn</i>	خستن, <i>dā</i> being prefixed			to throw down
داگرسیمین	<i>dāgrīstīn</i>	داگرسیمینم	داگرسیمینم	داگرسیمینه	داگرسیمینو	to light
دیز بژن	<i>dīzā bīzn</i>	see <i>bīzn</i>	بژن, <i>dīzā</i> being prefixed			to crack
دیس کردن	<i>dīus kīrdn</i>	see <i>kīrdn</i>	کردن, <i>dīus</i> being prefixed			to make or put right
درو کردن	<i>dru kīrdn</i>	see <i>kīrdn</i>	کردن, <i>dru</i> being prefixed			to lie
درین	<i>dīrīn</i>	ایدیم	ام دری	بیدره	درو	to tear
دز گرفتن	<i>daz gīrtn</i>	see <i>gīrtn</i>	گرتن, <i>daz</i> being prefixed			to commence
دلونه کردن	<i>dalaopa kīrdn</i>	see <i>kīrdn</i>	کردن, <i>dalaopa</i> being prefixed			to drip or leak
دورانن	<i>durānīn</i>	ایدورم	ام دوری	بیدوره	دوراه	to sow
دوشین	<i>dūshīn</i>	ایدوشم	ام دوشی	بیدوشه	دوشرا	to milk
دین	<i>dīn</i>	—	امدی	—	دیو	to see (defective)
راز کردن	<i>rāz kīrdn</i>	see <i>kīrdn</i>	کردن, <i>rāz</i> being prefixed			to speak truth

INFINITIVE.	TRANSLITERATION.	PRES. IND.	PRETERITE.	IMPERATIVE.	PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
رێژ بون	<i>rāz bān</i>	see <i>bān</i> بون	<i>rāz</i> being prefixed			to be content
رێژ بێردن	<i>rā bīrdn</i>	see <i>bīrdn</i> بێردن	<i>rā</i> being prefixed			to pass away (time)
رێژ فرین	<i>rā farīn</i>	see <i>farīn</i> فرین	<i>rā</i> being prefixed			to fly away
رێژ وشان	<i>rrā wshan</i>	• رێژ وشم	رێژ وشا	رێژ وسه	رێژ وسا ¹	to stop, halt ¹
رێژ کێردن	<i>rrā kīrdn</i>	see <i>kīrdn</i> کێردن	<i>rrā</i> being prefixed			to flee
رێژ چۆن	<i>rrā chān</i>	see <i>chān</i> چۆن	<i>rrā</i> being prefixed			to hunt
رێژ وشین	<i>rrā wshān</i>	رێژ وشم	رێژ وشی	رێژ وسه	رێژ وشو	to roll
رێژین	<i>rāzīn</i>	ارزی (3rd sing.)	رزی	—	رێژین	to rot
رێسین	<i>rīstn</i>	ارسم	ام رسی	بێسه	رێسین	to spin
رێشان	<i>rīshān</i>	درشم	ام رشی	بێرشه	رێشاو	to vomit
رێنازان	<i>rīnāzān</i>	ارنبازم	ام رنبازی	بێرنباز	رێنازیو	to gallop
رێوخان	<i>rākhān</i>	دروخه (3rd sing.)	روخا	روخه	روخاو	to stumble (an animal)
رێونق دان	<i>rīniq dān</i>	see <i>dān</i> دان	<i>rīniq</i> being prefixed			to sparkle
رێوهشتن	<i>rī wshān</i>	رێوهيلم	رێوهستم	—	رێوهشتو	to start on the road
رێوین	<i>rīwīn</i>	اێروم	ام رێوی	بێرو	رێو	to go

¹ Although this is but *rrā* prefixed to *wshān*, it is given here thus, as *wshān* is never used alone.

INFINITIVE.	TRANSLITERATION.	PRES. IND.	PREFERTH.	IMPERATIVE.	PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
رێژن	<i>raizhîn</i>	دەریژم	ام رێژ	بەرێژ	رێژا ^و	to pour
رێوخین	<i>rûxhîn</i>	ارێوخیم	ام رێوخین	بەرێوخه	رێوخینو	to shatter (a house)
زان	<i>zân</i>	ازنم	ام زان	بیزان	زارا	to give birth
زان	<i>zân</i>	زانم	ام زانی	بزان	—	to know
ژمرن	<i>zhûmrân</i>	ژمرم	ام ژمر	بژمر	ژمرنو	to count
سک کردن	<i>sîgî kirîn</i>	کردن, <i>sîgî</i> being prefixed				to hang up
سووتن	<i>sûtûn</i>	اسوتم	ام سووتی	بیسووله	سووترا	to burn
سووتان	<i>sûtân</i>	اسووتام	ام سووتان	بیسووتان	سووتانو	to cause to burn
سیمندان	<i>sîmîndn</i>	دسیمینم	ام سیمینی	بسیمینه	—	to buy, get
ستن	<i>stûn</i>	ایشوم	ام شست	بیشو	شتا ^و	to wash
شرقیمن	<i>sharqîmîn</i>	اشرقینم	ام شرقیمن	بشرقیمن	شرقیمنو	to confuse
شکاران	<i>shkâran</i>	اشکاروم	ام شکار	بیشکار	شکارو	to unpick
شکان	<i>shikân</i>	اشکام	ام شکا	بیشکا	شکارو	to break
شکیان	<i>shikîân</i>	ایشکد (3rd sing.)	شکیا	—	—	to break (intransitive)
شیمیلن	<i>shîmilîn</i>	اشیمیل	ام شیمیلی	بشیميله	—	to massage or rub
فرمون	<i>farmûn</i>	افرمو (3rd sing.)	فرمو	بفرمو	فرمو ^و	to command

INFINITIVE.	TRANSLITERATION.	PRES. IND.	PREFERITE.	IMPERATIVE.	PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
فروشتن	<i>frūsh-tin</i>	ایفروشم	ام فروشتی	بیفروشه	فروشتم	to sell
فترین	<i>far-tin</i>	افترم	ام فترتی	بیفتره	فترتم	to fly
فتره دان	<i>fara dān</i>	see <i>dān</i>	دان, <i>fara</i> being prefixed			to throw away
فت کردن	<i>qat kirdn</i>	see <i>kirdn</i>	<i>qat</i> being prefixed			to fold
فترقی کردن	<i>qir-qish kirdn</i>	see <i>kirdn</i>	<i>qir-qish</i> being prefixed			to wind a watch
فقی کردن	<i>qai kirdn</i>	see <i>kirdn</i>	<i>qai</i> being prefixed			to be concerned
کردن	<i>kirdn</i>	ایکم	ام کرد	بیکه	کردم	to do
کردن آوا	<i>kirdn āwā</i>	{ ایکم آوا ایکمو }	کردم آوا کردمو }	بیکرو	کردوا	to open
کترین	<i>kir-tin</i>	دیکم	ام کرتی	بیکتر	کترتم	to buy
کشان	<i>kishān</i>	ایکشم	ام کشا	بیکش	کشرا	to draw, suffer, sustain
کشانوا	<i>kushān awā</i>	گشوا	کشانوا	—	—	to open (a bud)
کلان	<i>klānin</i>	ایکلم	ام کلا	بیکلا	کلاو	to cook
کندن	<i>kandn</i>	ایکنم	ام کند	بیکن	کندو	to excavate
کنن	<i>kanin</i>	دکنم	ام کنی	بیکن	—	to laugh
کوتن	<i>kaotn</i>	انوم	ام کوت	بیکو	کوتو	to fall

INFINITIVE.	TRANSLITERATION.	PRES. IND.	PREFERITE.	IMPERATIVE.	PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
کوتن	<i>kutin</i>	ایکوم	ام کوت	بیکو	کوترا	to pound
کوتن	<i>kazdin</i>	ایکوم	ام کوت	بیکو	کوترا	to kill or extinguish
گاز گرتن	<i>gāz girtin</i>	see <i>girtin</i>	<i>gāz</i> being prefixed			to bite
گاهن	<i>gāhin</i>	اکم	ام گاه	بیکا	گارا	to rape or spoil
گرتن	<i>girtin</i>	ایکم	ام گرت	بیکو	کرتو	to seize
گرتان	<i>garriān</i>	ایکم	ام گرت	بیکو	کرتو	to wander
گوتن	<i>gūtin</i>	—	ام گوت	—	کوتو	to speak
گورن	<i>gūrin</i>	ایگورم	ام گور	بیکور	گوراو	to exchange
گیرین	<i>gūrin</i>	ایگیرم	ام گیر	بیکیر	(کیرنو)	to weep
گیشتن	<i>gūshatin</i>	ایگم	ام گیش	—	گیشو	to arrive
لاچون	<i>lāchān</i>	چون	<i>la</i> being prefixed			to go out
لاوان	<i>lāwān</i>	—	لاوام	لاوا	—	to take off
لبیر چون	<i>labir chān</i>	چون	<i>la</i> being prefixed			to forget
لوارن	<i>lāwārin</i>	الوارن (3rd sing.)	لوارن	بیلوار	—	to graze
لوارینن	<i>lāwārainin</i>	الوارینم	لوارینم	بیلوارینه	—	to cause to graze
لن	<i>lān</i> or <i>ilān</i>	ایلم	ام الی	بیله	—	to speak

INITIATIVE	TRANSLITERATION	PRES. IND.	PRET. IND.	IMPERATIVE	PAST PART.	ENGLISH
لی خستن	<i>lai khista</i>	see <i>khista</i>	خستن, <i>lai</i> being prefixed			to strike
لی دان	<i>lai dan</i>	see <i>dān</i>	دان, <i>lai</i> being prefixed			to strike very hard
لی کردن	<i>lai kirin</i>	see <i>kirin</i>	کردن, <i>lai</i> being prefixed			to press
لی یک کردن	<i>lai yek kirin</i>	see <i>kirin</i>	کردن, <i>lai yek</i> being prefixed			to mix
مردن	<i>mirdin</i>	ایمرم	میردم	میرد	مردو	to die
ماندن	<i>mādan</i>	امیمیم	مام	بمینه	مانو	to remain
مویستن	<i>mōystin</i>	اوی	امو، ویست	—	—	to wish ¹
ناسن	<i>nāsin</i>	ایناسم	ام ناسی	نی ناس	ناسو	to recognize
نویسان	<i>nōisān</i>	انوسم	ام نوشت	نی نوس	نوسرا	to write
نوستان	<i>nōistan</i>	انوم	ام نوشت	بمنشو	نوستو	to sleep
نیان	<i>nīān</i>	ام	ام لیا	بته	نیال	to allow
نیردن	<i>nairdin</i>	انیرم	ام نیرد	بشیر	نیردو	to send
وا هاتن	<i>wā hātin</i>	see <i>hātin</i>	هاتن, <i>wā</i> being prefixed			to return
وا گرتن	<i>wā girin</i>	see <i>girin</i>	گرتن, <i>wā</i> being prefixed			to cause to return, to overturn
ووتن	<i>wōtin</i>	ایترم	ام ووت	بیرد	ووتو	to speak

¹ Now obsolete.

INFINITIVE.	TRANSLITERATION.	PRES. IND.	PREF. TENSE.	IMPERATIVE.	PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
هاتن	<i>hatin</i>	دیم	هاتم	وَرَد	هاتو	to come
هشتن	<i>hishtin</i>	ایلم	ام هشت	بیلە	هشتو	to allow
هل وشیمن	<i>hal weshimin</i>	هل وشیمن	هل وشیمنه	هل وشیمنه	هل وشیمنو	to scatter about
هل پیاچیمین	<i>hal piachimin</i>	هل پیاچیمین	هل پیاچیمینه	هل پیاچیمینه	هل پیاچیمو	to roll up cloth
هل بچین	<i>hal bechin</i>	هل بچم	هل بچمی	هل بچی	هل بچمو	to unpick
هل فزین	<i>hal farzin</i>	see <i>farzin</i> , <i>hal</i> being prefixed				to jump
هل سان	<i>hal san</i>	هل سم	هل سام	هل سه	هل ساو	to rise on the feet
هل گرتن	<i>hal girtin</i>	see <i>girtin</i> , <i>hal</i> being prefixed				to take up
هل گزریان	<i>hal garrian</i>	see <i>garrian</i> , <i>hal</i> being prefixed				to come back
هل تکابن	<i>hal takanin</i>	see <i>takanin</i> , <i>hal</i> being prefixed				to shake out
هل بزاردن	<i>hal bazardin</i>	see <i>bazardin</i> , <i>hal</i> being prefixed				to choose
هل بزین	<i>hal parin</i>	هل ایرم	هلم یرم	هل یَرَد	هل بزینو	to leap
هل بَستَن	<i>hal wustin</i>	هل اوستم	هلم وُست	هل وُسته	هل وُساو	to hang up
هونن	<i>hunin</i>	ایهونم	ام هون	یهون	هونو	to spin
هیمین	<i>himin</i>	اهیمیم دهیمیم	هیمام هیمنا	بی آینه	هیماو	to bring

PRONOUNS

These are as simple as in Persian, and possess no inflexions for case. Unlike the extreme Northern Kurmānji the 1st person singular presents the same form as Persian, for the Bayazid and Erzerum dialects give *az*.

I	من	<i>min</i> ,	We	ایما	<i>aima</i> ,
Thou	تو or آتو	<i>tū</i> or <i>atū</i> ,	You	ایود	<i>aiwa</i> ,
He, she, it	او	<i>aw</i> ,	They	اون	<i>awān</i> ,

with the reflexives—

Myself	خوَم	<i>khwaṃ</i>	=	<i>khwa</i> + <i>am</i> .
Thyself	خوت	<i>khwaṭ</i>	=	<i>khwa</i> + <i>t</i> .
Himself	خوی	<i>khwaī</i>	=	<i>khwa</i> + <i>i</i> .
Ourselves	خوامان	<i>khwaṃān</i>	=	<i>khwa</i> + <i>amān</i> .
Yourselves	خوتان	<i>khwaṭān</i>	=	<i>khwa</i> + <i>atān</i> .
Themselves	خویان	<i>khwaīyān</i>	=	<i>khwa</i> + <i>ayān</i> .

The possessive is formed by adding one of the words *-ī*, *hī*, or *hīn*, usually the last, making—

<i>hīn-ī-mīn</i>	= mine.
<i>hīn-ī-tū</i>	= thine, etc.

The Persianized form *māl-ī-mīn* is seldom heard.

The dative and objective forms are usually affixed to verbs when possible, as in Persian, and give the following regular forms (though the position may change according to the requirements of euphony)—

<i>tadā</i> + <i>m</i>	= thou gavest	+ to me.
<i>dā</i> + <i>t</i>	= he gave	+ to thee.
<i>mdā</i> + <i>i</i>	= I gave	+ to him.
<i>dā</i> + <i>mān</i>	= he gave	+ to us.
<i>mdā</i> + <i>tān</i>	I gave	+ to you.
<i>mdā</i> + <i>yān</i>	= I gave	+ to them.

The objective form becomes obscure in such cases as—

<i>lai + m</i>	<i>+ t + dā</i> ,	thou struckest me.
<i>lai + t</i>	<i>+ m + dā</i> ,	I struck thee.
<i>lai + ī</i>	<i>+ m + dā</i> ,	I struck him.
<i>lai + mām + ī</i>	<i>+ dā</i> ,	he struck us.
<i>lai + tām + m</i>	<i>+ dā</i> ,	I struck you.
<i>lai + yām + m</i>	<i>+ dā</i> ,	I struck them.

All these, however, show the perfect regularity of the Kurdish pronominal form, as the terminations and prefixes of the verbal forms are identical, except for the last three persons in the present indicative, "we, you, they go," all represented by final *n*, *ach*, + *n*. Here the first syllable of the plural forms has disappeared, leaving only a final *-n*. This is a distinctive feature of Middle and Northern Kurdish, which presents the same form.

Demonstrative pronouns are as in North and Middle Kurdish, which give *أو* and *و* = "this" and "that". Sulaimania has preserved the original *m* in the first of these words, giving *ام* (Zend *aem*). The plurals *امانه* and *وانه* give "these" and "those".

Interrogatives *چه*, *که*, *کام*. The first have the same interrogative and conjunctive use as in Persian. *کام* is the Persian *کدام*.

ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, ETC.

The commonest of these are as follows—

له <i>la</i>	from, at, a word in use wherever Kurdish is spoken
بای <i>bāi</i>	for, at, as in <i>بای چن</i> , "at what price," a local Sulaimania word
بی <i>pai</i>	to, as in <i>پیم ووتی</i> , <i>paim wouti</i> , "he said to me"

بو	<i>bo</i>	for, to, as بۆمەن, "for me"; کێکۆک "to Kirkūk"
لەگەڵ	<i>lagaļ</i>	with, as وێرە لەگەڵ خۆم <i>wairə lagaļi khwam</i> = come with me
با	<i>bā</i>	together with
بێ	<i>bāi</i>	without
لەناو	<i>lanaw</i>	in, <i>nāw</i> being "the interior"
تە	<i>tuī</i>	in, i.e. "at the bottom"
لەسەر	<i>lasar</i>	on top of
لەژێر	<i>lazhîr</i>	under
لەپشت	<i>lapisht</i>	behind
لەوێ	<i>lawar</i>	before; <i>war</i> is common Kurdish, now signifying "in front", "forward"
خوار	<i>khwār</i>	down, low
بان	<i>bān</i>	up, high
لەبەر	<i>labar</i>	by reason of
پێش	<i>paish</i>	in front
دواو	<i>duwâw</i>	at the back of
لەشۆن	<i>lashûn</i>	in pursuit of, behind
شۆن	<i>shûn</i>	
جاران	<i>jārān</i>	formerly
جار	<i>jār</i>	a time
جارەک	<i>jārek</i>	once
ایستە	<i>īsta</i>	now
آو وخت	<i>āw wakht</i>	then
هه‌وێ	<i>lawai</i>	here
لورە	<i>laūra</i>	there
هه‌یرە	<i>haira</i>	here
هه‌ر جێ	<i>har jai</i>	wherever
هه‌مو جێ	<i>hamū jai</i>	everywhere

ههچ جی	<i>hieh jai</i>	nowhere
لکو	<i>lakū ?</i>	where ?
چلون	<i>chfūn</i>	how (from Arabic شلون)
چون	<i>chūn ?</i>	how ?
وآ	<i>wā</i>	thus
امجار	<i>amjār</i>	this time
بشکه	<i>bashki</i>	perhaps
قد	<i>qadd</i>	certainly (Sulaimania town only, from Arabic)
درنگ	<i>draṅg</i>	late
زو	<i>zū</i>	early
توزک	<i>tuzek</i>	in a little while
یکجار	<i>yekjār</i>	suddenly
چن	<i>chan ?</i>	how much ? how many ?
چنی	<i>chanī ?</i>	how much ? how often ?
باش	<i>bāsh</i>	well, good
چاک	<i>chāk</i>	
هر	<i>har</i>	every, always, ever
نا	<i>nā</i>	no
بری	<i>barī</i>	yes (often pronounced <i>mbarī</i>)
لا	<i>lalā</i>	towards, with
وکو	<i>wakū</i>	like, resembling
تا	<i>tā</i>	as far as
ههنی	<i>hanī</i>	as yet
انجاخ	<i>anjākh</i>	hardly (Turkish انجق)
زور	<i>zūr</i>	very
جاریتیر	<i>jārītir</i>	again
اش	<i>ish</i>	also
بوچی	<i>būchī ?</i>	why ?
بو	<i>bū ?</i>	why ?

POETRY

The following are some verses by Mustafa Beg, whose pen-name was Hajari Kurdî, who wrote about 1815-20 A.D.

The verse form is the commonest of Kurdish poetry couplets, the first two or three of the poem rhyming both lines, the subsequent verses rhyming only the last line with the first verses.

There is much more Persian in the verse than in the spoken language, and Arabic words are widely employed.

1. هالانی سرو مالیم چاو رش فتانت
پی بندی دلو دینم کاکول پریشانیت

Tālānî sar u mālîm chaoî rash i fattānat
Pai bandî dilê dînim kākul i parishānit.

My head and house are captives of thy seductive black eyes.
My heart and faith are bound to thy bewitching coiffure.

Tālānî = "the captive of a raid".

Kākul i parishānit. The *kākul*, or cock's comb, is used to denote in poetry the headgear of a woman, which, among the outside people and villagers, is often a large turban of many coloured silk handkerchiefs.

2. *Gharamat aya bo am dil ruscām bikai wa girdit.*
Dassit haligirî a laim îtr sâ khwat bî wa imānit.

Thou art enraged against this heart, thou wilt shame me before thee.

Remove, then, thy hand from me; be your own faith to yourself (i.e. keep your love to yourself).

Aya = "it comes"; *îtr*, Persian *dîgar* = "then", "again"; *wa girdit* = "around", "before thee"; *sâ*, "now."

bî = "be"

3. *Waku khanjar zî jaushan tâ ruzhî hashar datakî.*
Khûn i dil mazlûcân law naweki mizhgânit.

Like a heart-stabbing dagger, till the last day may there drip
The blood of oppressed hearts from within thy lashes.

Datakî is pres. indic. of *takîn*, "to drip."

Below is one of a few *rubāiyāt* of Nālî, the most celebrated Sulaimanian poet, a Kurd, of Panjwin, who died about 1870. His poems cover a great variety of subjects, metre, and form, comprising *ghazaliyyāt*, a *hajw* on himself, a very fine *marthīyya*, a *tarjībānd*, and several *qasida*. He has also written a large number of *gūrānî*, a Kurdish form, where the first line is sung by one man, and the two or three words comprising the second line are repeated in chorus by the rest of those present.

Lao sâwa nûr î dîdaka châwam birrîwa min

Bu hâtînit loraîwa kî châwam birrîwa min

Hâl nâmâ labarî, pai tû dîda mî

Farmû kî pardakî sabalam har birrîwa min.

From then, that my eyes' light was cut from my sight,
I wore my eyes awaiting her return from the road,
So that when no screen hid her (i.e. at last she came) my sight
for her had lasted.

She said: "I have torn away for ever from thee my life's
curtain."

A chorus song or *gūrānî*. The accented syllables are sung with great emphasis, and are marked '—

1. *Dastî bîa wa dâs î shakâwam kî bî sîr chûm*

Qurbânî *vefâtm*

2. *Tû Yûsîfî nû hûsn la sar mîxîr khubânî*

Mîn pîrî *mufânî*

3. *Farqîkî nakârd nafs nafîm bizâyat*

Wahshî la *cîlâyat*

4. *Lam khîhai waîrânîla har mâmaîwa wa kabûm*

Wai shâwam *walâtm*

I give the Persian equivalent of these verses, as supplying a better explanation in a smaller space than English—

دستی بدد بدست شکستم که دلاک شدم

قربان وفای تو هستم

تو یوسف نوحسن از سر مصر خیابان¹

من پیر موفانی

¹ From خیابانیدن "to trample down".

دمیچ تفاوتی نکردای نفس غزیزم بحالت
 این وحشی از دور
 از آن گوشه خراب شده دمسد مانده بودم در جای خودم
 اما شب پهلوی توهستم

The following is one of the few specimens of prose encountered, a letter written by a Kurd to the writer while living in Sulaimania as a Persian. English literation is given with Persian under it—

Buzurgavār āmirzā ghulām Husain i fārsi, khizmatm.
Buzurgavār agha mirza Ghulam Husain i irāni, khidmatam.

Pash i arz das bust ahevālānūt,
Pas az arz i dast būsī va ahevālāt,
 After kissing thy hand and asking thy health,

khicā shukur wa salāmatm gaisht la Halabja.
khudā shukr bā salamat rasidam bi Alabja.
 God thanks with safety I arrived to Halabja.

nāzānam o maktub i khicam ki nuisrām gaishtawo
namīdānam ān maktub i khudam ki navishta am rasīda ast.
 I know not that letter of myself that I have written is arrived

yā na. Diyār i rān i Sayyid Ali Ababaili hātawa.
yā khair. Khabar i rūghan i Sayyid Ali Abā 'Ubaidi āmada ast.
 or not. News of the rūghan of Sayyid Ali Ababaili is come.

Hama wa Makha dājn rānimān niyya, wa
Ahmad va Mikail mignyand rūghan nadarim, va
 Ahmad and Mikail say our rūghan is not, and

Khicāja Mansūrish rūl bo Tavila. Hagar haz dakai
Khāja Mansūr ham raft bi Tavila. Agar mikhākā
 Khāja Mansūr also went to Tavila. If you desire

rānaka bisāinī āgām ka tā binuism bo
rūghan bigirī āgāh-am kun ta binavīsam bi
 rūghan to get advise me till I write to

Khicāja Mansūr, pāra la Makha bisāina, wa
Khicāja Mansūr, pāl az Mikail bigirad, va
 Khicāja Mansūr, money from Mikail may take, and

*rûnaka bikirra. Ista shash bâr rûn lawai
rûghan bikharad. Hâlâ shish bâr rûghan injâ
rûghan may buy. Now six loads rûghan here*

*hayyatî dafarûshn, walî tama i Makha zûra,
hast-ash mifurûshand, walî tama i Mikail khaili ast,
it is they sell, but greed of Mikail is much,*

*wa khwatî zûr pîska-a. Itir hîn i bâzargânîm
wa khudash khaili mumâik ast. Digar mal i tijâratî
and himself very mean is. Then that of merchandise I*

*hainâ bigûram bo rûn yâ na, hagar halî
âvurdam acâz kunam bâ rûghan yâ khair, agar
brought may I change for rûghan or not, if*

*bzhairam mâl i châkish hayya, wa pûrâm
tamîz bidîham chîz-i-khûb hast, wa pûlam
I pick out that [which] of goodness also is, and my money*

*hayya lolâi kâbarâk lawai. Mansûr dalai dâ so
hast pîshi yuk kasi injâ. Mansûr nignyad dâvîst
is with one so-and-so here. Mansûr says two hundred*

*tahrânîa kaashakânîsh zûram furûshî, qazânjîsh
qirân ast kash-ba ham khaili furûkhtam, manfa'at ham
qirân is The shoes also much I sold, profit too*

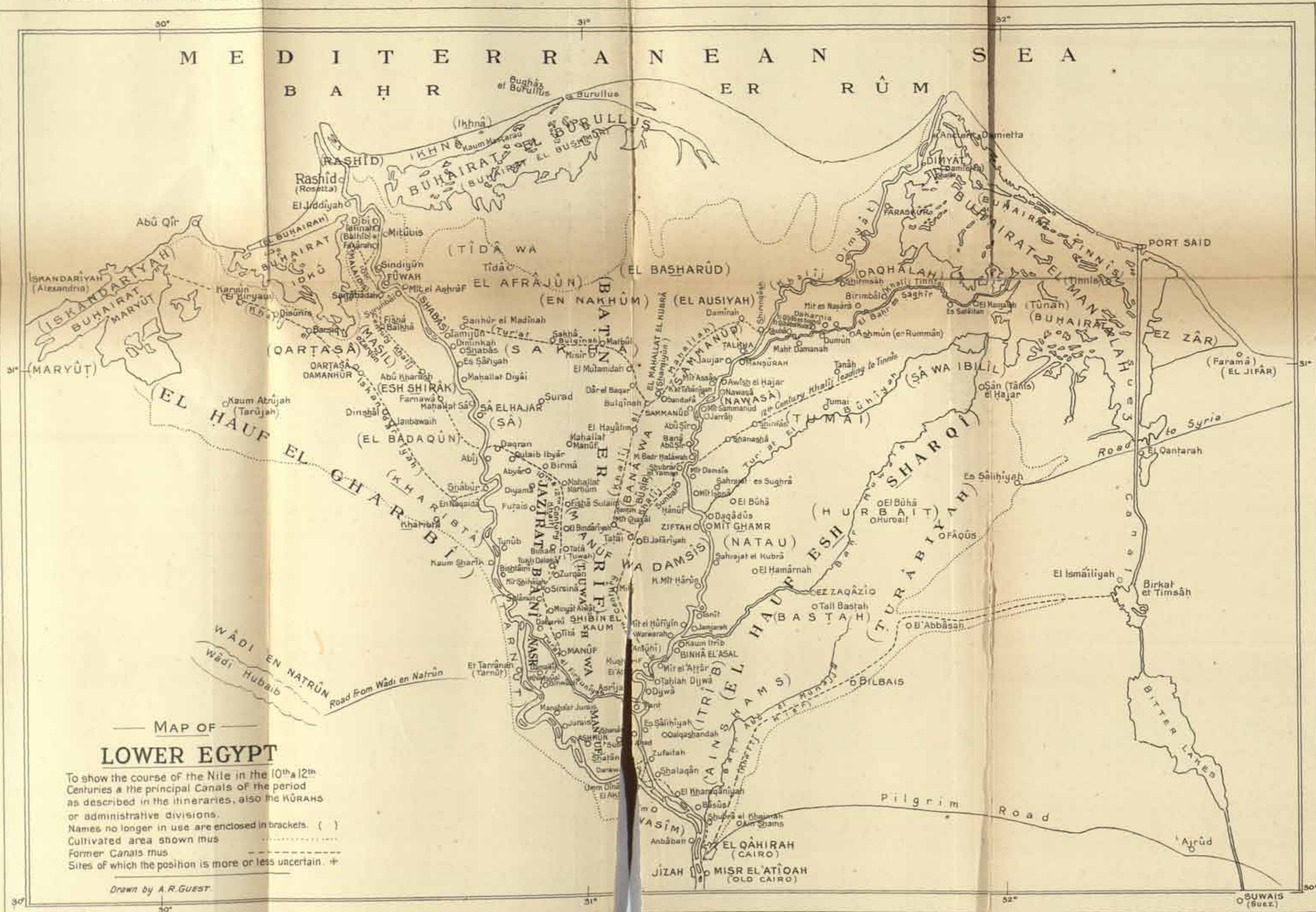
*kirdawa. Ish wakû jârân haira niyya.
karda ast. Kâr misl pîshîar injâ nîst.
is made. Affairs like formerly here are not.*

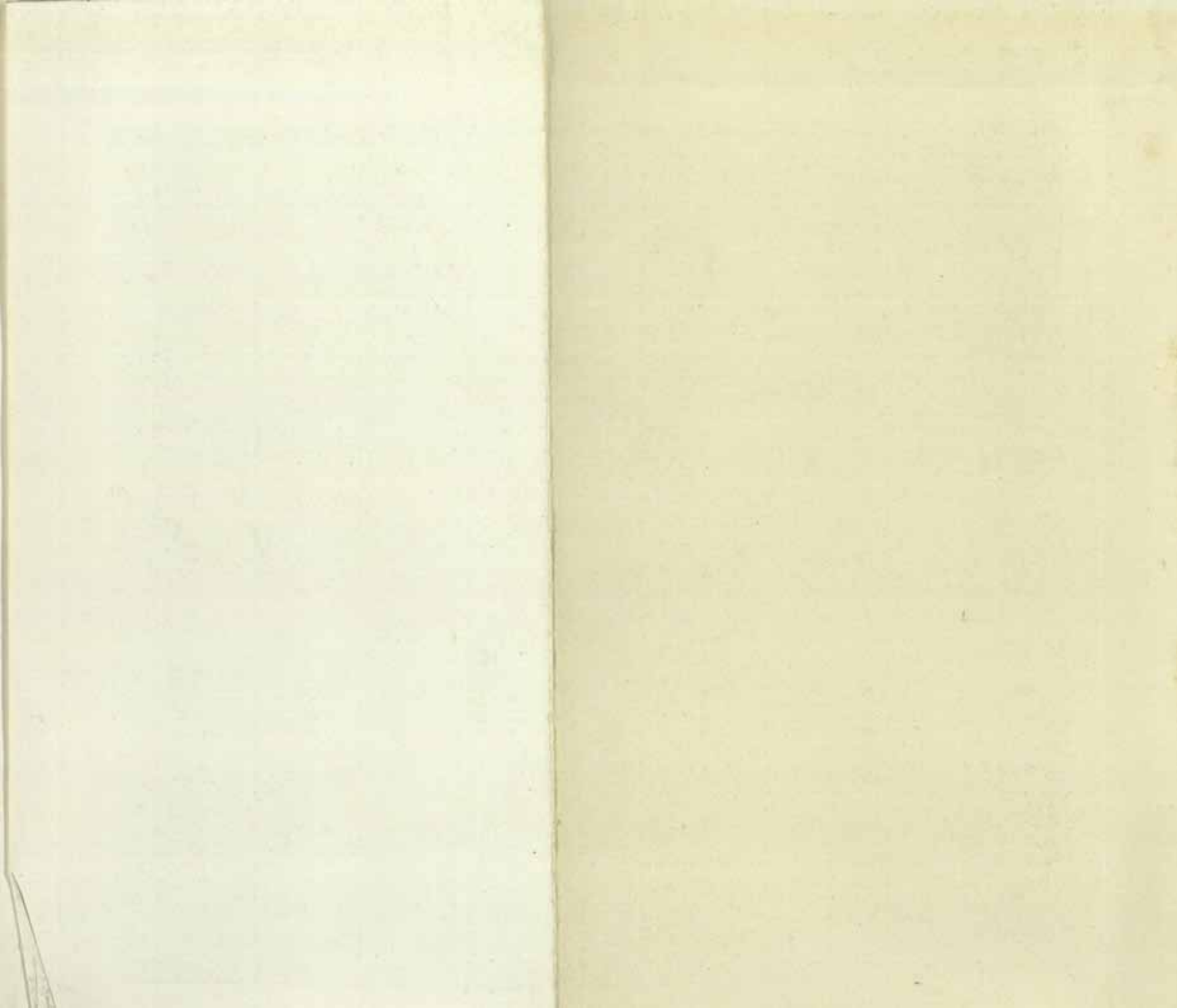
*khûdâ bika Hamavand bîao ben bâsh abî.
khudâ bikunad Hamavand bar taraf shavand khûb mîshavad.
God do the Hamavand scatter well it will become.*

*Itir dânishtm bo farmânî
Digar nîshastam barâyî farmâyîsh-at
Further I sat for thy commands.*

HAMA I MUKRÎ.
AHMAD THE MUKRÎ.

7 Rajab, 1327.





THE DELTA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

A NOTE ON THE BRANCHES OF THE NILE AND THE
KURAHs OF LOWER EGYPT, WITH MAP

By A. R. GUEST

MANY changes have taken place in the Delta since the Middle Ages, and the former geographical conditions require to be understood in order that the mediaeval history of Egypt may be followed. Besides, the mediaeval geography is of obvious importance as a means of arriving at the state of Egypt in ancient times. An adequate historical map of the mediaeval period is much wanted, and this paper is intended as a contribution towards a map of this kind.

The nature of the material available is such that, if a representation of the country is to be obtained that will give a satisfactory idea of its past character, it will have to be built up bit by bit. Descriptions of various dates will have to be brought together and compared, and indications will have to be obtained by piecing together a number of small facts. No comprehensive and systematic geographical accounts exist that would enable the result to be achieved more readily. The first step seems to be to lay down as accurately as possible such outlines as can be established with certainty. We deal here with the branches of the Nile and with the administrative divisions in force between the seventh and tenth centuries.

THE NILE. In Tables 1-14 at the end of this paper are set out all the itineraries relating to the interior of the Delta in the tenth and twelfth centuries that appear to be forthcoming. With a single exception these itineraries follow branches of the Nile. One column in the tables shows the names of all the places still in existence which

appear to be identical with places mentioned in the itineraries. All these existing places are marked on the accompanying map. By comparison it can be seen that the itineraries, as a rule, are accurate with regard to the names and the order in which they come, but they contain some mistakes due no doubt to copyists, and others that look as if they were original errors.

By following the itineraries on the map, one can establish that—

1. In the twelfth century of our era the main arms of the Nile—the Rosetta and Damietta branches—followed almost exactly the same course as they do now. The point of bifurcation at Shatânûf was about three miles further north than where the division takes place at present. There was also a difference in the Damietta arm near Damirah.

2. In the tenth century the Rosetta branch ran in the same bed as at present. The point of bifurcation was then at Shatânûf, but precise information beyond this as to the Damietta branch in the tenth century is wanting.

3. A third arm of the Nile, which was in existence in the twelfth century, still remains open. Khalij Tinnis (Table No. 14) is substantially identical with the present El Baḥr es Ṣaghîr.

4. The other branches of the Nile shown by the itineraries to have been in existence in the twelfth century have disappeared. At least two of these branches led (through lakes) to the sea, viz., Khalij el Iskandariyah and Khalij Shanashâ (Tables Nos. 2 and 13). One could show that the others for the most part were navigable channels.

It can be proved that the minor canal system must have changed almost entirely since the twelfth century, and it seems probable that the alteration has been complete. El Maqrizi (i, 169) cites a detailed account by El Makhzûmî, a twelfth century writer, dealing with the irrigation of the

province now known as El Buhairah, which corresponds with the district formerly called El Hauf el Gharbî, and on examination it appears that the canals of the province were quite different from the existing ones. As to the territory between the Rosetta and Damietta branches, the arms of the Nile described by Idrisî cut across the lines of all the principal canals of the present day, and the latter cannot, therefore, be as ancient as the twelfth century, except perhaps for parts of their track. The course of the present Tur'at el Fir'auniyah, for instance, is intersected by the branch of the Nile described in Table No. 5, and had this canal in the time of Idrisî joined the Damietta branch of the Nile with the Rosetta branch, as it does at present, Jazirat Bani Naṣr would have been divided into two islands. That there was such a division is unlikely: it seems thus to be tolerably certain that Et Tur'at el Fir'auniyah was not in existence in the twelfth century, and this deserves special notice, because, owing to its importance as a channel at the present time and the association its name seems to convey, Et Tur'at el Fir'auniyah has been supposed to be of great antiquity. 'Alî Bâshâ Mubârak's article in his *Khîṭat* (xiv, 70) rather suggests that this channel did not become of consequence until recent times. As regards the region to the east of the Damietta branch of the Nile, one can see that the present Tur'at el Bûhiyah is different from the branch of the Nile that is described by Idrisî as running by El Bûhât (Table No. 13). The date of the construction of Baḥr Abî el Munajjâ, the chief of the southern canals now in existence in this part of the Delta, is known to have been 506 A.H. = 1113 A.D. (*Khîṭat*, i, 487). The other existing large canals here appear to be modern, except Baḥr Muwais—the so-called Mu'izz canal. This has been identified (Baedeker, 192) with the ancient Tanitic arm of the Nile, but on what ground does not appear.

Khalij Miṣr, the ancient canal that once united Fustât with the Red Sea, is not mentioned in the itineraries, but it would seem, from an allusion by Mas'ûdî (*Murûj*, i, 147), that in the tenth century this canal still reached as far as Birkat et Timsâh, and a couple of centuries later its termination was not far from this lake, for Abû Ṣâlih states (Quatremère, *Mém. Géogr.* i, 62) that the canal ended at Es Sadir, and Es Sadir was a village near 'Abbâsah. The exact course of this canal does not seem to have been retraced. Part of it appears, according to 'Alî Bâshâ Mubârak (xviii, 123), to have been followed near Bulbais in making the modern Ismâ'îliyah Canal, and the two must in general have corresponded. Khalij Miṣr is indicated on our map by a line.

A branch of the Nile that it is necessary to mention is Khalij Saradûs. It appears from *Khayāt*, i, 487—similar passages occur elsewhere—that in the twelfth century this Khalij was the principal source of the irrigation of Esh Sharqiyah, up to the time that Baḥr Abi el Munajjâ was made. Saradûs was a village in the province of El Gharbiyah (*Tâj*, iv, 166, Ibn Jî'ân, and others); the name is vocalized in the *Tâj*. It was a day's journey from both Damietta and Fustât; near it there was a mosque, evidently of some celebrity, called Masjid el Khidr; it was notorious for its crocodiles, and there was a large canal leading from it (these facts are from El Muqaddasi). From the above it can be gathered that Saradûs was on the Nile somewhere to the north of Binḥâ el 'Asal, about opposite to which the province of El Gharbiyah begins. There seems, however, to be nothing in the ordinarily accessible sources to show the direction taken by the Khalij. Ibn Serapion's description of the Nile clears up this point. The Khalij of Saradûs, according to his account, was one of the principal branches of the Nile, and as he shows that it flowed past Banâ and Bûṣîr it is plain that for part of the way it corresponded with the present

Damietta arm. But the Damietta mouth is not treated by Ibn Serapion as the main outlet of the Nile in this quarter, and towards the sea the arm he calls *Khalij Saradûs* was probably equivalent to *Khalij Tinnis*. The canal stated to have led from *Saradûs* is probably the same as a branch of the Nile described by Ibn Serapion as leaving the river at that place, and sending out a second branch after running 30 miles. Both these branches seem to have flowed into the sea between Damietta and Rosetta. It is not only with regard to these branches that Ibn Serapion differs from our maps. The Pelusian arm of the Nile is briefly traced in his description, and, moreover, is described as being the main stem (*'amûd*) of the eastern part of the river. This was certainly not the case in the twelfth century, as is shown by the reason for making *Bahr Abi el Munajjâ*. It may be doubted whether the Pelusian branch was in existence, as a navigable channel at any rate, in the tenth century, when Ibn Serapion wrote, or even a century or two before. Probably Ibn Serapion's description relates to a period a good deal earlier than his own day. It cannot be treated here in further detail, but it deserves to be considered separately. It might throw some light on the Greek authorities, although there is one point in which it is certainly defective, and the text is faulty in several respects.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS. The broader divisions of the Delta were as follows:—

Er Rif and *Asfal el Ard*. These terms are equivalent, both, according to Ibn Duqmâq (v, 42), denoting Lower Egypt—the part of Egypt to the north of old Cairo. Severus is an example of a writer who uses *Er Rif* to signify Lower Egypt, in contradistinction with *Eṣ Ṣa'id*, Upper Egypt.

Batn er Rif was the region between the main Nile arms, and *El Hauf esh Sharqî* and *El Hauf el Gharbî* were respectively the territory east and west of the Nile. This

appears from the classification of the Kûrahs which is given in the tables.

The terminology of the Arab writers, however, is not uniform. Er Rif and El Hauf are used by some of them in a different sense. *Iṣṭakhri* defines (54, l. 11) El Hauf as the part of Egypt lying to the north of the Nile below old Cairo, and Er Rif as the part to the south. The definition appears from Ibn Duqmâq (v, 42, l. 20) to have been copied practically verbatim by Ibn Hauqal; but in the printed text of Ibn Hauqal (106, l. 10) it comes out in a mangled form. The passage must certainly be corrected to read the opposite of what it says. Er Rif was the centre and El Hauf the margin, instead of the other way round.

El Hauf alone is also used by some of the historians and geographers in a third sense to denote the part of Lower Egypt outside the Nile to the east. This limited application of the term to the district more precisely distinguished as El Hauf *esh Sharqî*, occurs, for instance, in the history of El Kindî and in the geography of Ya'qûbî (see Table No. 18), and it is evidently the origin of the statement in El Qâmûs that El Hauf is a place (*nâhiyah*) opposite Bulbais.


Finally, Ya'qûbî's classification of the Kûrahs given in Table No. 18 restricts Baṭn er Rif to the eastern part of the country lying between the principal arms of the Nile.

The Kûrahs of Egypt were administrative divisions according to a system which was in force from the time of the Arab conquest up to the Fatimite period. The precise date at which they were superseded need not be inquired into here. They were related to the older nomes, but there were only twenty nomes in Lower Egypt, and the number of its Kûrahs was much greater, so that the Kûrah was a smaller division.

The aim here is to determine the correct names of the Kûrahs of Lower Egypt, and to establish their positions.

Many of the names can be identified at once, but some of them present difficulties. There is little to be got from a comparison of the different forms of the same names which occur in Arab MSS., for quite as often as not the majority is on the side of error. Sometimes a clear authority can be found for the spelling, but the most certain guide, when it can be obtained, is the form of the name in Coptic. Nearly all the Kûrahs were called after the towns which were their centres, and it is in most cases possible to identify the central towns or to give a fairly close indication of their whereabouts. Other lists of Kûrahs occur besides those that have been used. Those given by Ibn Khurdâdbih and Qudâmah (*Bib. G. Arab.*, vi) are examples; the names are so much corrupted in the originals that the lists are not of much service for the purpose in view, and the Kûrahs are arranged, moreover, with little regard to order. The three lists which have been reproduced in Tables Nos. 15-17 classify the Kûrahs generally on the same plan, but there is a good deal of difference in detail between one of these lists and the other two. The two which resemble one another seem to represent the same original, and *Khitat* for its version cites the authority of El Qudâ'i. On comparing these lists, it appears that the Kûrahs were not stable divisions; some areas in one case are treated as separate Kûrahs and in the other as parts of a Kûrah, and this accounts for the varying numbers given for the total of the Kûrahs by different persons. El Ya'qûbi's list, set out briefly in roman characters in Table No. 18, differs widely from the others with regard to the classification. The first three lists, by including Daqhalah and Nawasâ in Baṭn er Rif, seem to treat the mouth of the Nile by Tinnîs as more important than that by Damietta, that is, they regard the arm leading to Tinnîs as the principal eastern arm of the Nile. Why they include Sâ and Shabâs in El Hauf el Gharbî instead of in Baṭn er Rif is a mystery. It may be

suspected that the reason is connected with a change in one of the western arms. Ya'qûbî's arrangement of the central Kûrahs in two divisions (ii, iii) and his description seem to imply that there was a branch of the Nile running north and south down the middle of the Delta. Possibly there may have been a change between his time and that of Idrisi two centuries later.

As to the map appended, the outlines have been drawn chiefly from the  map of the P.W.D., Cairo. The official volume, called *El Qâmûs el Jughrâfî lil Quṭr el Miṣrî* (1899), has, as a rule, been the guide for the rendering of the modern names. This compilation contains a list of all the towns and villages in Egypt, and, except in the case of the smallest villages, the Arabic names are also given grouped under the police districts (*markaz*) to which they belong and accompanied by a rendering in European characters. The European rendering has not been adopted here as it stands, but it has been used to make a transcription according to the ordinarily accepted equivalents.

The following is a list of the principal books referred to in this paper and in the tables:—

La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte. Par E. Amélineau. Paris, 1893.

Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte. Par E. Quatremère. Paris, 1811.

Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum. Ed. De Goeje. Leyden, 1870-94.

Maqrîzî's *Khîṭaṭ*. Bûlâq, 1270.

'Alî Bâshâ Mubâarak's *Khîṭaṭ*. Bûlâq, 1306.

Ibn Duqmâq's *Intîṣâr*. Cairo, 1893.

Ibn Jî'ân's *Tuhfah*. Cairo, 1898.

Idrîsî, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*. Ed. Dozy and De Goeje. Leyden, 1866.

Ibn Serapion's *Geography*. MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 23379.

Baedeker's *Lower Egypt*, 1895.

Abul Fedâe, *Descriptio Aegypti*. Ed. Michaelis. Goett. 1776.

El Kindî, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*. London, 1912.

An indication of the dates of the mediaeval authorities whose names occur may be useful. In the summary below (B.G.) denotes writers of works included in the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*. The dates in these cases and in some of the others are taken from Mr. Le Strange's *Palestine under the Muslims*.

	A.D.	A.H.
Ibn Khurdādbih (B.G. vi) . wrote <i>circa</i>	864	250
Qudāmāh (B.G. vi)	c. 880	266
Ya'qûbî (B.G. vii)	891	278
Ibn Serapion	c. 900	286
Mas'ûdî	948	332
Işṭakhri (B.G. i)	951	340
El Kindî	c. 951	340
Ibn Ḥauqal (B.G. ii)	978	367
Muqaddasî (B.G. iii)	985	375
Severus	c. 1010	400
Idrisî	1154	548
Abû Ṣālih	c. 1210	606
Yāqût	1225	623
Abû el Fidâ	1321	721
Ibn Duqmāq	c. 1400	802
Maqrizî	c. 1417	820
Ibn Jî'ân	c. 1476	880

TABLE NO. 1. ITINERARIES FROM MISR BY THE EAST BANK TO ZUFAITAH AND BY THE WEST BANK TO SHAṬĀNŪF.

Idrisī, p. 148.		Idrisī, p. 159.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, mil.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	<i>Distance, mil.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
	<i>East bank.</i>		<i>West bank.</i>	
	مصر		مصر	Old Cairo (Miṣr el 'Atiqah).
5	المنية			Not identified.
5	مدينة القائد			El Qāhirah (Cairo).
		10	جزيرة انقاش	Not identified. A.
			وانبابة	Anbābah. A.
5	شيرة			Shubrā el Khaimah.
5	بيسوس			Bāsūs.
5	الحرقانية			El Kharagāniyah.
5	سروت			Not identified.
		20	الاحصاص	El Akhṣâṣ.
5	شلقان			Shalaqân.
		5	ندوة	Darawah. B.
15	زفيتة			Zufaitah. C.
		20	شنطوف	Shaṭānûf. D.

A. Described as two towns situated between the two banks of the Nile, i.e. on an island.

B. It will be seen that Darawah is now between the Nile arms. At the time of the itinerary it appears to have been altogether to the west of the Nile.

C. "This village is at the head of the island where the Nile divides into branches, and the village faces the town of *Shantûf* (*Shatânûf*), which is at the head of the branch leading down to Tinnis and Dimyât" (p. 149, ll. 4-6). "Opposite to it on the western side is *Shantûf*, which is a fair town" (p. 150, l. 12).

D. The identity of *Shantûf* and *Shatânûf* is clear from Ibn Hauqal. "At the south end of (*a'lad*) *Shantûf*, the Nile parts into two divisions proceeding northwards (*ilâ asfal*) and reaching the sea; and from each one of these two divisions there spring off two branches reaching the sea" (Idrisi, p. 149, ll. 7-8). This description does not seem to agree altogether with Idrisi's itineraries. They give two branches to the eastern arm, but only one to the western arm, unless the small channel from *Samdaisâ* (Table No. 4, D) is counted as a branch.

The course of the Nile over most of this section must in the time of Idrisi have been much the same as to-day. The river seems to have taken a sharp bend to the westward at *Shalaqân*, which is shown by the distance given thence to *Zufaitah* and by the position of *Darawah*.

TABLE NO. 2. ITINERARIES FROM SHATÂNÛF TO ALEXANDRIA.

IBN HAQAL, p. 90.		IDRISI, p. 159.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, saqs.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	<i>Distance, mil.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
	شطونوف		شطونوف	Shatânûf.
			أم دينار	Umm Dinâr.
6	البحر يَسَنَات	15	اشمن جريش	Ashmûn. A.
		18	مدينة الجريش	Jurais.
			روال الصنيم	Not identified
10	أبو يحنس		أبو يحنس	Not identified.
10	تَرْنُوط	50	تَرْنُوط	Eṭ Tarrânah.
12	بَسْتَامَة	from Shatânûf	بَسْتَامَة	Bishtâmi. B.
			طَنُوت	Ṭunûb. C.
16	شَابُور		شَابُور	Shâbûr.
16	مَحَلَّة نَقَائِدَة		مَحَلَّة السَّيِّدَة	En Naqaidâ.
16	دِنْشَال		دِنْشَال	Dinshâl.
16	قَرَطَسَا		قَرَطَسَا	Qartasâ. D.
12	شمر وأبو مينا		سوق أبي مينا	Not identified.
12	قَرْنَقِيل		قَرْنَقِيل	Not identified.
12	أَبْرَشِيق			Barsiq. E.
16	الكَرْيُون		الكَرْيُون	Karyûn. F.
8	قرية الصَّيْر		قرية الصَّيْر	Not identified.
8	الاسكندريَّة		الاسكندريَّة	El Iskandariyah (Alexandria).

A. Ashmûn is called in the P.W.D. map Ashmûn Jurais. Juraish in Idrisi looks like a mistake.

B. It would appear that both texts are incorrect with regard to this name.

C. Tunût seems to be a mistake.

D. Qartasâ is now a part of Damanhûr.

E. Ibn Hauqal's text seems to be incorrect with regard to this name.

F. Thus in El Qâmûs el Jughrafi; El Kîryaun according to Bakri and Qâmûs. The latter is nearer the original pronunciation.

The branch of the Nile followed by these itineraries appears to represent the ancient Canopic arm, which would seem from Ibn 'Abd el Hakam (Maqrîzi, i, 71, l. 8) to have been diverted by Cleopatra from a point near Kîryaun to Alexandria. It appears to be clear from Maqrîzi, i, 71, 169 seq., that the term Khalij el Iskandariyah was limited to the part between Shâbûr and Iskandariyah. Idrisi (149, l. 16) indicates that this was called Khalij Shâbûr, and calls (160, l. 7) the whole branch, from as far south as Tarrânah, Nahr Shâbûr. Khalij el Iskandariyah once was the principal channel. It had begun to silt up before 239 A.H. = 854 A.D. Maqrîzi gives details with regard to the efforts by which from time to time it was kept open down to his day. It has now disappeared. The other portion of the Nile included in this section is shown to have followed the same course as at present.

TABLE NO. 3. ITINERARY FROM BABIJ (ABIJ) BY A BRANCH OF THE NILE PAST FARNAWÂ TO BILHÎB.

IBN HAUQAL, p. 93.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, saqs.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
	بِیَج	Abij. A.
	مَحَلَّة بَیَج	Not identified. A.
12	فَرْنَوَة	Farnawâ. B.
15	مَحَلَّة مَسْرُوق	Not identified.
6	مَحَلَّة أَبِي خَرَّاشَة	Abû Kharâsh.
12	فِیْشَة	Fishâ Balkhah.
15	سَنْد بَیْس	Not identified. C.
15	سَنْبَادَة	Sanâbâdah. D.
10	بِلْهَیْت	Not identified. E.

A. These two towns appear to have been close to one another, and to have had portions on both banks of the Nile (p. 92, l. 16).

B. Described as on the same bank as Babij and Maḥallat Babij, with a portion on the west bank.

C. The editor conjectures that this place is the same as سمديسى (Table No. 4, D), but it will be seen from the map that this cannot be the case, unless the itinerary is incorrect.

D. It seems probable that the vocalization in the text is incorrect.

E. There seems to be no doubt that the correct name of this place was Balhīb (or Bilhīb): see Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 289, note. Fazārah appears to be the nearest village to the position for the site indicated by the itineraries. Dībī seems to be too far north.

The channel described here has disappeared. The distances given in the itinerary seem to be very incorrect.

TABLE NO. 4. ITINERARIES FROM BABIJ TO RASHID BY THE PRESENT MAIN CHANNEL.

IBN HAQAL, p. 92.		Ibnlst, p. 161.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, saqa.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	<i>Distance, mil.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
	بَبِيج		بَبِيج	Abij.
	مَحَلَّةُ بَبِيج			Not identified.
6	صا	15	صا	Sâ el Hajar.
10	بَبَاي		مَحَلَّةُ شَكْلَا	Maḥallat Ša. A.
10	الضَافِيَّة	20	أَصْطَافِيَّة	Maḥallat Diyâi. B.
6	دَوْبِجْمُول			Eṣ Ṣâfiyah. C.
				Jamijûn. A.
		15	مَحَلَّةُ الْعُلُوتِ	Mit el Ashrâf.
			سُرُنْبَي	Surunbai.
		15	فَوَّه	Fûwah. D.
18	سِنْدِيُون		سِنْدِيُون	Sindiyûn. D.
6	بَلْهَمِيَّت	15	سَمْدِيْسِي	Not identified. D.
				Not identified. E.
	Ends here	20	نَطْوَبْس الرَّمْلَانِ	Mitûbis.
			قَرْيَةُ الْحَاظِرِ	Not identified.
		15	الْمَحْدِيدِيَّة	El Jiddiyah. C.
		(?)	رَشِيد	Rashid.

- A. Possibly there is a mistake in the text.
- B. The name in the text of Ibn Hauqal appears to be incorrect.
- C. The name in the text of Idrisi appears to be incorrect.

D. At Fûwah, according to Idrisi, the Nile divided into two branches, which formed an island called Jazīrat er Râhib. Sindiyûn was at the end of this island; from Samdaisâ, on the west bank and opposite to Sindiyûn, a small channel led to a narrow lake. This lake led to another, by which Alexandria could be approached within a short distance.

- E. See Table No. 3, E.

The Nile here followed the existing channel. It will be observed that the distance from Surunbai to Fûwah which is given by Idrisi is quite inaccurate, and some of the other distances do not correspond in the two authors. From Remark D and the absence of mention by Idrisi of a channel running west of this section, it seems likely that the Farnawâ branch (see Table No. 3) had disappeared in his time.

TABLE NO. 5. ITINERARIES BY A BRANCH OF THE NILE FROM ABŪ YUḤANNIS TO BABĪJ (ABĪJ).

Ibn Ḥauqal, p. 91.		Ibrīṣī, p. 160.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, saqs.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	<i>Distance, mil.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
	أبو يحنس	Not given	رومال الصنيم	Neither identified. A.
6	شبر والو			Not identified. B.
16	منوف		منوف السفلى	Manūf (el 'Ulyā). C.
14	طندتا			Not identified.
			تينا	Titā. D.
12	فيمشة بى سليم		فيمشة	Fishā Sulaim (?). E.
			البندارية	El Bindāriyah.
10	البندارية		المنار	Not identified.
10	محلة المعزوم			Maḥallat Marḥūm.
10	قلايب العمال		قلايب العمال	Qulaib Ibyār (or Abyār).
10	ببيج		ببيج	Abij.

A. The mouth of this channel according to Idrisi (p. 160, l. 16) was near Rimāl es Šunaim, and Ibn Hauqal (p. 92, l. 2) takes the first distance from Abū Yuḥannis. The latter, which was probably about opposite to the former and on the east bank, was some miles above Tarrānah (Ṭarnūt); see Table No. 2. The statement made by both geographers that the channel began opposite Ṭarnūt is to be taken merely as a general indication.

B. Cf. شبرا بلوثة, a village about four miles north-east of Manūf.

C. Idrisi's itinerary seems to be wrong here. The other Manūf, called by him (see Table No. 6) Manūf el 'Ulyā, appears by the distances to have been considerably to the north of this one; but the name in Coptic, as well as in Arabic, indicates that Manūf el 'Ulyā must have been to the south of Manūf es Sufā. The place is in any case the existing Manūf, and our map follows Amélineau (p. 251) in identifying it with Manūf el 'Ulyā.

D. The text seems to be incorrect.

E. Fishā Sulaim comes on the line, but not in the right place.

The island formed by this branch and the main western arm is called by Idrisi Jazīrat Baiyār, no doubt a variant of Abyār, a name for the district given by Ibn Jī'ān, who, like Ibn Duqmāq, calls the island Jazīrat Bani Naṣr. The branch as shown on the map is drawn by taking a line between places given by these two authors as belonging to the Jazīrah and those they assign to the adjacent provinces. The result agrees well with the itineraries.

TABLE NO. 6. ITINERARIES OF THE LAND ROUTE FROM
SHATĀNŪF TO EL ISKANDARIYAH (ALEXANDRIA), AS FAR
 AS RASHĪD.

IBN HAQAL, p. 89.		IDRISI, p. 158.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, saqs.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	<i>Distance,</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
	شَطْنُوف	Not given	شَطْنُوف	Shatānūf.
12	سُبْكُ الْعَمِيد			Subk el Aḥad (?). A.
			سَكَاڤ	Not identified. A.
16	سُوف		سُوفُ الْعَلِيَا	Not identified. B.
16	مَحَلَّةُ صُرَد		مَحَلَّةُ صُرَت	Ṣurad.
16	صَخَا		صَخَا	Sakhā.
16	شَمْرَامِيَّة		Ends here	Not identified.
16	مَسِير			Misr (?). C.
16	سَنْهَوْر			Sanhūr el Madinah.
16	الْبُجُوم			Not identified. D.
20	نَسْتَرُود (على بحيرة البشمور)			Not identified. E.
10	الْبُرُلُس			El Burullus. F.
10	إِخْنَا			Not identified.
30	رَشِيد			Rashid.

A. Probably the two names represent the same place. The distance given in the first itinerary makes the identification doubtful.

B. According to Table No. 5, C, Idrisi's itinerary should be corrected here to read Manûf es Sufîâ, instead of Manûf el 'Ulyâ. Amélineau conjectures (p. 251) that Manûf es Sufîâ is the same as Maḥallat Manûf. The distance from Ṣurad given in the itinerary offers a difficulty. Shibîn el Kaum, as an ancient and important town on the route, suggests itself, but there is a difficulty with regard to the distances here also.

C. The text is doubtful, and the present Misr is not in the right place.

D. See Table No. 16, H.

E. In Qāmûs, Nastarû. Amélineau mentions that it was in existence as late as the end of the seventeenth century. It appears to have been on an island (Ibn Hauqal and Ibn Duqmâq, v, 113), approachable when the water was low by causeways. Khalil az Zâhiri ('Alî Bâshâ, M. xvii, 7) and Abû el Fidâ (*Descr. Egypt.*, p. 30) both place Nastarâwah between Burullus and Rashîd. Abû el Fidâ indicates that it was by the sea-shore. The P.W.D. map shows مستطرو كوم near the place given in our map for Ikhnâ. It is hardly likely that مستطرو كوم can be the site of Nastarâwah, although the names are clearly connected with one another. Buḥairat el Bushmûr was called later Buḥairat en Nastarâwah (Tarikh Kanîsat el Iskandariyah, cited by 'Alî Bâshâ, M. xvii, 7), and Khalîf en Nastarû (*Bib. G. Arab.*, vii, 339) would seem to have been a name for the Rosetta branch of the Nile near the estuary.

F. Thus vocalized in Qāmûs in accordance with the present pronunciation. The name occurs at present only in connexion with the lake, district, and strait, or Būghâz. The position given in our map for the town is taken from Mr. Butler's map in *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*.

Beyond Sakhâ this itinerary is hardly intelligible. The route seems to double back over the same ground in coming from Burullus. Possibly the Sanhûr referred to may have been some place other than Sanhûr el Madinah. Tur'at Bulqînah (Table No. 10) would then have led in a much more probable direction to Burullus, and En Nastarâwah would be placed on a line between Sakhâ and Burullus on one of the islands of the lake. The distance from El Maḥallah (el Kubrâ) to Sanhûr would agree better with that mentioned in the note to Table No. 10. There seems, however, to be no evidence that there was a town called Sanhûr in the required position.

TABLE NO. 7. ITINERARY BY THE NILE FROM ZUFATAH TO MIT EL 'ATTĀR.

Idrisi, p. 150.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, mil.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
25	زُفَيْتَة	Zufaitah.
	شَنْطُوف	Shatānūf. A.
	شَنْوَان	Shanāwāi. B.
10	قرية الشاميين	Not identified.
15	طنط	Tanṭ.
	شَنْوَان	Shanāwāi (?). C.
12	قشيرة الأبراج	Not identified.
10	شموجة	Asrijah. D.
	الصالحية	Eṣ Ṣāliḥiyah.
Not given	مُنيّة العطف	El 'Aṭf.
10	شموجة	Asrijah. D.
15	جدوة	Tahlat Dijwā. E.
20	منية العطار	Mit el 'Attār.
	انتوهي	Not identified.
10	مُنيّة العطف	El 'Aṭf.
	شميرق	Mushairif. F.
Not given	انتوهي	Not identified.

- A. See Table No. 1, D.
- B. Possibly the text is not accurate with regard to this name.
- C. This comes out of place.
- D. The text seems to be wrong as to this name.
- E. There seems to have been a transposition of the first two radicals in this name, an easy variation.
- F. Probably the text should read شمرى, another example of transposition.

It seems clear that in some parts of the distance this itinerary goes twice over the same ground. By cutting it up as above it is made intelligible. The number of places mentioned in the itinerary which can be identified with places now on the river bank show that in general the itinerary follows the course of the Nile as it is now.

TABLE NO. 8. ITINERARY BY A BRANCH OF THE NILE FROM ANTÛHÎ TO SHUBRÂ (EL YAMAN).

IDRÎSÎ, p. 153.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, mil.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
	انتوحي	Not identified. A.
20	مليج	Milj.
15	طنطة (خايطنة)	Not identified.
15	ططاي	Ṭṭā'i B.
	الجعفرية	El Ja'fariyah.
Not given	بلوس	Not identified.
"	السنطة	Eṣ Sanṭah.
"	سباط	Sunbât.
"	ونعاصر	Not identified.
"	شبره	Shubrâ el Yaman. C.

A. The position of Antûhî is marked by Mit el 'Aṭṭâr, to which it was opposite (Table No. 11).

B. The text is no doubt at fault.

C. Stated to have been opposite Damsis.

This itinerary is easily followed. The branch of the Nile it represents has disappeared.

TABLE NO. 9. ITINERARY BY A BRANCH OF THE NILE FROM NEAR ṬAṬĀI TO DAMĪRAH (KHALĪJ EL MAḤALLAH).

Idrisī, p. 158.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
Distance, <i>mīl</i> .	Name in text.	
	اسفل طططى	Below Ṭaṭāi. A.
20	{ منية غزال	Mit Ghazāl.
	{ محلة ابي البيشم	El Hayâtīm (?). B.
15	ترعة بلقين	Bulqinah. C.
Not given	{ المحلة	El Maḥallat el Kubrā. D.
..	{ سندفة	Sandafā. E.
..	محلة الداخل	Not identified.
	دميرة	Damirah.

A. The place referred to may equally well have been the unidentified طططى, mentioned in Table No. 8.

B. This place is many miles below Mit Ghazāl, whereas according to the itinerary the two were opposite one another.

C. Tur'at Bulqinah is to be distinguished from Khalij Bulqinah. On p. 155, l. 8, it is stated that Sandafā was on Khalij Bulqinah, and perhaps the latter was another name for Khalij el Maḥallah.

D. El Maḥallat el Kubrā was also known as Sharqiyūn (Yāqūt, 3, 167).

E. Idrisī mentions that Sandafā was opposite El Maḥallah and on the east side, at the distance from it of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *mīl*. 'Alī Bāshā M. (xii, 58) states that the former is now a part of the latter.

This itinerary follows a branch of the Nile known as Khalij el Maḥallat (Idrisī, 158, l. 4) and is very clear. The branch has disappeared.

TABLE NO. 10. ITINERARY BY CANAL FROM BULQINAH TO SAKHÂ (TUR'AT BULQINAH).

Ibrisi, p. 158.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
Not given	ترعة بلقينة	Bulqinah.
"	دار البقر	Dâr el Baqar. A.
"	المعمدة	El Mu'tamidah.
"	متبول	Matbûl.
"	صخا	Sakhâ.

A. It is mentioned that this village was at the beginning of the canal (*amnatih*). This description is not very accurate.

This itinerary follows Tur'at Bulqinah, described as leading from the village of that name westward straight to Sakhâ (p. 158, l. 9), and it is stated (p. 158, l. 19) that Tur'at Bulqinah reached Sanhûr, which was 45 *mîl* distant from El Maḥallat el Kubrâ. The canal has disappeared.

TABLE NO. II. ITINERARY FROM MÎT EL 'ATTÂR BY THE NILE TO MÎT DAMSÎS.

Idrîsî, p. 152.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
Not given	انتوى	Not identified.
..	منية العطار	Mit el 'Attâr.
..	منية العسل	Binhâ (el 'Asal).
..	بته	Not identified.
..	اتريب	Kaum Itrîb.
..	جانجر	Jamjarah.
..	منية الحوف	Mit el Hûfiyîn
..	سنيت	Isnît.
..	ورورة	Warwarah. A.
..	الحمارية	Not identified. B.
..	منية المحرون	Kafr Mit el Hârûn.
..	صحراشت الكبرى	Şahrajat el Kubrà.
..	صحراشت الصغرى	Not identified. C.
..	منية غمر	Mit Ghamr.
..	منية زفتة	Ziftah.
..	منية الغيران	Not identified.
..	دقدوس	Daqâdûs
..	منية فيماس	Not identified.
..	حانوت	Hânût.
..	منية اشنا	Mit Ishnâ.
..	د.سيس	Mit Damsîs

A. This village comes out of place.

B. This cannot be *الحمارنة*, in spite of the close resemblance in the name. El Hamârnah is some six or seven miles east by south of Şahraġat el Kubrâ, right away from the Nile.

C. According to the itinerary this village was to the west of the Nile. The existing Şahraġat es Şughrâ, besides being about three miles to the east of the Nile, is a long way below Mît Ġhamr, and cannot be the place intended, unless there is a mistake in the itinerary.

It can be seen that the Nile in the above section followed its present course almost exactly.

TABLE NO. 12. ITINERARY FROM DAMSÍS BY THE NILE TO DIMYĀṬ (DAMIETTA).

IDRISĪ, p. 154.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, mil.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
	دَمْسِيس	(Mit) Damsis.
2	مَنْيَّةُ بَدْر	Mit Badr Ḥalāwah.
10	بَنَّا	Banā (Banā Abū Ṣir). A.
40	بُوصَيْر	Bûṣir (Abū Ṣir).
	رَحْل جَرَّاح	Jarrāḥ.
12	سَمْنُود	Mit Sammanûd.
	مَدِينَةُ سَمْنُود	Sammanûd.
18	الشَّعْبَانِيَّة	Kafr et Ta'bāniyah.
12	عَسَّاس	Mit 'Assās.
16	جَوْجَر	Jaujar (Jûjar).
	وَنَشِ الْحَاجَرِ	Awish el Ḥajar. B.
12	طَرخَا	Ṭalkhā.
10	دَمِيرَة	Damirah.
18	شَرِنْقَاش	Shirinqāsh.
20	شَرْمَسَاح	Shirmsāḥ.
20	مَنْيَّةُ الْعُلُوقِ	Not identified.
10	فَارَسْكُور	Fāraskûr.
15	بُورَة	Not identified. C.
13	دَمِيَاط	Dimyât D.

A. It is mentioned that the Nile formed a small island below Banâ, and that Bûsir was on the western arm and Rahl Jarrâh on the eastern arm. The distance of the latter from the mouth of Khaliġ Shanashâ (Table No. 14) is given as 40 *mîl*.

B. One of the MSS. has the reading ويش, which is no doubt the right one. Awish el Hajar is far from being, as described in the itinerary, opposite Jaujar.

C. Bûrah was destroyed in 620 A.H. (Quatremère, *Mémoires*, i, 337).

D. The town referred to was razed in 648 A.H. (1250 A.D.) (*Khîṭaṭ*, i, 223); it was to the north of the existing town, but the exact position of its site does not seem to be known with certainty (see Baedeker, 220).

The Nile clearly followed almost the same course here as it does at present; but, if the itinerary is to be relied on, it must have departed from the existing bed at Talkha and have taken a sharp bend, bringing its bank to Damirah, now 4 miles away from the river, and back again to Shiringâsh.

TABLE NO. 13. ITINERARY FROM MÎT BADR HALAWAH BY A BRANCH OF THE NILE TO TINNÎS.

IDRISÎ, p. 154.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, mil.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
Not given	منية بدر	Mît Badr Ḥalâwah.
	شنشا	Shanashâ.
24	البوكلات	Not identified.
18	سفناس	Not identified. A.
Not given	بحيرة الزار	Not identified. B.

A. According to the itinerary, Tanâh, which was on *Khalij Tinnis*—*Ashmûn Tanâh* is certainly intended—was distant 25 *mil* by land from this place.

B. The lake referred to is described as being close to Faramâ and connected with Buḥairat Tinnis. Buḥairat ez Zâr was, therefore, the eastern part of the present Lake Manzalah and Buḥairat Tinnis the western part. Abû el Fidâ (Quatremère, i, 334) alludes to this division of the lake, of which the map now shows no trace; but he calls the eastern division Buḥairat Tinnis and the western division Buḥairat Dimyât.

Idrisî states (p. 151, l. 14) that after the two branches of the Nile which separated below Antûhî had reunited at Shubrâ and Damsis they flowed together a little way and then divided again, the eastern one running to Tinnis and the western one to Dimyât. This eastern branch is clearly the one followed by this itinerary. He calls it (p. 154, l. 3) *Khalij Shanashâ*. It does not seem possible that El Bûhât can be either of the two existing places called Bûhâ, or that سفناس can be identified with Shinfâs. One gets, therefore, only the general direction of the stream. The branch of the Nile in question has disappeared.

TABLE NO. 14. ITINERARY BY A BRANCH OF THE NILE
FROM TALKHÂ TO TINNIS.

Idrisi, p. 155.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
<i>Distance, mil.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
	طرخا	Talkhâ.
Not given	مشية شهار	Shuhâ. A.
5	محلة دمنة	Maḥallat Damanah.
12	قباب البازيار	El Qibâb el Kubrâ
16	قباب العريف	El Qibâb es Ṣuḡhrâ (?). B
15	دمو	Dumûh
2	طمانح	Not identified.
10	شموس	Ashmûn (Ṭanâh). C.
20	قرية الانصار	Mit en Naṣârâ
20	ويدة	Not identified.
20	برميسين	Birimbâl.
40	سيسة	Es Satâ'itah (?).
15	بحيرة تميمس	Not identified.

A. Shahr appears to be a mistake in the text.

B. This village comes out of place.

C. The text of the itinerary is obviously wrong here. The place intended is Ashmûn Tanâh or er Rummân, or Ashmûn (Abû el Fidâ, *Descr. Egypt.*, p. 31). It is mentioned by Abû el Fidâ that Ashmûn Tanâh was the principal town of the province of Daqḥalah and also of El Bushmûr. The latter name is still preserved in the neighbourhood in the Maṣraf el Bushmûr shown on the P.W.D. map.

The branch of the Nile followed by this itinerary is called by Idrisi (154, l. 9) *Khaliḡ Tinnis*. It is the present El Baḡr es Ṣaḡḡir.

TABLE NO. 15. KÛRAHS OF EL HAUF ESH SHABQÎ.

KHITAT, i, 73, first list.		PARALLEL LISTS (from El Qudâ'i).		TRANSCRIPTION.
		KHITAT, i, 73, second list.	IBN DUQMÂQ, v, 42.	
<i>Number of Qaryahs.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
65		عين شمس	عين شمس	'Ain Shams. A.
108	أتریب	أتریب	أتریب	Itrib. B.
87	بنو	بنی	تمی	Natau or Natâ C.
150	نما	تمی	بنا	Tumai. C.
39	بسطة	بسطة	بسطة	Bastah.
28	طرايبة	طرايبة	طرايبة	Turâbiyah. B, D.
18	طهریب	هریب	فریب	Hurbait. E.
46	صا وابلیل	صا وابلیل	صا	Şâ wa Iblil. F.
	(منها منهور?)	الفروما	الفروما	El Faramâ.
	والفروما	والعریش	العریش	El 'Arîsh.
	والعریش	والجفار		El Jifâr.

A. 'Ain Shams seems to have dropped out of the first list by accident.

B. Thus vocalized in Qāmūs.

C. Natau and Tunnai are grouped together in El Qudā'i's list of the Kûrahs and also elsewhere. They were clearly adjacent to one another. Natau was either the same as Şahrajat or closely connected with it (see Amélineau, 269). There are two Şahrajats not very far apart. Probably Şahrajat el Kubrā is the one meant (see Amélineau, 409).

D. Qāmūs adds "or Ḍurābiyah". The first list mentions that among its Qaryahs or villages were (a) Es Sadi, which (Qāmūs) was near El 'Abbāsah; (b) El Hāmāh: this appears from El Kindī (99, l. 12) to have been in Sinai, and to have included in its surroundings the mountain of 'Ulāq. The mountain is mentioned in Qāmūs; (c) Fāqūs. Amélineau, p. 483, gives "Tarabia, فاقوس".

E. Identical, it would seem, with Pharbait (Amélineau, 330).

F. Šā must be Šan el Hajar. Iblil (Iebllil) occurs as an unidentified place mentioned by Amélineau.

El Hauf esh Sharqī contained eight, nine, or ten Kûrahs, according to the different enumerations given by the three versions. All the Kûrahs can be identified.

TABLE NO. 16. KÛRAHS OF BAṬN ER RIF.

KHIṬAṬ, i, 73, first list.		PARALLEL LISTS (from El Qudā'i).		TRANSCRIPTION.
		KHIṬAṬ, i, 73, second list.	IBN DUQMĀQ, v, 42.	
<i>Number of Qaryahs.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	<i>Name in text.</i>	
		الجزيرة من أسفل الأرض	الجزيرة من أسفل الأرض	El Jazīrah min Asfal el Arḍ. A.
104	د.سيس و.منوف	د.سيس و.منوف	د.سيس	Damsis, and Manûf. B.
72	تأطورة منوف	طود و.منوف	منوف	Ṭuwah wa Manûf. C.
115	سخا	سخا	سخا	Sakhâ.
23	بیدا والأفراحون	وبیدا والأفراحون		Tidâ wa El Afrâjûn. D.
24	المشرد	المشرد	المشرد	El Basharûd. E.
12	نقرا	مقین ودیسا	بقیرا	Naqizah (wa Daişâ). F.
88	ببا وبوصیر	ببا وبوصیر	بوصیر بنا	Banâ wa Bû Şir.
128	سمنود	سمنود	سمنود	Sammanûd.
21	نوسا	نوسا	نوسا	Nawasâ.
40	الأوسية	الأوسية	الأوسية	El Ausiyah. G.
40	النجوم	النجوم	النجوم	En Nakhûm. H.
		دقيلة	دقيلة	Daqlalah.
13	تنیس ود.مياط	تنیس د.مياط	تنیس د.مياط	Tinnis. Dimyât

A. Presumably = Jazīrat Banī Naṣr (see Table No. 5, note).

B. The Manūf referred to must be Manūf es Suflā, conjecturally identified by Amélineau (p. 251) with Maḥallat Manūf.

C. The town of Ṭuwah seems to have been the same as Talanau (Amélineau, p. 521); and the latter seems from its name to be identical with Talā. The Manūf in question here will have been the existing town, formerly known as Manūf el 'Ulyā.

D. See Amélineau, p. 504, for the spelling.

E. The name of the town was Pisharaut (see Amélineau, p. 349). The reading adopted seems, therefore, more correct than Bashrūd or Bushrūd given by Bakrī, 179. One finds also the Arabic form *المشروط*. By comparing the accounts of El Kindī (191-2) and Severus (ed. Seybold, 276-82) of the rebellion in the Delta at the time of El Ma'mūn, one can see that the people of El Basharūd in the one case are identical with those called by Severus the men of *بشمور*, and one of the MSS. of Severus reads *المسرودين و المشرطين* for the latter. El Basharūd and El Bushmūr, if not actually identical, were closely connected with one another. It is clear from Ibn Hauqal (90, l. 2) that Buhairat el Bushmūr represented at least the western part of the lake of Burullus; and it seems that the name may have been applied to the whole of the lake. The Kūrah of Basharūd may have been to the north and east of the lake of Burullus, which is the position indicated by Amélineau (351) for the district of Pisharaut.

F. Naqīzah is given in Qāmūs as a Kūrah of Egypt, so that the right reading seems to be established. A doubtful reading in *Bib. G. Arab.* (vii, 338, l. 8) indicates that *حصن تقيز* was on the seashore between Damietta and Burullus. *Daiṣā* may be the same as *Daisah*, which (Ibn Jī'an, 53) was in the province of Daqḥaliyah. This Kūrah has been omitted from the map.

G. El Ausiyah = Damīrah (*Bib. G. Arab.*, vii, 337, l. 11).

H. En Nakhūm is given in Qāmūs as one of the Kūrahs of Egypt. Amélineau does not give any near equivalent. One may look at Pakhnamūn, the exact position of which is not defined, but which seems to have been in the same quarter. From the itinerary in Table No. 6 it appears that the Kūrah must have been situated between Sanhūr and Burullus. In the one mention by Kindī (116, l. 13) the men of Basharūd, En Nakhūm, and El Ausiyah join the Copts in revolt at Sakḥā, and one may conclude that it is likely that the first three Kūrahs were grouped together.

Baṭn er Rif contained twelve, fourteen, or fifteen Kūrahs, according to the three different lists. Their names can all be identified, and except in one case one can determine the position more or less exactly.

TABLE NO. 17. KÚRAHS OF EL HAUF EL GHARBÎ.

KHITÂT, i, 73, first list.		PARALLEL LISTS (from El Qudâ'i).		TRANSCRIPTION.
		KHITÂT, i, 73, second list.	IBN DUQMÂQ, v, 43.	
Number of Qaryahs.	Name in text.	Name in text.	Name in text.	
73	صا	صا	صا	Sâ.
22	شباس	شباس	شباس	Shabâs. A.
43	اليدقون	اليدقون	البتقون	El Badaqûn. B.
29	حيز اليدقون	حيز اليدقون		Haïyiz el Badaqûn. C.
Not given	الشراك	الخميس والشراك	الخميس والشراك	El Khais wa Esh Shirâk. D.
8	ترنوط			Tarnût
62	خربتا	خربتا	خربتا	Kharibtâ.
22	قرطسا	قرطسا	قرطسا	Qartasâ.
49	مصيل والمليدس	مصيل والمليدس	مصيل	Maşil. E. Malaidis. E.
17	أحنور	أخنا	أخنا	Ikhnâ.
	رشيد	رشيد	رشيد	Rashid.
	البحيرا	والبحيرا	(من البحيرة)	El Buhaïrah. F.
	والمحص			(El Hîşaş bil
	بالاسكندرية			Iskandariyah.)
	والكرومات			(El Kurûmât.)
	والمعل			(El Ba'l.)
124	ومدينة الاسكندرية	الاسكندرية	الاسكندرية	El Iskandariyah.
	ومريوط	ومريوط	ومريوط	Maryût. G.
	ولوبية	لوبية	لوبية	Lâbiyah. H.
	ومراقية	ومراقية	ومراقية	Marâqiyah. H.

A. The centre of the Kûrah has been taken as *Shabās esh Shuhadā'*, the most important of the villages called *Shabās*, and one that is in the most likely position.

B. The name is doubtful; the transcription here follows *Bib. G. Arab.*, vi, 82. One may compare "Pidrakon" (*Amélineau*, 345), the nearest name to it that seems to occur. One of the towns of the Kûrah was Janbawaih (*Kindī*, 209, l. 16).

C. This was evidently, from its name, adjacent to El Badaqûn. Haiyiz means annexe. There is no guide to the exact position of the Kûrah.

D. El *Khais* (occasionally pronounced El *Khis*) is given in Qâmûs as a Kûrah of El Hauf el Gharbî. One may compare (the existing) Mahallat Qis, Markaz Shubrâ Khî; this place does not seem to be shown on the P.W.D. map. *Esh Shirāk* is so vocalized in *Bib. G. Arab.* According to the description of the canals in *Khîṭaṭ*, i, 170, *Esh Shirāk* would appear to have been situated close to the existing villages of El Quhûqiyah and Abû Kharāsh. There is a village in the Markaz of Damanhûr called El Ashrāk, but the position is not shown on the P.W.D. map. *Esh Shirāk* is stated by Ibn Duqmāq to be identical with Es Şafşafisah. The latter is no longer known, but there is a village in the same Markaz called Es Şafşaf. This also is omitted from the map.

E. See Amélineau's article, p. 243. The town of Maşl was evidently near Fûwah. Mr. Amélineau appears to consider that Maşl and Malaidis were identical, and that both represent Metelis of the Greeks, but the combination in Arabic of the two names seems to leave little doubt that Maşl and Malaidis were two different towns, and Malaidis is the name that corresponds with Metelis. With this name one may compare Kafr Mallî, shown on the P.W.D. map not far from opposite to Fûwah. By the description in *Khîṭaṭ*, i, 170, it can be seen that Maşl was close to Zarqûn.

F. Presumably so called from Buhairat Idkû. Amélineau's article on (El-)Beherah, p. 90, requires consideration. The name had at first a restricted signification, although it covers at the present time the whole of the region to the west of the Nile.

G. The town of this name had already been destroyed in 1376 A.D.; its ruins are still visible on the borders of the lake (*Amélineau*, 242).

H. Lûbiyah and Marâqiyah occupied a tract along the coast now desert, which once was inhabited and fertile. The former adjoined Maryût (*Bib. G. Arab.*, vii, 339), and from the description of the road (*Bib. G. Arab.*, vii, 342) it can be seen that Lûbiyah did not begin until a little west of El Kanâ'is. Marâqiyah extended up to the territory of Barqah, and to within about two barîds, say 20 miles, from Siwah (*Khîṭaṭ*, i, 183).

El Hauf el Gharbî comprised eleven or twelve Kûrahs, according to the different enumerations. The Kûrahs can be identified fairly well, though one or two cannot be placed exactly.

TABLE NO. 18. KÛRAHS OF LOWER EGYPT, ACCORDING TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF YA'QÛBÎ (*Bib. G. Arab.*, vii, 337-9).

I. *El Hauf.*

Atrib (Itrib).	Bastah.	Šan.
'Ain Shams.	Ṭurābiyah.	Iblil.
Natau.	Qurbait (Hurbait or Farbait).	

Tumai seems to be omitted by accident. The text indicates that there were nine Kûrahs.

II. *Baṭn er Rif to the east [sic] of the Nile.*

Banā.	Sammanūd.	El Ausiyah.
Buṣīr.	Nawasā.	En Nakhūm.

III. *Area between Khaltj Dimyāt and the Western¹ Khaltj.*

Sakhā.	El Afrājūn.	Manūf es Suflā.
Tidā.	Ṭāwah.	

The text indicates that the number of these Kûrahs was seven, so that two names are wanting.

IV. *Coast Towns.*

Faramā.	Shatā.	Būrah.	Burullus.	Ikhna.
Tinnis.	Dimyāt.	Naqizah.	Rashid.	Iskandariyah.

V. *Kûrahs of Khaltj el Iskandariyah.*

El Buḥairah.	Maṣil.	Ṭarnūt.
Kharibtā.	Malaidis.	Qarṭasā.

VI. *Kûrahs of Khaltj en Nastarau.*

Sā.	El Haiyiz (Haiyiz el Badaqūn).	
Shabās.	El Badaqūn.	Esh Shirak.

VII. *Outlying Kûrahs of Iskandariyah.*

Maryūt.	Marāqiyah.	Lūbiyah.
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¹ The reading "Western" is uncertain.

XXVI

THE SECRET OF KANISHKA

(Concluded from p. 688.)

By J. KENNEDY

II

The Coinage of Kanishka

WE have considered Kanishka, so far, only as an Indian king, whose existence is revealed to us through the incidental mention of him in inscriptions and the accounts of the Yue-che (Tokhāri) given by the Chinese. And we have found that his permanent achievements were twofold. A barbarian prince, he became a convert to an alien faith, and set an example which was followed by his tribe; he also instituted an era which, although essentially Buddhist, was accepted by the Brāhmans and the Jains, and has endured to the present day. So far we might regard him merely as a prototype of many a barbarian chief of the West in the early centuries of the Middle Ages. We have now to consider him as an important figure on a much larger stage, a connecting link in the history of the earliest commerce between China and Europe. I have already brought forward direct evidence to prove that he flourished in the latter half of the first century B.C. I shall now show by two independent lines of research that he cannot be assigned to any other period. The basis of our study is the coinage of Kanishka and his successors, more particularly of Huvishka. This coinage is quite striking in its novelty.

1. These Kushans mint gold—a thing practically unknown in India since the days of Euthydemus and

Demetrius and the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.)¹—and they mint no silver, which formed the usual currency.

2. The growing scarcity of gold had reduced the value of silver from the middle of the second century B.C., so that the exchange had fallen to something like 11 of silver to 1 of gold. But the new gold coinage, although gold has suddenly become abundant, is struck at a still lower rate, the rate of 1 of gold to 12 of silver.

3. All this is startling enough; but more wonderful still, these Kushan coins have only Greek legends, although the kings who minted them held no lands outside India, and although from the time of Demetrius and Eukratides, that is to say from the commencement of the second century B.C., Greek and Seythie kings alike had put bilingual inscriptions on their coins.

4. As if this were not sufficient, Kanishka and Huvishka engrave the figures and the names of some thirty deities, a motley group—Hindu, Buddhist, Greek, Elamite, possibly Babylonian, mostly Zoroastrian.²

5. Moreover, they use for their legends a cursive Greek alphabet which was a new feature on Indian coins,

¹ "With the exception of two or three gold coins of Eukratides, one of Menander, and, perhaps, one of Taxila, and another coin of uncertain attribution, no specimens which can possibly have been struck in India, during the two centuries previous to the date of Hima (Wema) Kadphises, are to be found in the collections of the present day" (Rapson, *Grundriss*, "Indian Coins," p. 17). Wema Kadphises' father, Kozoulo Kadphises, struck only copper coins.

Rapson makes Kanishka succeed Wema Kadphises, whom he dates c. 30-78 A.D. As to Kanishka he says, "The Saka era has usually been supposed to date from the *abhiseka* of Kanishka at Mathurā in 78 A.D.; and to this era the dates found in the stone inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva have usually been referred." Although the supposition that Kanishka instituted the Saka era has now been completely disproved by M. Boyer, a latent belief that Kanishka followed Wema Kadphises is still very general. Messrs. Fleet, Francke, and S. Lévi have always rejected it, and Cunningham originally did so, although he afterwards adopted another theory.

² Cunningham (*Coins of the Kushans*, pt. iii, p. 23 of the reprint; *Nam. Chron.*, ser. iii, vol. xii, pp. 40-82) gives a list of thirty-three types.

and was further remarkable by including a certain antiquated letter to be noticed later.

The singularity of this coinage is equalled by its diffusion; it is found not only throughout Northern India and the Gangetic Valley as far as Ghāzīpūr and Gōrakhpūr, but also in countries far to the west of India: solitary specimens have been found buried in the ground in Scandinavia and Wales. Clearly all these facts have an organic connexion; we require, not a separate key to each, but a single key which will explain the whole.

Three things are obvious at the outset of our inquiry—

1. This coinage was struck, not to supply local wants, but for the purposes of foreign trade. For 150 years before Kanishka the local currency had been in silver and copper. The Indo-Parthians, who were contemporaries of Vāsudeva, strike silver and copper. The Satraps of Mathurā follow the rule. Before, during, and after the times of Kanishka and his group, a bilingual silver currency prevails; silver is the local currency of the bazars.

2. The foreign traders, for intercourse with whom this gold currency was minted, used Greek as a *lingua franca*; they were not supposed to understand Prākṛit. Where a bilingual currency is in vogue, it is a proof that buyer and seller belong to two nationalities and speak two different languages. But where three or more different languages are concerned, it is usually impossible to represent all of them upon so small a field as that of the coins.¹ As a rule, that language alone will find a place which is the general medium of communication; and that language in this case was Greek.

¹ There is an exception, to a certain extent, on the coins of Nahapāna: these bear Greek legends on the obverse, and on the reverse Brāhmī and Kharoshtī legends which represent two separate dialects, though not exactly two distinct languages: see, e.g., JRAS, 1907, p. 1044. In this case the arrangement was made practicable by the brevity of the legends.

3. The abundance of gold must be ascribed to a sudden and great revolution in trade. Such a revolution took place at the commencement of the first century B.C., when, for the first time in the annals of the world, the trade of China made its way to the West. The history of that trade will form the subject of a special inquiry; I shall confine myself at present to the briefest outline of so much of it as bears upon our subject.

Up to the time of the great Han emperor, Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.), the Hiung-nu, ancestors of the modern Turks, were overlords of all Central Asia from Sogdiana to Manchuria. The twenty-six "bowmen nations" of the nomads owned their supremacy; the settled peoples of Chinese Tartary were subject to them; and they pastured their herds in three out of the seven provinces of China. Wu-ti, the real founder of the Chinese Empire, engaged in a series of lifelong campaigns against them. By 121 B.C. he had driven them north of the Gobi Desert, and in twenty years more by war and diplomacy he brought all the petty states of Chinese Tartary under his authority. The "settled peoples" of Chinese Tartary were keen traders; they sent commercial embassies every year to China, and a lively trade soon sprang up. This trade followed one of two routes: it went either by Khotan across the Himālayas to Kashmir, Gandhāra, and Kābul; or the goods were carried to Kashgar and Yarkand, and thence to Sogdiana and Bactria. The former route was always open, and was the principal channel of the silk trade in the first century B.C. In the following century Kashgar and Yarkand took the lead.¹ Whichever route the silk might take, it ultimately found its way to Syria, where it was reworked

¹ Reinaud (*Relations, etc., de l'Empire Romain avec l'Asie Orientale*, p. 172) says: "Bien que d'origine chinoise, c'est en grande partie par l'Inde, surtout en temps de guerre, qu'elle (la soie) arrivait dans l'empire." But I think it can be shown that M. Reinaud is mistaken. It was only during the first century B.C. that the bulk of the silk trade passed through India.

for the Roman market; and silk was first seen at Rome in the last days of the Republic. Virgil, Horace, and Propertius are among the first to mention it.¹ But although all the silk found its way to Syria, there was a great difference in the intermediaries by whom it was brought. The Iranian Bactrians and Syrians had a monopoly of the caravans which went overland between the Pamirs and the shores of the Mediterranean Sea; while the silk from Kashmir and Kābul found its way to the head of the Persian Gulf, and was then either carried overland across the desert by way of Palmyra to Syria,² or transported by water to Leukē Cômē at the head of the Red Sea. The chief traders between India and the Persian Gulf were the Mesenians. They are the principal figures in our story, and I shall speak of them at length anon.

At this point someone will probably interpose with the question: why should the silk have gone by land to the Persian Gulf, when it might have gone direct by sea to Alexandria? The history of this sea trade is the answer.

Down almost to the end of the second century *A.C.* the trade of the Indian Ocean was entirely in the hands of Indians, Arabs, and peoples of the Persian Gulf. Ptolemy Philadelphus and Ptolemy Euergetes planted colonies on the western littoral of the Red Sea, and attempted to open out commercial relations with the African interior. But the first attempts of these Alexandrian Greeks to sail direct to India were due to private enterprise, and date from about 120 *B.C.* The later Ptolemies were supine and indifferent, and down to the conquest of Egypt by Augustus the trade was insignificant. "Formerly," says Strabo,³ "not even twenty vessels ventured to navigate

¹ Under the Empire the chief market for Indian and Chinese goods at Rome was close to the Temple of Pax.

² It was the making of Palmyra, which was already a considerable town in the latter half of the first century *A.C.* when Marc Antony besieged it.

³ Strabo, xvii, p. 798.

the Arabian Gulf,¹ or advance to the smallest distance beyond the straits at its mouth." Augustus inaugurated a revolution in the trade when he conquered Egypt (30 B.C.). He seems to have devoted especial attention to the matter; he did his best to suppress piracy; and although the Arabian expedition of Ælius Gallus was unsuccessful, under the protection of the Romans a considerable trade speedily sprang up. When "I was with Gallus", says Strabo, "at the time he was Prefect of Egypt (25 B.C.), I found that about 120 ships sail from Myos-hormos to India, although in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely anyone would venture on this voyage and the commerce with the Indies."² What Wu-ti had accomplished for the land trade of China with the West, Augustus accomplished for the sea trade between the Roman Empire and India. But this trade did not receive its full development until Adana or Aden, the Arab emporium, had been destroyed, probably in the reign of Claudius. It was only from the time of Claudius and Nero that the sea trade of Alexandria with India attained the dimensions of which Pliny speaks when he says:³ "At the very lowest computation, India, the Seres, and the Arabian Peninsula drain from our empire yearly one hundred million of sesterces, so dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women." But this trade was mainly a trade in Indian commodities; silk, both raw and in the shape of yarn, was exported, it is true, according to the merchant-mariner who wrote the *Periplus*, from Barygaza and Barbarikon at the mouth of the Indus, but apparently

¹ The Arabian Gulf is that portion of the Indian Ocean which lies between Arabia and India, now called the Arabian Sea.

² Strabo, ii, p. 118.

³ Pliny, xii, 84 (c. 18); McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 125. On the Roman policy with regard to this trade and the means by which it was encouraged, see an admirable account in Mommsen's chapter on Egypt in the *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Eng. trans.), ii, pp. 298-302.

only in small quantities. At all times the silk trade was mainly a caravan trade by land.

The history of the silk trade is the key to the coinage of Kanishka. Kanishka's coinage shows no sign of Roman influence. Huvishka, who lived till the commencement of the Christian era, introduces the Alexandrian Serapis among the other deities on his coins. The influence of the revolution inaugurated by Augustus was just beginning to be felt. Kozoulo Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, who lived in the latter half of the first century of our era, show the unmistakable influence of Rome. Nahapāna, who flourished at its close,¹ confounds the Roman alphabet with the Greek.² It is now time to turn to the traders who did affect Kanishka's coinage, the traders who spoke Greek, and who brought with them the gold, the rate of exchange, the deities, and the cursive Greek script, a script better adapted for commercial purposes than either capitals or uncials, and in common use in daily life.

In the centuries immediately preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era, two petty and semi-independent states occupied all lower Babylonia south of Apamea, and extended along the littoral at the head of the Persian Gulf. Mesene and Characene, afterwards known respectively as Iraq Arabi and Sawad, and conjointly to the Greeks and Romans as Parapotamia, had arisen out of the disintegration of the Seleucid Empire in the early days of Parthian rule. Adjoining them was Elymais or

¹ The date of Nahapāna is connected with that of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. The *Periplus* was written some time after the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-53) and before Trajan's conquest of the Nabateans (A.D. 105). The opinion which dates it between 80 and 100 A.D. appears to me the true one. Compare Fleet (p. 787 above) for the bearing of the Indian data.

² Fleet, *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 1043-4. Dr. Fleet's detection of the presence of the letter *k* on Indian coins, first shown in the case of the money of Kharaosta, Kharahostēs (*ibid.*, pp. 1029, 1041), must be ranked, along with Dr. Stein's brilliant recognition of the letter *śau* on the coins of Kanishka, among the most valuable contributions to our knowledge of those times.

Elam, part mountain and part plain, which in the early morning of the world had been the rival and frequently the conqueror of Babylonia, and which preserved its rude independence under the Parthians, as it had done more or less completely under the Seleucids and Achæmenids. Through the passes of the Zagros range, held by the Elamites or Elymæi, lay the route to the upland valleys of Persis, and so by way of Carmania to Herat, Arachosia, and the Panjāb. This was the route by which Alexander the Great and Antiochus III returned from India; and it had one great advantage, for Persis, like Elymais, was generally independent of the Parthians. Thus the whole route to the south of the great desert of sand and saline marsh which occupies the central plateau of Iran, lay outside the Parthian dominions. It escaped the custom houses and the commercial jealousy of the Arsacids. Pan-ku, the historian of the Elder Han, describes the whole stretch of country from Kashmir and Kābul to Mesene as a single kingdom under the name of *Wou-yi-shan-li*.¹ In civilization, manners, and the matter of coinage, he says it resembled Ki-pin, or Kashmir. Although Pan-ku is wrong in describing it as a single kingdom, he is probably right as to its general character. The hot and humid alluvial plain of lower Babylonia, where the Euphrates and Tigris unite their streams with that of the Eulæus (Karun) to form the mighty flood of the Pasitigris, was a country of wheat and millet and rice, abounding in pools, and intersected by canals, where dense groves of date-palms stretched in continuous succession along the banks of the rivers to the sea.²

¹ See a note on *Wou-yi-shan-li*, p. 991 below.

² According to Ammianus Marcellinus these groves of date-palms were so thick that they gave the country almost the appearance of a forest. "In his regionibus agri sunt plures consiti vineis varioque pomorum genere; ubi oriri arbores assuetæ palmarum per spatia ampla adusque Mesenem et mare pertinent magnum, instar ingentium nemorum" (xxiv, 3). The Shatt-el-Arab below its junction with the Karun still has the same character: "During the remainder of its

Always densely populated, it had been the cradle of Babylonian civilization, and its earliest inhabitants, the Sumerians, and after them the Chaldæans, had for more than two millenniums carried on a rich commerce throughout the waters of the Persian Gulf. In the process of time the population became very mixed, as mixed probably as that of Babylon, which Æschylus calls a *πάμμικτον ὄχλον*; but at the commencement of the Christian era it was mainly Semitic—Semitic in culture if not in race. Nabatæan princes ruled the country, and Aramaic was the common speech. "Shem, the third son of Noah," says Josephus,¹ "had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian Ocean." This Semitic element extended even as far as the Kōphēn (Kābul) River. The classical writers make Mesene to be part of Arabia, probably because the kings were Nabatæans. Mesene is the first province of Arabia, says Strabo.² Pliny calls Pasines (or Spasines) an Arab king, "rex finitimorum Arabum."³ And the Roman emperors assumed the title of Parthicus and Arabicus when they reached the waters of the Persian Gulf.⁴

But although the prevailing culture was Chaldæan or Semitic, Greeks had been settled in this region from the seventh century B.C., and Greek towns were numerous. There were two Alexandrias near the coast, a Selencia on the Erythræan Sea, another, an important town, on the course it passes many large villages, and almost continuous belts of date groves" (Chesney, *Expedition for the Survey of the Euphrates and Tigris*, vol. i, p. 61).

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.*, i, c. 6, § 4.

² Strabo, xvi, 767: ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀπὸ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐστὶν ἡ Μακρόνη. Cf. 739: μέχρι Ἀράβων τῶν Μεσηνῶν.

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 139; cf. 138.

⁴ The best account of these little states is to be found in Drouin's papers in the *Revue Numismatique*, iii^{me} série, vol. vii, pp. 211 ff., 361 ff., 1889; also in the *Rev. Archéologique*, Oct. 1884, pp. 227 ff. Pliny's *Nat. Hist.*, Josephus' *Antiq.*, and Lucian's *Macroch.* are the chief classical authorities for their history.

Hedyphon, and a third on the Eulæus. Apamea was the northernmost town of Mesene and close to Seleucia on the Tigris. Even the Elamite plain, which extended from the Zagros Mountains to the reedy swamps and mud banks of the Persian Gulf, had its Seleucia and Sosirate, Greek foundations. Throughout the country Greek was understood and still in common use at the commencement of the Christian era. In its immediate neighbourhood was Seleucia on the Tigris, the centre of Greek life in the Parthian dominions, and the greatest emporium in Asia. Not far from Seleucia were Artemita and Chala, autonymous Greek towns.¹ Dionysius and Isidore, younger contemporaries of Augustus and famous authors of their day, were, the one certainly, the other probably, natives of Charax, the capital of Mesene, and they wrote in Greek. The coins of Characene (for only a few stray coins of Mesene and Elymais are known) bear Greek legends, and down to the time of Attambelus I (29 B.C. — A.D. 5) the Greek is good.

The main occupation of these two little maritime states of Characene and Mesene was commerce, as it had been the occupation of the Chaldæans before them. They were the Hollanders of the East, the chief carriers and intermediaries of all the world which could be reached by their ships and caravans. Their maritime trade exceeded that of Alexandria prior to its conquest by Augustus. Their ships visited the mouths of the Indus on the one hand; and they also conveyed costly cargoes to Leukē Cômē on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea, enriching the Idumean and Nabatæan caravaners who carried this merchandise to Phœnicia and Syria. Their trade by land was scarcely inferior to that by sea; it contributed to the rise and the opulence of Palmyra. That caravans from Mesene also traded to Herat and India is not only suggested by the circumstances of the case, and by the settlement of

¹ Isidore, *Mans. Parth.*

Semites in the country of the Kābul River, as Josephus tells us;¹ it is clearly indicated by the fact that the coins of Characene, especially those of Hyspaosines (124 B.C.), imitate the tetradrachms of Euthydemus, while later coins of this region imitate those of Heliokles.² The commercial connexion between the two countries was therefore of old standing; but the best illustration of the trade is to be found in the coins of Kanishka.

The chief town of this region was Mesene or Maisān. Josephus makes the Armenians, the Bactrians, the Nabatæans of Damascus, and the Mesenians—the four great trading peoples of the East—to be the sons of one common father, who was a son of Shem.³ Even in the first century B.C. the fame of Mesene, or *Tiao-che*, had reached the Chinese, and that at a time when no Chinaman had travelled further west than Kandahar or Herat, and very few so far. Mesene was the goal of *Kan Ying's* travels in A.D. 97, when *Pan Tch'ao* dispatched him on his famous journey to explore the western regions. It took *Kan Ying* over a hundred days' riding from *Wou-yi-shun-li* (which we may provisionally identify with Herat)⁴ to reach Mesene, and he describes its situation almost in

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.*, i, c. 6, § 4.

² v. Sallet, *Z. für Num.*, vol. viii, pp. 212 ff., 1881.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.*, i, c. 6, § 4.

⁴ *Wou-yi-shun-li* was the name given by the Chinese in a vague way to a large extent of country. The history of the Elder Han makes it to reach from *Ki-piu* to *Tiao-che*, i.e. from Kashmir and Kābul to Mesene, and says that in population and troops it equalled a large kingdom. The history of the Later Han says that it embraced several thousand *li* in superficial area. M. Chavannes conjecturally identifies it with Herat, and I have for convenience sake adopted this nomenclature. But *Wou-yi-shun-li* evidently included part, perhaps the whole, of Arachosia. Isidore makes the town of Alexandropolis (of which more anon) the capital of so much of Arachosia as belonged to the Parthians; and Alexandropolis was close to the Parthian boundary. When I talk of Herat I merely mean to indicate *Wou-yi-shun-li*, with Alexandropolis for its capital, without committing myself to any theory regarding the identification of these localities except in a very general fashion.

the words of Pliny.¹ Mesene was better known to the Roman world as Charax or Charax Spasinou.² It was one of the numerous trading towns which arose at the head of the Persian Gulf, and which decayed as the sea retreated from them.³ The immense quantity of alluvial soil brought down by the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates causes the land to encroach upon the sea at a rate which has scarcely a parallel elsewhere.⁴ Mesene, more fortunate than most of its neighbours, lasted down to Arab times. It was "built on an artificial elevation, having the Tigris on the right, and the Eulæus on the left, between the confluence of the streams where they widened to a lake".⁵ Alexander selected it for the site of an Alexandreia when it was only 10 miles from the sea; and it had so many Macedonians that one-quarter of the town was named Pella.⁶ The town was frequently destroyed by the encroachments of the river. Antiochus III rebuilt it, and called it after himself Antiocheia. Lastly, a Nabatæan chief named Spasines or Hyspaosines re-founded it permanently about the year 124 B.C.; from which time it commonly had the name of Charax or Charax Spasinou, and became the head-quarters of a Nabatæan dynasty. In Bardaisan's great *Hymn of the Soul*, Maisân is the place of departure for Egypt, the place of departure and of return—

"I passed Maishân, the mart of merchants of the East,
And stood upon the foreign soil of Babylon;
Egypt I reached."

And returning, the young Prince proceeds upon his homeward way—

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 138.

² Charax = Nagara or "town".

³ e.g. Teredon, Voloesia, Apologos (Obolla), and Hira.

⁴ It aroused the astonishment of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vi, 140).

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 138.

⁶ *Ibid.*: "Militum inutilibus ibi relictis Alexandriam appellari iusserat, pagumque Pellæum a patria sua, quem propriè Macedonum fecerat."

"Till Babylon was past, and I had reached Maishān,
The haven of the Eastern merchants by the sea."¹

Maisān was still the centre of this brilliant Eastern traffic, the Alexandria of the Persian Gulf, although in Bardaisan's day the sea had retreated far away.

Between these Mesenian merchants and the Chinese, the people of Kashmir, Kābul, and Arachosia acted as intermediaries. According to the Chinese the civilization of these countries was all one; they were all given to trade; but the people of Kābul were pre-eminently traders: "ils sont bons marchands et ont des richesses privées considérables."² The population was Indian throughout, with a large proportion of Yavanas, especially in Kābul. The vulgar speech was Prākṛit, but Greek was spoken in the bazars in the first century B.C. We have already seen that the Greeks reigned in Kābul until the closing years of that century. Alexandropolis, the capital of Arachosia, was, according to Isidore,³ a πόλις ἑλληνίς, an autonomous Greek city, in the first years of the Christian era. In its neighbourhood was another Greek town, Demetriospolis. In the Panjāb and the kingdom of Kanishka, Greek was also spoken. Had Greek not been spoken, the legends on his coins must necessarily have been bilingual. It is true that the Greek of the bazars was not of the best; it would have offended Plato's ears; there are grammatical mistakes. But a man who makes grammatical blunders is not ignorant of a language; he knows it, but he knows it badly. If, then, we find such phrases as ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ, we infer not that the framer of the legend was ignorant of Greek, but that his Greek was bad. We shall find⁴ a similar mistake repeated sixty or seventy years later at Seleucia.⁵

¹ The *Hymn of the Soul*, rendered into English by F. Crawford Burkitt, pp. 18, 23.

² Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³ Isidore, *Mans. Parth.*

⁴ See p. 1014 below.

⁵ Even Mr. Tarn, who, with the caution of a Scotchman and a lawyer, *JRAS.* 1912.

We have therefore two large commercial communities, among the most important of their time, with an ancient connexion dating from the time of the Bactrian Greeks. The one of these communities spoke Aramaic, the other Prakrit, while settlements of Greeks were common in both, and the Greek language was generally understood.¹ Thus Greek naturally became the lingua franca, the language of commerce. We shall now see how this trade with the Greeks and Arabs of the Persian Gulf explains all the peculiarities of Kanishka's coinage. I take them in order.

1. Whence came the sudden influx of gold? The gold was clearly not indigenous. In China gold was fairly abundant; the great Emperor Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.) on one occasion sent 1000 ounces of gold to the king of *Ta-wan* (Fergana), and 20 lb. of gold frequently formed a part of the presents conferred on the Hiung-nu. But it was silk, not gold, which the caravans brought from China. Nor did the gold come from Alexandria. All

usually admits nothing, admits that Greek was understood in Kanishka's time (JHS, 1902, p. 286). Unfortunately he adopts some speculations of Tomaschek which appear to me rather wild; and his remarks on the supposed deference paid to women in a polyandrous community will raise a smile in anyone who has seen polyandrous communities at work.

¹ It is noteworthy that the incidental notices of Seneca and Plutarch, although highly rhetorical in form, confirm the view taken above as to the perpetuation of the Greek language in the *Southern* country between Seleucia and the Panjāb; neither of them makes the mistake of saying that it was current in Bactria or north of the Paropamisus. Speaking of the mutability of things Seneca exclaims: "Quid sibi volunt in mediis barbarorum regionibus Græcæ urbes? quid inter Indos Persasque Macedonum sermo?" (*Ad Helviam*, c. 7). And he goes on to instance other Greek cities in Scythia and on the Euxine. Plutarch (*De Fort. Alexandri*, *Moralia*, ed. Didot, p. 403) says that after Asia had been conquered by Alexander Homer was everywhere read, and the children of the Persians and Susaniāns and Gedrosians recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides: Περσῶν καὶ Σουσιανῶν καὶ Γεδρωσίων παῖδες τὰς Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλεῶς τραγωδίας ᾤδον. Now all the other statements made by Seneca and Plutarch in the course of these particular declamations have a substratum of fact, and Plutarch knew a good deal about the East, and mentions the Indian king Menander. Ælian, too, had some knowledge of things Indian, and confirms this view.

the gold which came from Alexandria to India came in the shape of coin; and very little of it had reached India by the commencement of the Christian era.¹ According to the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, the only places which exported pure gold to India were Omana and Apologos;² Omana, which "belonged to Persis"³ at the mouth, and Apologos (Obolla) "situate near Pasinou-Kharax and the River Euphrates"⁴ at the head, of the Persian Gulf. The gold of Arabia, whencesoever obtained, was famous in antiquity, and is celebrated both in Scripture and by the Romans and the Greeks. Gerrha, opposite the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf, is supposed by some to have been a Chaldean colony, and Strabo says:⁵ "The Sabæans and the Gerrhæi have become the richest of all the tribes and possess a great quantity of gold and silver: the doors, walls, and roofs are variegated with inlaid ivory, gold, silver, and precious stones." Of Havilah we are told that in that land "there is gold; and the gold of that land is good."⁶ The Arabians were at that time probably the richest people in the world in uncoined gold, and the only people, so far as we know, who exported gold to India.

2. Gold, because of its great value in small bulk, forms the most convenient medium of international exchange. The Mesenian traders brought gold, and this gold they were ready to exchange for silver at the rate which prevailed in Babylonia. We have no direct evidence as to what that rate might be. But we know that in matters of coinage the Arsacids, or rather the Greek towns which

¹ Roman coins, of course, are found in abundance along the western and south-eastern coasts of India, but the coins of the early emperors are not very frequent in the Panjâb. They are chiefly to be found in the topes, and appear to have been regarded rather as curios than as current coin. None of these Kushans ever re-strike Roman coins; nor do I see any reason to believe that even in the time of Kozoulo Kadphises and Wema Kadphises any considerable amount of Roman money reached the Panjâb.

² *Periplus*, c. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, c. 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 35.

⁵ Strabo, xvi, p. 778.

⁶ Genesis ii, 11-12.

struck coins in the name of the great king, adopted the usages of Syria.¹ Now, in Syria and throughout the Roman Empire, for about two centuries, from 100 B.C. to A.D. 100, the proportionate rate of exchange between pure gold and pure silver stood as one to twelve.² We are justified, therefore, in assuming that this was the standard rate to which the Mesenian merchants were accustomed. On the other hand, in monetary matters the decimal system had prevailed from immemorial times throughout these regions.³ The Achæmenids had adopted it and Alexander had followed their example. Twenty *Medie sigli* went to one gold *daric*; twenty silver drachmas to one gold stater. Gold, as we have seen, had disappeared from the coinage of the Græco-Bactrian and Indian kings, but the traditional reckoning remained. Now, Cunningham fixes the weight of the didrachmas (double drachmas) issued by Menander and his successors at 148 grains.⁴ The gold stater ought therefore to be worth $148 \times 10 = 1480$ grains; and if the bazar value of gold was one of gold to twelve of silver, 1480 grains of silver would fetch 123.33 grains of gold. The actual weights of the best preserved Kushan gold coins are as follows: ⁵—

¹ Mommsen, *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine*, trans. Blacas, iii, 322; also his *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. trans., ii, 12.

² For the relative values of gold and silver in Italy and the empire, v. Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, trans. Blacas, ii, 111 ff.; Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 299. For Greece, Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, Eng. trans., p. 27 (ch. vi). For Babylonia, Hultsch, op. cit., pp. 399 ff.

³ Hultsch, op. cit., p. 400. The history of the Later Han says that in *Ta-ta'in* or *Li-kien* (these names are synonyms and denote Syria) "avec de l'or et de l'argent on fabrique des monnaies; dix pièces d'argent valent une pièce d'or" (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 38).

⁴ Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, pt. i, p. 19. (I quote the reprint from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. iii, vol. viii, pp. 47-58, 199-248; ix, pp. 268-311; x, pp. 103-72; xii, pp. 98-159.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20. It is true that Cunningham elsewhere says (p. 61 of the reprint): "I refer specially to the gold coins of Wema Kadphises and Kanishka, which agree in weight with the early Imperial aurei of Tiberius and Nero." According to Hultsch, op. cit., p. 309, n. 2, the

2 of Wema Kadphises average	123.1	grains.
11 of Kanishka	123.1	" "
25 of Huvishka	123.4	" "
21 of Vāsudeva	123.3	" "
<hr/>		
59 coins of the four kings	123.2	" "

Thus bimetallism was established between the Kushan gold coinage and the silver coinage current in the bazars. This is Cunningham's explanation, and it is obviously correct.

But, granting this, two difficulties remain to be resolved. Why had the value of gold in proportion to silver risen from 1 to 10 to 1 to 12 since the time of Alexander? And what relation, if any, had the weight of Kanishka's coins to the Roman aurei? I shall answer each of these questions in turn.

1. It happened that at the time when Alexander established his gold and silver coinage, the ratio between the two metals was unusually low. Herodotus tells us that in his time silver stood to gold as 13 to 1; the Persian daries show us that the exact proportion was $13\frac{1}{2}$.¹ By 400 B.C. it had fallen to 12, by A.D. 300 to 10 to 1.² Originally, the chief gold-mines were in Asia and Africa, and gold was in common use commercially only in Asia and Egypt. From the Greek towns of Asia the use of gold as a medium of exchange had passed to the Greeks of the

aurei of Tiberius range from 7.78 to 7.74 grammes, about 119 to 120 grains, and Nero's earlier aurei from 7.81 to 7.70 grammes, or 119 to 120.5 grains. But when Cunningham comes to determine the weight of the Kushan gold piece he selects the heavier and less worn specimens, with the result which I have quoted. Thus the only approach to identity is between the heaviest of these early Imperial aurei and the lightest of Kanishka's.

¹ Herodotus, iii, 95; Hultsch, op. cit., pp. 404, 484.

² Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, Eng. trans., pp. 27 ff. Hultsch's *Metrologie* gives an excellent account both of gold and silver, and of the coins current not only in Greece and the Roman Empire but in Western Asia and Egypt; v. more especially for gold pp. 172-3, 223 ff., 240 ff., 304 ff., 404 ff. See also Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, ii, pp. 108-19; iii, pp. 42-8.

mainland; but elsewhere in Europe, down to Alexander's time, its use was practically unknown. With the Roman conquest of Greece and Asia at the commencement of the second century B.C., all this was changed. After the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.) the Romans levied a crushing tribute upon Syria. In 189 B.C. the Ætolians paid one-third of their tribute in gold, being unable to pay it in silver.¹ After this the drain of gold from Asia to Rome was never ceasing. Vast quantities were stored up in the Roman treasury, and withdrawn from circulation. In 91 B.C., the year before the commencement of the civil war, 1,620,829 Roman pounds' weight of gold were thus stored in the Capitol;² in the time of Julius Cæsar the storage was still larger.³ Immense sums of gold also found their way into the coffers of the great nobles who acted as the patrons of the client kings and states of Asia. Despite the occasional discoveries of new gold-mines in Noricum and elsewhere, there was an increasing scarcity of gold in circulation. By the beginning of the first century B.C., the proportional value of gold had risen from 1 to 10 to 1 to 12; and at this figure it stood for the next 200 years.⁴ But even before the Roman conquest of Asia another cause was at work, although on a much smaller scale, to raise the price of gold. Alexander's conquests had greatly widened the area over which a gold

¹ Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, trans. Blacas, ii, p. 113. For the vast amounts of gold stored up in the Ærarium of the Capitol v. *ibid.*, p. 109, and Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 300, n. 3.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 55; Dureau de la Malle, *Economie Politique des Romains*, i, p. 91.

³ "Il se montait alors à 2 milliards de francs" (*ibid.*, p. 91).

⁴ "Das faktische Wertverhältnis zwischen Gold und Silber hat bei Griechen und Römern, soweit wir die Spuren verfolgen können, ziemlich konstant dem Zwölffachen nahe gestanden" (Hultsch, *Griechische und Römische Metrologie*, 2nd ed., p. 403). The standard maintained by the Roman mint from the time of Julius Cæsar down to Trajan was 1 to 11·91 (Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, trans. Blacas, iii, p. 42). By the time of Constantine it was 1 to 13·88. The present coinage of France and Germany is based on a proportion of 1 to 15½.

coinage was used. The gold coins of the Seleucids are comparatively rare.¹ Diodotus and Euthydemus may have obtained some gold from Siberia and Central Asia; but we have seen that after the battle of Magnesia gold practically disappeared from the coinage of the Bactrian and Indian Greeks. To prevent the growing depreciation of the silver didrachma, Menander and his contemporaries and successors raised its weight from 134·4 to 148 grains.² But even this was insufficient to tempt back the gold, which by the time of Kanishka had risen to the ratio of 1 to 12, the rate at which he struck his gold stater.³

2. The relation between the weight of Kanishka's staters and the weight of the Roman aurei, although remote and indirect, is not wholly imaginary. Julius Caesar instituted the Roman aureus. The Roman Senate minted only silver and copper. But Roman generals, like Greek commanders,⁴ occasionally paid their troops in gold, and for that purpose struck gold pieces outside Rome. The earliest coins of the kind date from 207 B.C. Sulla struck gold coins at $\frac{1}{36}$ and $\frac{1}{36}$, Pompey at $\frac{1}{36}$ of the Roman pound. In 46 B.C. Julius Caesar as *Imperator* first struck gold coins in Rome itself. He fixed the legal weight of these aurei at $\frac{1}{46}$ of a pound, = 8·18 grammes, or slightly over 126 grains; and, by coining them in vast numbers, he put an immense amount of gold in circulation.

Augustus went a step farther. In the year 15 B.C. he took from the Senate the right of coining silver, and put the imperial coinage on a bimetallic basis.⁵ At the same

¹ Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, trans. Blacas, iii, p. 299.

² Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 19.

³ We do not know the name by which the Kushan gold pieces were called. Cunningham proposes to call them gold *dirhams*; but as the Kushan coinage is related to the Macedonian and not to the Roman currency, I have preferred to retain the Greek name for them.

⁴ Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, Eng. trans., p. 29; Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, ii, pp. 118-19.

⁵ Under the Julian and Flavian emperors the reduction in the weight of the aureus was always accompanied by a proportionate alteration of the denarius.

time he gradually reduced the weight of the aureus to about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a pound. His aurei therefore fluctuate. Before 27 B.C. they average from 7.95 grammes, and over, to 7.85 grammes (i.e. from a little below 123 to a little below 121 grains). After that they gradually fall to 7.80 grammes (about 120.5 grains), and this is the maximum weight down to Nero. In A.D. 60 Nero made the aureus $\frac{1}{5}$ of a pound or 7.4 grammes (115 grains = 7.452 grammes); and at this it remained down to Trajan. After Trajan, gold became the only standard money of the empire; it appreciated in value; the size of the aureus was still further reduced, and the attempt to maintain a bimetallic basis was abandoned.¹

From this summary I draw certain conclusions. (1) The weight of the Roman aureus from its introduction in 46 B.C. down to A.D. 60 was in constant fluctuation. It varied from 126 grains to 115 grains, and except for a few years in the early part of the reign of Augustus, when there was practically no trade worth speaking of to India, it was never a close approximation to the fixed Kushan standard of 123.3 grains.

(2) The aurei of the emperors before Nero, being heavier and more valuable than those of their successors, speedily disappeared and are rarely found; whereas those of Nero and his successors are abundant.² But we have seen that Wema Kadphises lived in the latter part of the first

¹ For the history of the Imperial gold coinage v. Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, trans. Blacas, iii, pp. 19-26; Hultsch, *Metrologie*, pp. 304-18. The writer in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, s.v. *aureum*, says: "The average of the gold coins of Julius Caesar is fixed by Letronne at 125.66 grains, those of Nero at 115.39 grains. Though the weight of the aureus was diminished, its proportion to the weight of the denarius remained about the same, namely, as 2:1 (or rather perhaps as 2.1:1). Therefore, since the standard weight of the denarius, under the early emperors, was 60 grains, that of the aureus should be 120. The average weight of the aurei of Augustus in the British Museum is 121.26 grains; and as the weight was afterwards diminished, we may take the average at 120 grains."

² Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, trans. Blacas, iii, p. 49.

century A.D. Now, had he been the first to strike the Kushan gold stater, and had he taken the aureus for his model, he would assuredly have adopted the weight, not of the early and rare Augustan, but of the Neronian aureus. He, therefore, cannot have been the first to introduce this coinage.

(3) The weight of the Kushan gold stater remained unchanged for at least 130 years. But this was possible only as long as the ratio between gold and silver remained unchanged. And this is true only of the two centuries from 100 B.C. to A.D. 100. After this the weight of the Kushan coin, supposing bimetallism still to obtain, would of necessity become gradually less, as silver fell in value.

Kanishka's gold coinage is, therefore, prior to that of Julius Cæsar. But between the two there existed a real relation, although a distant one. The Kushan coinage was based upon the Macedonian, the only alteration being that the weight of the gold stater was determined by the market value of the gold. Something of the same kind had happened in the Western world. Down to Cæsar's time the Macedonian philippos was the gold coin chiefly used for commercial exchanges. Now Mommsen,¹ speaking of the aureus introduced by Julius Cæsar, says: "Son poids normal est, d'après Pline, $\frac{1}{46}$ de livre ou 8^{gr}, 185. Ce poids rappelle le *philippe* d'or dont le poids légal était 8^{gr}, 73, mais qui à cette époque avait déjà subi une diminution de 0^{gr}, 2 à 0^{gr}, 5 (about 3 to about 8 grains). On a évidemment voulu, dans l'intention de le lui substituer, rapprocher l'aureus romain de cette pièce si répandue en Orient."

"Surely," says Cunningham, "the Indian Greeks and Indo-Scythians might be allowed the faculty of adjusting the weights of their coins to suit their own wants."²

It was not the rate of the Kushan coinage which was

¹ *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, trans. Blacas, iii, p. 20.

² Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 23.

the novelty, it was the gold which the Mesenian merchants brought; and with it they necessarily brought the ratio between gold and silver that obtained in the west of Asia.

The history of the Kushan coinage is, therefore, perfectly clear. The Achæmenids and Macedonians had coined gold, and in imitation of them, and to meet the demands of trade, Kanishka restored gold to the currency. Kozoulo Kadphises coined no gold and was never master of Kanishka's dominions. Wema Kadphises conquered them, and continued, like Kanishka, to issue gold. But to coin gold was always an imperial privilege, reserved for the monarch; and the Panjāb was ruled by Tokhāri viceroys, who, as long as they were subordinate, issued no gold. When they became independent, and struck their own coins, all knowledge of Greek had disappeared, and the die-engravers confined themselves to senseless imitation.

I would make one remark here before going farther. I have said that the coinage of gold was an imperial privilege, an assertion of supreme authority. This idea, which arose with the Achæmenids, had become the universal rule throughout the Græco-Roman world, and the Roman emperors regarded the coinage of gold as one of their most important prerogatives. Similar ideas prevailed throughout the East. The Arsacids, strictly speaking, did not coin at all; and the Greek towns in the Parthian Empire minted only silver or copper. In India the Kushans alone, and after them the Guptas, issued a gold coinage; and both Kushans and Guptas claimed and exercised a supreme overlordship.

Now, the coins of the Kadphises dynasty illustrate how closely the minting of gold was connected with a claim to imperial power. Of Kozoulo Kadphises we have only copper coins, and the only title which they give for him is one which is presented, in the genitive, as *yavugasa*, *yaūasa*, in the Kharoshthī legends, and as ZAOOY in one of the Greek legends: this title, *yavuga*, *yaūa*, is

the Turkish title which on p. 669 above I have given, from Chavannes, as *jab-gou*, but which is better transliterated by *šab-gu*: it denotes a 'chief' or 'prince', something less than a supreme king.¹ On the other hand, Wema Kadphises, from whom we have gold as well as silver and copper coins, takes the full imperial titles of Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Trātāra, and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛ., sometimes with CWTHP added before ΜΕΓΑΛ.

3. It was from Babylonia and Mesene that Kanishka derived the greater part of his pantheon—a pantheon perhaps without an equal, until Heliogabalus in his youthful extravagance assembled all the gods of the empire on the Capitol at Rome to do homage to the black stone of Emesa. This pantheon of some thirty deities is confined to the medals of Kanishka and Huvishka.² Vāsudeva figures only the goddess Nanaia or Nana, Ardokhsho, and the Indian Oēsho or Śiva. The decline of the Hellenic and the increasing preponderance of the Oriental element are apparent throughout the series. Kanishka has Helios, Salene [*sic*], and Hephaistos on his coins; but these have lost their Hellenic significance, and are obviously Greek names for Babylonian or Iranian deities, since Selene is represented as masculine.³ Herakles is the only Greek

¹ For the identification of *yaruğa*, *yāūa*, with *šab-gu*, see Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 204. I am indebted to Dr. Fleet for this. He recognized the identity of the two titles from my mention of *jab-gou* on p. 669; but, thinking that amidst all that has been written on these subjects someone would probably have already pointed it out, he consulted Mr. Allan, who gave him the reference which he has passed on to me. The identification seems to have been made partly by Hirth, partly by Gutschmid, and then fully by Marquart. As Marquart wrote in 1901, it is surprising that this interesting point has passed unnoticed in later works dealing with the Indo-Greek coins and their Indian legends.

² For notes on these deities v. Stein, *IA*, 1888, pp. 89-98; Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans* (reprint), pt. iii, pp. 75 ff. For other references, Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 18, par. 73.

³ Sin, the great Babylonian moon-god, is masculine, and is called Lunus by the Latin writers. Caracalla was murdered on his way to pay his respects to the god Lunus at Carrhæ: "Cum . . . Carras Luni dei gratia venisset" (Spart. *Carac.* 6).

deity who figures on the coins of Huvishka, and Herakles is the commonest type on the silver coins of Characene. Both Kanishka and Huvishka have Mithra and Mao or Manao Bago, the Persian gods of the sun and moon, as well as various Iranian gods of the elements—earth, air, fire, and water; Huvishka adding largely to the number. Huvishka also gives us Sarapo, i.e. the Alexandrian Serapis.¹ The Elamite Nanaia or Nana has a prominent place on the coins of all the three; so has the Indian Oēsho (Śiva). Kanishka, as the patron of the Buddhists, has Buddha the Śākya Muni, and Huvishka adds Śiva's son, Mahāsena or Skanda-Kumāra. Various other deities, with uncouth names not easily identified, figure on the coins.

It is obvious at a glance that this pantheon had nothing to do with the religion of the Kushans. Like the Hiung-nu and other members of the Turki race, the Yue-che were doubtless animists when they pastured their flocks on the borders of China; they must have abounded in shamans and diviners, as did all the Turki tribes from the Black Sea to Manchuria; and when they moved westwards they were ready, like their neighbours, to adopt any higher religion that they met with. At an early period of their history Buddhism took possession of them. But so far as I know, none of the Tokhāri tribes, even in Bactria, were ever Zoroastrian. Nor were Zoroastrians numerous in the Panjāb. Alexander found a colony of traders at Taxila who exposed their dead to the vultures,² and who must have been Bactrians, since at that time this practice prevailed only north of the Hindu Kush. A similar colony existed in Kābul. But Zoroastrianism never took root in these regions, and the exuberant Zoroastrianism of the Kushan coinage had no reference to local cults.

Nor had it much reference apparently to the Zoroastrianism of Bactria. For, considering the medley

¹ Sarapis is a common variant for Serapis in inscriptions.

² Strabo, xv, 714.

of the gods on the coins, we should have expected Scythic as well as Zoroastrian deities, if Kanishka had taken over any northern mythology. Instead of this being the case, Sapal and the other Scythic gods are conspicuously absent.

On the other hand, the Zoroastrianism of these coins is at once a popular and an old-fashioned religion. We have no representations of Ahura Mazda, or of fire-altars, or any other mark of official Zoroastrianism. The gods are often obscure: they cannot always be identified: they are occasionally out of date; Mao, the moon-god, for instance, retired at an early period into the background of Iranian mythology.¹ Now, there are various marks by which we can see that this motley pantheon came from Babylonia and Mesene.

(1) Its syncretism—a syncretism, not of the philosophic, but of a popular kind. This syncretism is marked in the case of Helios, Selene, and Hephaistos. They are not Greek divinities at all, but popular indigenous divinities under Greek names and a Greek disguise; in other words, these Greek gods are coefficients of the indigenous ones, as is the common belief of the vulgar. Babylonia, with its mixed populations, had been for centuries the exchange-mart of the popular religions, and this process was in full swing at the commencement of the Christian era. Akkadian deities had become Semitic, and had undergone a further change when they passed to Iran. The schools of the Chaldæans still existed, and cuneiform writings were still studied in the first century A.D.² According to Anz, Babylonia was the native home of Gnosticism,² and it was the home of Mani. Through Babylonia the name of Buddha first reached Europe. What the Zoroastrianism of Babylonia may have been in the days of Kanishka, it is impossible to say; but the Parthian capital was at Ctesiphon, on the opposite bank of the Tigris from

¹ Tiele, *Outlines of the History of Ancient Religions*, p. 171.

² Anz, *Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, pp. 60-1. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 61 ff.

Seleucia ; and the Parthians were zealous propagandists of the exposure of the dead and the worship of the elements—practices which prevailed north of the Paropamisus, but which were unknown to Darius and to Xerxes.¹ And we know from the remains at Nippur that the Parthian influence was great, and that it was obscurantist.² But it was in Persia that this later Zoroastrianism took the firmest root, and developed into the Parsiism established under the Sassanians. A good deal of the popular Zoroastrianism of Persia proper is probably represented on the coinage of Kanishka. However that may be, Babylonia was pre-eminently the country where the gods of every land were to be found and where they syncretized. The names of the kings of Characene form an admirable example of this admixture of cults. In Spasines or Hyspaosines, in Attambelus and Abinerglas, we have Babylonian deities, Sin and Bel and Nergal. Sogdonaces, Apodaces, Meredates are Persian ; Tiræus recalls the planet Mercury (Tir), or Tistrya, the deified genius of the dog-star ; Binega is Elamite or Assyrian ; Maan Nabataean ; and Theouneses has a Greek look, but is probably Aramaic.³

(2) Still more significant is the Sabæan and astral character of Kanishka's pantheon ; indeed, Cunningham has classified all the gods according to the planetary system.⁴ Now, Babylonia was the native land of this sidereal cult, and from Babylonia it spread to the neighbouring Arabs and especially to Harrân. The Babylonian

¹ The worship of the elements was very old in Babylonia. Ea of Eridu was the god of the river as well as of the sea ; his consort Davkina was "the lady of the earth" (Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 139). "The winds were also worshipped ; the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia paid a special worship to the winds." The cult of the god of the air and wind "belongs essentially to the Semitic period" (p. 199).

² Peters, *Nippur*, vol. ii, p. 396, and in detail elsewhere.

³ I have taken this list from Drouin, *Revue Numismatique*, III^{me} série, vol. vii, p. 375, 1889.

⁴ Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans* (reprint), pp. 75 ff. (*Num. Chron.*, ser. III, xii, pp. 98-159).

Bel was the inventor of sidereal studies, says Pliny.¹ According to Diodorus the Chaldeans surpassed all men in astrology.² Every city had its own sun-god and moon-god, and even in Akkadian times the planets were worshipped. So also the stars. "In the 'Observations of Bel' the stars are already invested with a divine character. The planets are gods like the sun and moon, and the stars have already been identified with certain deities of the official pantheon."³ The identification of the planets with the great gods became a leading feature of Chaldean theology. Hymns to Samas, the sun-god, are numerous; Sin, a male deity like the "Salene" of the Kushan coins, was the moon-god; Ishtar was the goddess of the morning and the evening star; Marduk was associated with the planet Jupiter, Nabu with Mercury, Nergal with Saturn and Mars.⁴ The more the original features of the great gods disappeared, the more astral they became. "The Sabæanism of the people of Harrân in the early centuries of the Christian era was no survival of a primitive faith, but the last echo of the priestly astrology of Babylonia."

(3) Along with the syncretistic and Sabæan divinities of Babylonia, the Mesenian traders brought the cult of a special goddess, who had a fair chance of being naturalized in India. Nanaia, or Queen Nana as she is sometimes termed, is the most conspicuous as well as one of the commonest figures in the Kanishka pantheon. She appears on the best executed and therefore presumably the earliest coins of Kanishka, and she is, with the exception of a related divinity, Ardokhsho, the only foreign deity figured by Vāsudeva. Huvishka kneels before her; he places her beside the Indian Oēsho, and his legend in

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 121.

² Diod. ii, 31.

³ Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 400.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 402. On the whole question v. Sayce, pp. 396-402, and Anz, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

this case bears an Indian title in Greek characters.¹ Nor was the cult of Nanaia entirely confined to the Kushans: the Indo-Scythic Sapaleizes also puts her on his coins.² Now, Nanaia was *par excellence* the great goddess of Elymais. The second book of Maccabees (chap. i, v. 13 ff.), in describing the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to carry off the treasures of her temple, gives her her right name; but Josephus, describing the same event, calls her Artemis,³ and this is the name by which the classical writers usually mention her. She is represented as a sceptred queen, with a crescent on her head and a sword at her side; or, still wearing the crescent, she lets fly an arrow from her bow. In either case the representation was probably borrowed from the Greek Artemis. Her temple was called Azara, and was very famous. "Dianæ templum augustissimum illis gentibus," says Pliny.⁴ The riches of Nanaia's

¹ Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans*, pl. xxiii, fig. 2.

² Cunningham, "Coins of the Sakas, Class C" (reprint), p. 56, and pl. ix, No. 9: *Nun. Chron.*, ser. iii, vol. x.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii, c. 9, § 1. There is a good article on Nana or Nanaia in Roscher's *Lexicon d. Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie*. The goddess of Elymais was a local form of the Babylonian Nana, the goddess of the spontaneous fertility of nature. She was also called Nin-ka-si, "the lady with the horned countenance," and was the wife of Anu, the "spirit of the heavens" (F. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, Eng. trans., p. 149). The lunar character of Nana was therefore always prominent. The chief seat of Anu and Nana worship was at Uruk. Kudur-Nakhunt carried off Nana's image to Susa, and Assurbanipal boasts that he brought it back 1635 years later. Tiglath Pileser in 745 B.C. sacrificed to Nana as the mistress of Babylon. Her fame and her worship extended to Asia Minor, for in late Phrygian and other inscriptions we have various persons who bear her name; and in an inscription of Roman times from the Peiræus, Nana is given as an epithet of Artemis. She had a generic resemblance to Ishtar, Astarte, Anahit, and others, but is not to be confounded with them. In later times, perhaps after the removal of the figure from Susa by Assurbanipal, the fame of the Elamite Nanaia eclipsed that of the Babylonian Nana. Polybius (xxxi-11), Strabo, and others always call the Elamite Nanaia Artemis; Pliny calls her Diana. Gutschmid and Wroth in describing the campaigns of Antiochus Epiphanes and Mithridates I always rightly call her Nanaia.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 135; Strabo, xvi, 744.

shrine awakened the cupidity of kings. Antiochus III lost his life in attempting to rob the Elamite temple of Bel. Antiochus Epiphanes was ignominiously routed in an attack upon the temple of Nanaia. The Parthian Mithridates I, warned by the failures of the Seleucids, led an overwhelming force against the Elymæi, and carried off 10,000 talents, about two millions sterling.¹ Nanaia is occasionally represented as riding on a lion,² and hence, possibly, her association with Oēsho (Śiva), who presides, like Nanaia, over the wild luxuriant growth of the jungles and all that lives in them. She was a goddess with a great personality, and her fame and her worship continued to be great even in Sassanian times. In the Persian martyrologies she is styled "the great goddess of the whole earth".

(4) We have seen that the gold, the rate of exchange, and the deities of Kanishka came from the Mesenians and other traders of the Persian Gulf. From the same quarter he derived his peculiar Greek alphabet. It is remarkable in the first place because it is a cursive script, quite a new thing on the Indian coins. And a most notable feature in it is the use of a letter which was a standing puzzle until Dr. Stein solved the riddle, and proved it to represent the sound *sh*, and to be a variant of the Doric sibilant *san*.³ Now, this very letter reappears on a coin of Characene in the Berlin Museum. The coin is rude; it dates from the middle of the second century A.D., and belongs to a time when the use of Greek had practically, if not wholly, disappeared. I give an illustration of it from

¹ Strabo, xvi, 744: 'Ἀντίοχον μὲν οὖν τὴν μέγαν τὸ τοῦ Βήλου συλῶν ἱερὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντα ἀνείλον ἐπαθέμενοι καθ' αὐτὰν οἱ πλείσιον βάρβαροι. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνῃ συμβάντων παιδεύεσθαι ὁ Παρθυαῖος χρόνος ὥστερον ἀκούων τὰ ἱερὰ πλουσία παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὧν δ' ἀπειθοῦντας, ἐμβάλλει μετὰ θυμῶν μεγάλης, καὶ τό τε τῆς 'Ἀθηναίων ἱερὸν εἶλε καὶ τὸ τῆς 'Ἀρτέμιδος, τὰ 'Ἀζαρα, καὶ ἦρε ταλάντων μυρίων γάζαν. Mac. ii, 1, vv. 13 ff.; Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii, 9, 1; Polyb. xxxi, 11, describe the abortive attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes.

² Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans*, pl. xxii, fig. 19.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, xvii (1888), p. 97.

a cast, to scale about 2.0. Von Sallet says:¹ "Longperier (*Revue*, 1874, pp. 136-43) has published coins now in Paris with the ostensibly certain reading Obodas for the king's name, and the dates ΗΥΥ, ΞΥ, ΗΟΥ, = 458, 460, 478 (A.D. 146-66). Our specimens belong to the same series, but no way confirm Longperier's readings: v. Sallet, *Zeit. f. Num.*, iii, 250 ff., where ΟΒΑΒΣ is wrongly put for ΟΡΑΒΣ." And in the representation of the coin given by von Sallet we have the legend ΒΑC ΟΡΑΒΣ. He also gives two other issues, on which



the Greek is either blundered or unintelligible. Von Sallet then continues: "The king's name is therefore Orabazes or Obodius, not Obodas. The rudeness of these legends, and the complete confusion of the Greek, make certainty impossible" ("Bei der Rohheit dieser Aufschriften und der gänzlichen Verwilderung des Griechischen ist mit Sicherheit nichts zu sagen," p. 216). Von Sallet was writing in 1881, seven years before the value of the ρ had been proved, and he therefore read it as $\rho\eta\omicron$ according to the custom of the time; but he took especial

¹ v. Sallet, "Die Münzen der Könige von Characene": *Zeit. f. Num.*, viii, p. 215, 1881.

care to print correctly what is on the coin, and he shows a ρ , i.e. a *san*. The Greek alphabet, therefore, survived in Characene after the Greek language had died out. But in Kanishka's time the letter ρ , *san*, must have been in common use in Characene; and it was doubtless from Characene that Kanishka's die-engravers got it.¹

How a Dorian alphabet came to be current in those regions is another question. Kanishka could scarcely have derived it from the Cretans who founded the town of Asterusia in Kābul, or from the Achæans who had a colony in Aria, and were apparently numerous in the Far East. This is not probable in itself, nor would it account for the use of the Dorian alphabet in Characene. In the archonship of Euclid, 403 B.C., the Athenians adopted the Ionian alphabet, and all the other states of Hellas followed their example.² An antiquated character such as the Doric *san*, which we find with the value *sh* on the coins of the Kanishka series, can only have survived in outlying regions far from the centres of Greek life. But this was precisely the condition of the Greek traders, mercenaries, and prisoners of war, who had settled in Babylonia in large numbers long before the age of Alexander. We can trace them there as far back as the seventh century B.C. Among these settlers there must have been a considerable number of Peloponnesians and others of Dorian speech. We are also told that certain Arab tribes, although inimical to the Greeks in general, were friendly to the Peloponnesians and Bœotians, who must therefore have been well known to them. The Greeks of Babylonia were given to trade; and traders

¹ The British Museum possesses a coin of this king with the legend $\text{O}\rho\alpha\beta[=]/\text{TAP}[=]\text{P}\rho\text{O}$. I have to thank Mr. Allan, and also Dr. Regling of the Berlin Museum, for casts of these coins. This is not the only service for which I have to thank Mr. Allan. He furnished me with extensive extracts from the catalogue of the find-spots of Greek coins in India which he has under preparation.

² Taylor, *The Alphabet*, ii, p. 49.

are a most conservative body of men, who frequently employ a script more or less peculiar to themselves. Hence, I think, the survival of antiquated forms of the alphabet among the usages of the Greek mercantile class in Babylonia. But all this is a matter of conjecture. What is certain is that Kanishka's alphabet was known in Characene.

III

Kanishka and the decadence of Hellenism in the Far East

The disappearance of Hellenism in the Far East is intimately connected with the problem of Kanishka. Greek was understood, as we have seen, in Kanishka's dominions; Yavanas ruled in Kābul up to, or almost up to, the commencement of the Christian era; a quarter of a century later Alexandropolis in Arachosia was still an autonomous Greek city.¹ If we can determine the time about which Hellenism disappeared in these regions, we have a posterior limit for all theories regarding the date of Kanishka.

The barbarism of the invaders from Central Asia, and the consequent isolation of the Greek colonists, were the main factors in the extinction of Hellenism in the East. Euthydemus had warned Antiochus III that this would be the result if the Greek kingdom of Bactria were destroyed. In this case, said Euthydemus, "neither of them would be safe; seeing that great hordes of nomads were close at hand, who were a danger to both; and that if they admitted them into the country . . . it would be certainly barbarized."²

But although Parthians and Seyths overthrew the rule of the Seleucids and the Greco-Bactrians, the end was long delayed. As long as the Greek cities of Babylonia and Mesopotamia were free, as long as Greek princes ruled in Kābul, Hellenism survived, although moribund. But

¹ Isidore, *Mans. Parth.*

² Polyb. xi, c. 34, trans. Shuckburgh.

its communications with the West were impaired, and immigration had almost entirely ceased. The Arsacids when at the height of their power were Philhellenes; Greek was understood at their courts, and Orodes (57-37 B.C.), for one, patronized the Greek theatre, while Greek was apparently allowed a secondary place in public use alongside the Persian language.¹ But throughout the first century A.D. the Parthians were distracted by internal dissensions, and in a state not far removed from anarchy. At the commencement of the century the rule of the Greek princes of Kābul was extinguished. The degradation of the legends on the coins,² and the degeneracy of the pottery in Babylonia,³ reveal the growing barbarism of the time. If we can determine when Hellenism became extinct in Seleucia, which was the centre of Greek life, we may be sure that it had already disappeared in the remoter provinces.

Now, the history of Seleucia is fairly well known. From A.D. 36 to A.D. 43 it was in a state of revolt from the Parthians. Tacitus describes it at that time as a "civitas potens, septa muris, neque in barbarum corrupta, sed conditoris Seleuci retinens".⁴ And still later the elder Pliny speaks of it as "libera hodie, ac sui juris Macedonumque moris".⁵ Its sack by Trajan in A.D. 117 was the beginning of the end. In A.D. 165 the generals of L. Verus again sacked and burnt it down on account of the alleged treachery of the inhabitants.⁶ What remained was destroyed by Septimius Severus (A.D. 198) when he took Ctesiphon on the opposite bank of the Tigris. Only the suburb of Coche was left, to become in after times the seat of the Nestorian Maphrian,

¹ Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. trans., ii, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*

³ "With the Parthian period the decadence of the pottery manufacture is marked" (Peters, *Nippur*, ii, p. 396).

⁴ Tacitus, *Ann.*, vi, 48.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 122.

⁶ Capitolinus, *L. Verus*, c. 8.

and the meeting-place for various Oriental ecclesiastical councils.

But barbarism had set its mark on Seleucia long before Trajan sacked it. The Greeks were a mere handful among a population of 600,000. The Adeiganes¹ who formed the Council of Three-hundred, were called by a name which has not been explained, but which is certainly not Greek. The number of Greeks of pure descent must have been very few; the great majority were half-breeds; and we meet with Greek and Babylonian names in the same family.² The Parthians were jealous of communications, political or commercial, between their Greek subjects and the subjects of the Roman Empire.³ Polybius has told us what he thought of the native Greeks, the "mean whites" of Alexandria;⁴ and the Greeks of Seleucia were in much worse case. By the middle of the first century of the Christian era, isolation and the prevailing anarchy began to tell. On the coins of Gotarzes (A.D. 41-51) we meet with exactly the same grammatical blunder which we have seen in the legends of Kanishka: ΒΑC[Ι]ΛΕΥC ΒΑC[Ι]ΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΕΛΚΟΝ VOC [*sic* = *víos*] ΚΕΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟC ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΝ ΓΩΤΕΡΖΗC.⁵ The Greek on the coins of his rival, Vardanes I (A.D. 41-5), is sometimes

¹ Polyb. v, 54. Polybius says the magistrates of Seleucia were so called.

² e.g. Antipater is the father of Anu-ahe-iddin, and Diocles the son of Anu-uballit-su; v. Anz, *Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, p. 62, n. 1, where the authorities are cited.

³ Even the Chinese complained that the Parthians prevented them from direct intercourse with Syria (Chavannes, *Les pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han Chou*, p. 39). Herodian, iv, 10, says that the fabrics and spices which came through Parthia, and the metals, etc., exported from Rome, were the subject of a "secret and illicit traffic". Under the Sassanians the trade was jealously regulated.

⁴ Polyb. xxxiv, 14: "A personal visit to Alexandria filled me with disgust." Regarding the "mean whites" he says: "Though they are now a mongrel race, yet they were originally Greek, and have retained some recollection of Greek principles."

⁵ Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, p. 163 [*Catalogue of Greek Coins in the B.M.*].

scarcely intelligible.¹ Gotarzes' successor, Volageses I (A.D. 51-78), commences the use of bilingual legends. After Trajan's sack of Seleucia bilingual legends became the rule; and before the end of the second century A.D. the Greek of the coins is often barbarous or unintelligible.²

What happened at Seleucia happened at an earlier date in the surrounding districts. The autonomous Greek city of Artemita, some 36 miles from Seleucia, had also an Aramaic name, "Chalasar," by the beginning of the Christian era.³ In Characene Greek rapidly disappeared. We have seen that at the commencement of the first century A.D. Mesene possessed two Greek writers of distinction.⁴ The Greek on the coins of Attambelus I (29 or 27 B.C. - A.D. 5) is good; after that it deteriorates. Attambelus II (A.D. 51-60) is the last to use Greek legends which are always intelligible, and his coins are rude. After him the coins of these kings become rare, and the metal is debased. On the coins of Theouneses (A.D. 109-19) the legends are incomplete. I have already mentioned the barbaric coins of Oshabazes (A.D. 146-66). From A.D. 138, according to Drouin, we have Aramaic legends, and the Greek letters become a mere jumble.⁵ In the case of the Arsacid coins also, Aramaic inscriptions are habitual from the reign of Mithridates IV (c. A.D. 130-47). The use of Greek, which had long been declining, must have ceased in lower Babylonia and Characene by the end of the first quarter of the second century. After that only its alphabet and its memory remained. In Seleucia it probably lasted a little, but not much, longer. Trajan's sack of the city must have been especially fatal to the Greek

¹ Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, p. 156, n. 2.

² *Op. cit.*, p. lxxvii.

³ Isidore, *Man. Parth.*

⁴ One of these, Isidore, understood Aramaic, for he occasionally gives in Greek the translation of an Aramaic word, e.g. he translates *φάληρα* by *μεταπώριον*.

⁵ v. Sallet, *Zeit. f. Num.*, viii, pp. 212 ff., 1881; Drouin, *Rev. Num.*, iii^{me} série, vii, pp. 211 ff., 1889.

magistracy, the Adeiganes, and to the Hellenic class in general. Henceforward Ctesiphon, which had long been the rival of Seleucia, took its place.¹

Yavanas were to be found all over the North-Western Provinces of India as far as Mathurā and the Jamnā; but their chief seats were in the Rāwal Pinḍi District, Kābul, and Arachosia; also in Kāthiāwār and the region of the lower Indus. We have seen that Greek kings held Kābul to the end of the first century B.C. It is possible that Greek princes also ruled in the maritime districts about the Indus delta until the Indo-Parthians took the country;² but this is a point on which we are ignorant. During the first half of the following century (A.D. 1-50) the Indo-Parthians made themselves masters of a great part of the Yavana country, Arachosia, Kābul, and the Indus Valley; and the Greek of their coins is good. Hermæus, the friend and ally of Kozoulo Kadphises, was the last Greek prince-ling in Kābul. His portrait proves him to have been a degenerate.³ His queen Calliope, however, may have been a pure Greek, possibly a slave-girl like Musa Urania whom Augustus presented to Phraates IV (38-2 B.C.). We have no portrait of her; and we merely know that she follows a Western fashion in the name which she assumes.⁴ Thus, up to the middle of this century there are indications, though slight ones, that some communications with the

¹ Doubtless the use of Greek lingered among individual families long after it had ceased in the bazars, but the only instance I am acquainted with is John the Persian, "Bishop of the Church throughout Persia and Great India," who attended the Council of Nicaea and signs his name in Greek. Nothing else is known about him. *Ἰωάννης Πέρσης τῆς ἐν Περσίᾳ πάσης καὶ μεγάλῃ Ἱερέα*. But John was a Christian and subject to the Patriarch of Antioch, and need not have learnt Greek in Persia at all.

² The legends in the Mahābhārata seem to indicate that this was the case.

³ "Le dernier des rois grecs, Hermæus porte les traces visibles de la caducité de sa race; sa face blême et émaciée est bien celle du rejeton dégénéré d'un pouvoir appelé de disparaître" (Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens* etc., p. 71).

⁴ Wroth, *op. cit.*, pp. xl-i.

larger world of Hellenism still existed, and that Greek was understood. On the other hand, the Hellenic element was evidently being submerged. It must be remembered that all the silver coinage—the coinage for use in the local bazars—was bilingual; that the Greek on some of Kanishka's coins was already ungrammatical; that the Yavanas, with scarcely an exception, were mongrels by birth; and that those of them who appear in inscriptions bear native names;¹ that, moreover, the Yavanas were as mixed a race as the modern Goanese—slaves and adherents of every sort who had adopted Greek ways being included in their number, so that we hear of white and black Yavanas, like the white and black Jews of Cochin: if we remember all this, we shall not be inclined to rate the Hellenic ethos of these Yavanas very highly.

When the traders from the Persian Gulf ceased to speak Greek, and the last of the Greek princes ceased to rule, the isolation of the Yavanas was complete. After the time of Hermæus, the bilingual coins of the later Indo-Parthians, of Kozoulo Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, and of Nahapāna, are the only proof we have that Greek was understood. These coins carry us down to the end of the first and the beginning of the second century A.D. But Nahapāna's legends show how the Greek alphabet was becoming confounded with the Roman, and was fast falling into disuse.² Probably the Greek merchants of Barygaza who used the coins of Apollodotus and Menander in the time of the *Periplus*, were the last of the Yavanas who had any knowledge of Greek, or spoke it as a living language. After this time the Greek of the coins is meaningless imitation.

The disappearance of Greek as a spoken language about this time is negatively proved by three contemporary or nearly contemporary witnesses. The author of the

¹ The only exception is a certain Theodore in the Kaldarra inscription of the year 113 (A.D. 56).

² Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 1041 ff.

Periplus visited India between A.D. 80 and 100.¹ *Kan Ying* made his celebrated journey to Mesene in A.D. 97, and he passed through India, Kābul, and Arachosia on his way. Ptolemy, who wrote his Geography about the middle of the second century A.D., had an excellent knowledge of the country west of the Jamnā, derived from his native informants in Alexandria. None of the three mention the Greeks or the use of the Greek language; yet it would have been of particular interest to Ptolemy, or the merchant-mariner of the *Periplus*, had they heard of such a thing. It is scarcely possible that the author of the *Periplus*, who mentions a handful of Greeks at Socotra, and tells us that Greek was understood at Adule and spoken by the Abyssinian king, should have failed to mention the existence of a Greek community or the use of the Greek language, in India, had he ever heard of it.

Apart from the theories which assign a second century date to Kanishka, the only evidence I have seen alleged for any later survival of Greek is the evidence of Apollonius of Tyana, as given by Philostratus. Philostratus was a professional rhetorician who deliberately dressed up the most marvellous of all the lives of Apollonius current in his day, as he himself tells us, to suit the taste of the Athenian dilettanti. But assuming his Apollonius to be a credible witness (which he is not), Apollonius' Indian journey was made when he was between 40 and 50 years of age, that is to say, in the reign of Claudius or Nero. He therefore proves nothing. And we learn from Philostratus himself that Apollonius' companion and biographer, Damis "the Assyrian", wrote very unliterary Greek.

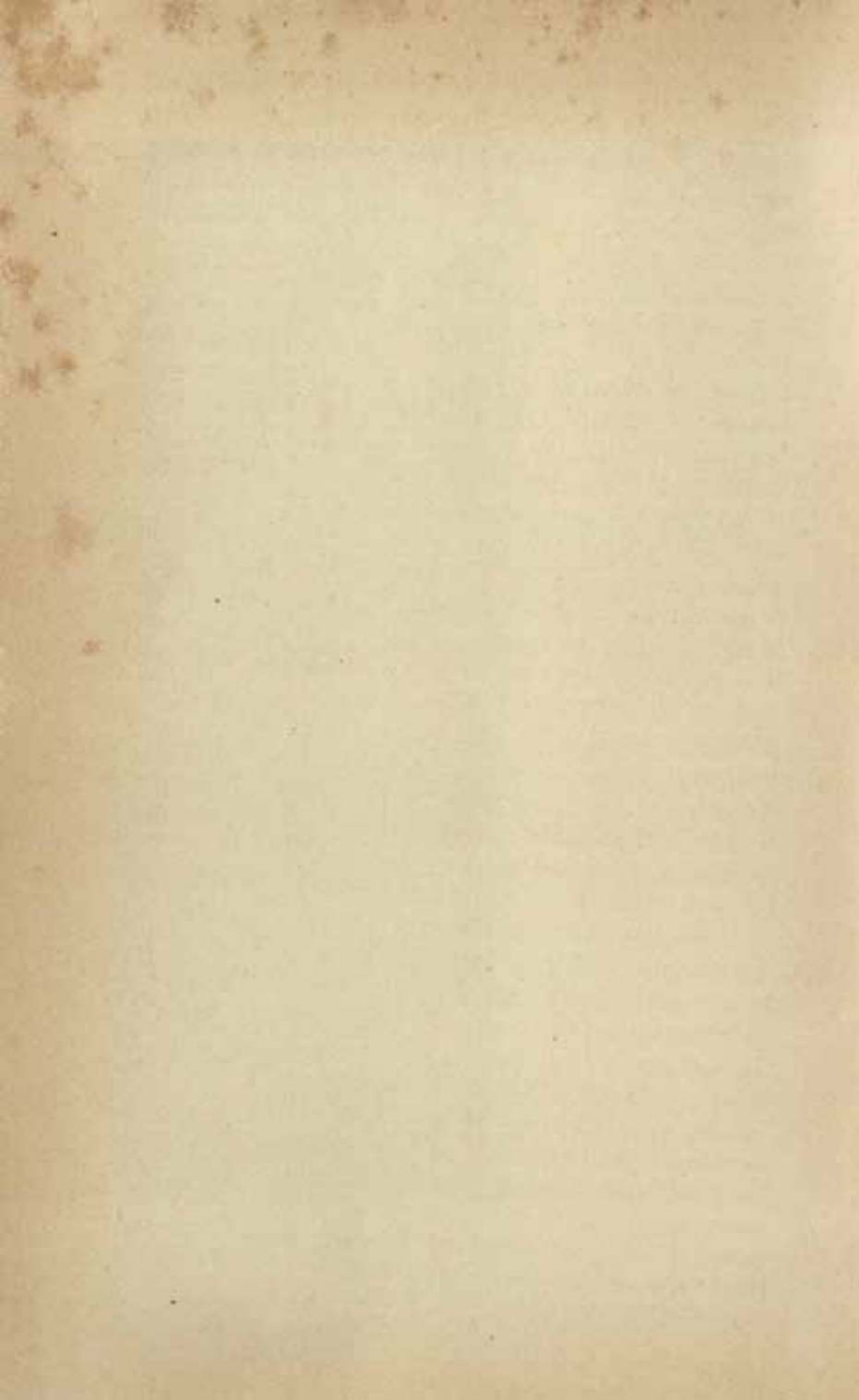
I conclude, then, that the use of Greek died out in Northern India before the commencement of the second century A.D. Now, if Kanishka and his successor reigned in that century, how came they to issue coins with Greek legends only? Or by what miracle had Greek

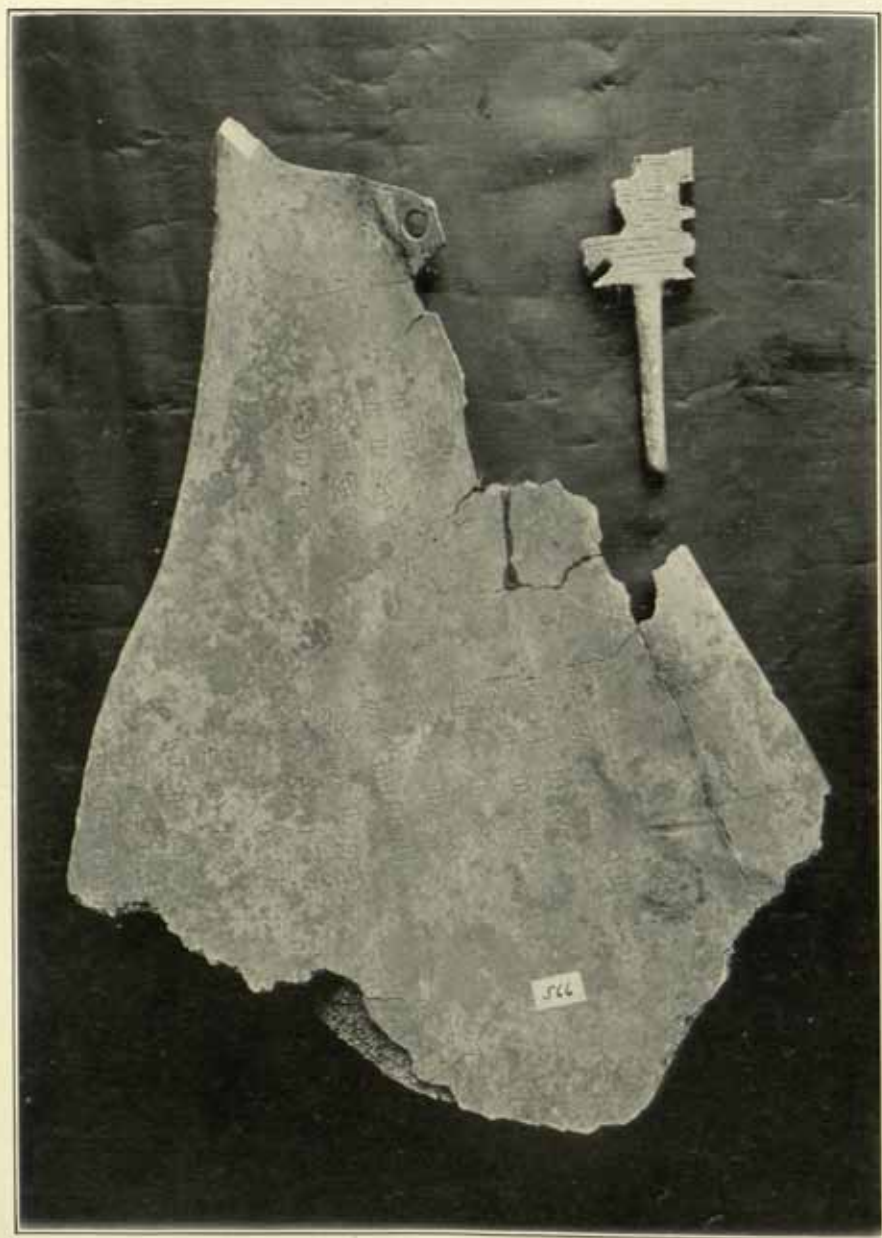
¹ See p. 987 above, n. 1.

survived in the bazars of Taxila and Sāgala long after it had disappeared everywhere else in the East beyond the Euphrates, with the exception of the Roman province of Osroëne? The survival of Hellenism is a necessary presumption of any theory regarding Kanishka.

Thus our three lines of inquiry all lead to the same result. We have direct evidence that a Kushan dynasty reigned in Northern India while the Yavanas were masters of Kābul; that dynasty must therefore have been anterior to the conquest of Kābul by Kozoulo Kadphises in the middle of the first century A.D. I have shown how the peculiarities of Kanishka's coinage are due to the silk trade between India and the Persian Gulf, which sprang up in the first century B.C. Lastly, there is no evidence whatever to prove that Greek was spoken in the Panjāb in the second century of our era, and very strong evidence to the contrary. We have also seen that from the time of Wema Kadphises to the Guptas Northern India was ruled by Tochāri viceroys who became independent of the Bactrian Kushans. By restoring Kanishka to his proper place in the middle of the first century B.C., we obtain a glimpse of the events which preceded and followed his rise—the break up of the Greek kingdom of Menander into a number of petty Greek and Scythic states; their overthrow by Kanishka in the Panjāb and the upper valley of the Indus; the re-conquest of the greater part of this region by the Indo-Parthians and their Śāka allies; the extinction of the Greek kings of Kābul; and the ultimate conquest of Kābul and the Panjāb by Kozoulo Kadphises and his son.

Long ago, in an upland monastery of the Himālayas surrounded by bleak hills and snow-capped mountains, the Buddhist monks held religious exercises to invoke the powerful aid, or still the restless soul, or whatever represented the soul, of Kanishka. Modern scholars will be thankful now that his ghost is laid.





Inscribed Bone with pin (detached) from Honan Province.

XXVII

A FUNERAL ELEGY AND A FAMILY TREE INSCRIBED ON BONE

By L. C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.

THE inscribed bone-fragment illustrated in the accompanying plates forms part of my collection, and was discovered among the large find of similar objects unearthed in 1899 in the province of Honan, North China. It is one of the larger pieces, measuring in its greatest length 10 inches by $7\frac{1}{4}$ at its broadest. The bone is part of the shoulder-blade of some domesticated animal apparently, and among the peculiarities it presents is the fact that at its extreme upper edge it has been pierced by a neatly bored round hole to admit a bone pin 3 inches long, shown detached in the plates. The shaft of this pin is inscribed on one side with six characters, while the flat and rather elaborate head has archaic decoration on both sides. The purpose of the pin is not easy to determine, but I suggest that it may have been to fasten together the present bone and a second fragment similarly pierced, forming "page" 2 of this osseous document, which may have contained a further instalment of the text. If so, this second page is not now forthcoming.

As will be seen, the inscription contains four separate paragraphs, or three if, as seems to be the case, the six characters on the pin-shaft form the opening clause of the uppermost legend. On the extreme right of the shoulder-blade are two vertical lines of writing in small type, numbering thirteen characters complete, and one broken. Though only nine of these can yet be transcribed into modern forms, the legends, for the second is a repetition of the first, exhibit a formula frequently occurring on other bone-fragments, which consists of the professional

diviner's note of the date, nature, and probably the result of the inquiry put to him by the king or 王, *wang*, who presumably was the reigning sovereign of Chou.

On the shaft of the pin are 6 characters, and on the upper surface of the bone 12 more, ranged in four vertical columns of 3 characters each, 18 in all, if the two portions on the pin and on the bone are taken together as suggested above. A blank space 2 inches wide, containing only the time-cycle couplet 甲寅, *chia yin*, follows below. And lastly comes a legend of 56 characters disposed in fourteen vertical rows, of which the first has 2 characters only, the second 6, and all the rest 4 apiece.

These three separate paragraphs make up a composite document of a remarkable nature, combining a diviner's memorandum, a funeral elegy, and a Royal pedigree, forms of literature we should hardly have expected to find in association, even on a bone.

Difficulties of decipherment and interpretation are naturally not wanting, as will be seen immediately, but we may reasonably conclude that the separate paragraphs have a common concern in the death of a certain "lamented younger brother", whose character is briefly but optimistically surveyed on the upper half of the bone, and whose lineage is traced, probably in part only, on the lower half. Who this younger brother was raises an interesting question of early Chinese history.

Let us proceed to take the three paragraphs of the inscription in order, and come to close quarters with their contents in detail.

1. The diviner's memorandum. This consisted originally of a formula of eight characters, repeated twice, except that the first two characters, forming a time-cycle couplet, were probably, as in similar instances elsewhere on these bones, varied, implying some professional proceeding carried through on more than one date. Of the upper group of characters, the first and second have been broken



Part of Inscribed Bone from Honan Province.

away, as has part of the fifth. The lower group is complete, but the sixth and eighth characters, though of frequent occurrence on these relics, cannot yet be deciphered. Both are included in the list of unknown characters reproduced by Lo Chên-yü on p. 21 of his pamphlet the *Yin Hsi Shu Ch'i*. With regard to the seventh character, Lo evidently considers it to be the negative, 亡, *wang* or *wu*. But Mr. Chalfant has satisfied himself and me (until lately) that this symbol stands for 兆, *chao*, omen. The following, therefore, is the imperfect translation of the formula, an asterisk standing for an unknown character: "On the day *Kuei ssü* inquiry by divination was made as to a Royal *? omen *." As noted in my paper on Chinese Writing in the Chou Dynasty, in the October number of the *Journal* for 1911, Explanation to Plate VI, the character 子, *tsü*, here stands for 巳, *ssü*.

2. The funeral elegy, comprising the characters on the pin, and what I submit is their continuation on the upper part of the main bone. The difficulties met with here do not arise from lack of legibility, nor, except in one instance, from our inability to equate the characters with their modern representatives. What the difficulties are will be easier seen if I here add the text in modern guise, but punctuated as I suppose it to run—

祖 甲 子 曰 桑 弟 弟 曰 清 貞, 曰 靜 心, 曰 安 *, 曰 正.

It is the first six characters which present the most uncertainty and provoke the most interest, as will immediately be seen. Noting as a preliminary that the words 甲 子, *chia tsü*, form the first of the sixty time-cycle couplets, but that the context shows such a construction to be impossible here, we come to the main occasion of doubt in the ambiguous character 曰, *yueh*. This word, as is known, may mean either "to say", or "to be said, or esteemed, to be". In all but one of the remaining numerous examples of its use on this relic, it has the latter sense. Has it also in this first instance?

Let us put it to the test. If it has, the passage would then open thus: "The son of Tsu Chia was called Mulberry." This is a curious name, but that it was in use is shown by the genealogy published by Mr. R. L. Hobson and myself in the April number of *Man*, under the title "A Royal Relic of Ancient China". Translating thus, we are then left with the single word *ti*, younger brother. Now, we cannot be left indefinitely with someone's younger brother on our hands, but must bring him into touch with some other part of the text, preferably the nearest part on the upper half of the bone. The awkward repetition of *ti* may probably be explained by taking the second *ti* as a mere catchword, necessitated by the physical separation between this part of the text and the lowest point of the pin, and indicating where the reader is to resume. On this assumption, the passage will continue, "The younger brother was called (i.e. was) pure and steadfast," etc., as rendered below. The objection to this rendering of the 曰, *yueh*, occurring on the pin, is that in a laudatory statement concerning a younger brother, the naming of his elder brother, as an opening clause, seems somewhat pointless and superfluous. If, then, we take the alternative sense of the character *yueh* as "to say", we should read, "The son of Tsu Chia said, 'My lamented younger brother was pure and steadfast, was quiet in mind, was peaceable and *, was upright'."

Such a rendering, however, requires the character 桑, *sang*, mulberry, to be taken as though 喪, *sang*, to lament, had been written, and this may be thought an unjustified violence to the text. But in the first place, *sang*, to lament, in its oldest variants was much closer to the form in the present text than its modern version would suggest, and appears to have been written with *sang*, mulberry, plus 亡, *wang*, to die. Further, the two words *sang*, mulberry, and *sang*, to lament, are homophones, and the constant interchange of homophonous characters in the

older bronze inscriptions is well known to the native writers on these subjects, and explains the need felt by the earlier Chinese schoolmen for constituting a special class, the Chia Chieh, or borrowed characters, to admit them among the traditional Six Scripts. We need, then, have little hesitation in adopting the proposed reading.

The unknown character standing third from the end of the paragraph is also noticed in Lo Chên-yü's recent book quoted above, where he cites on p. 9 a similar form from a bronze. This latter example is also quoted by Wu Ta-ch'êng in his *Shuo Wên Ku Chou Pu*, among the unknown forms of his Additional Section, p. 20, with the remark that he suspects it to be two characters, not one. In this he is mistaken, as the alignment of the paragraph into four columns of three characters each clearly shows.

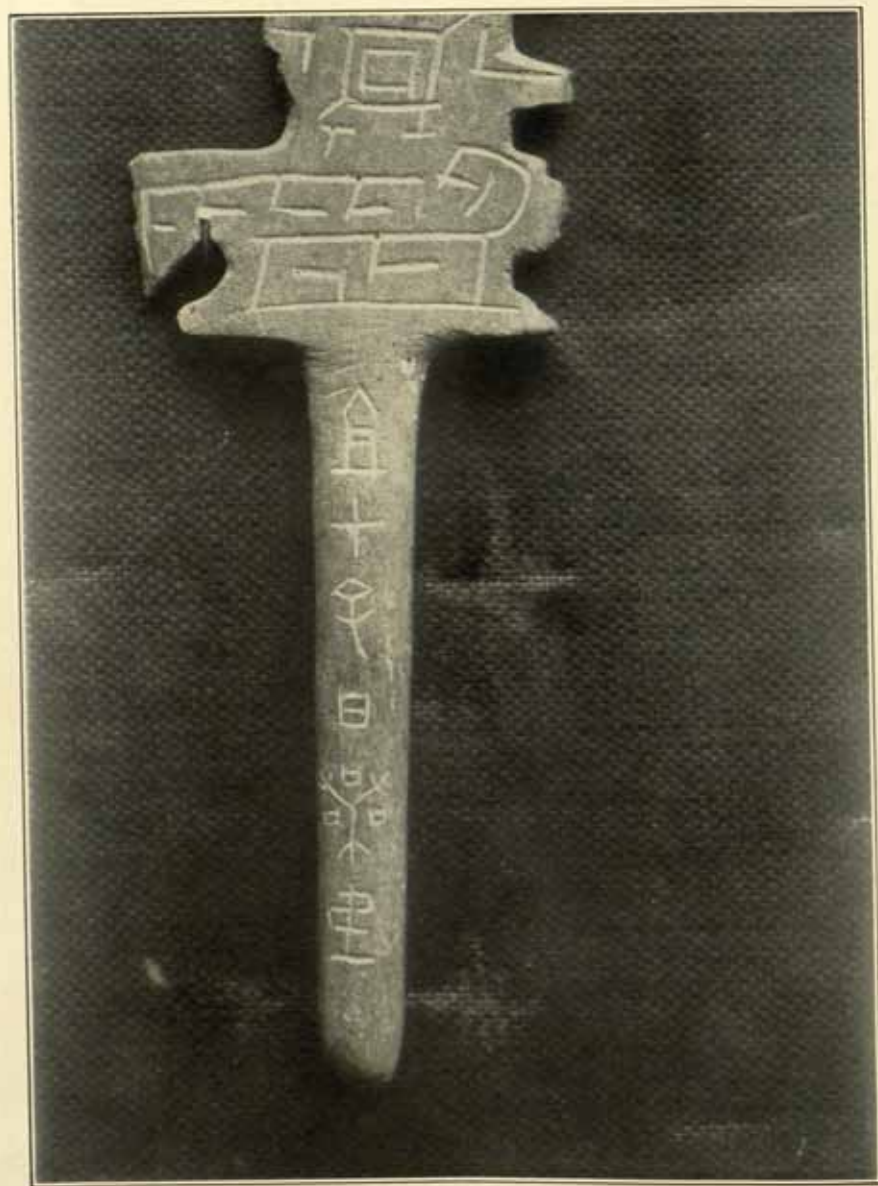
But these details are of less interest than the question raised by the first and second characters on the pin. The words *Tsu chia*, or Ancestor Chia, are, in the first place, a mode of designating an individual ancestor as one of an ordinal series, and thereby avoiding the mention of his tabooed personal name. *Tsu chia* is thus as much as to say "Ancestor First" or "Ancestor A". This practice is constant on bronzes, where we find the members of the series of the Ten Stems coupled not only with the word Ancestor, but equally with *Fu*, father, and *Mu*, mother. So far, then, we might regard the Ancestor Chia of our bone as a term applicable to an indefinite number of individuals. But the matter is complicated by the fact that the historical titles of five of the sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty are composed of just such combinations of the word Ancestor with one of the Ten Stems. Thus we find *Tsu I*, *Tsu Hsin*, *Tsu Ting*, *Tsu Kêng*, and *Tsu Chia*, the last ruling from B.C. 1258 to 1225.

The Chinese authors Liu T'ieh-yün and Lo Chên-yü are convinced that such couplets, as well as others of

a similar kind, when occurring on these bones refer to the Shang Dynasty sovereigns bearing such designations, and their view is approved by M. Chavannes. For my own part, I do not yet feel assured of the correctness of this conclusion. But assuming its accuracy, this bone must be of much historical interest as a relic recording the funeral elegy, and apparently the family pedigree of a younger son of the Shang Dynasty ruler, Tsu Chia.

But our fragment has another claim upon the attention of students of Chinese antiquity, inasmuch as it appears to furnish what must be the earliest extant example of a *lei*, 誄, or "funeral eulogy", of which, as De Groot shows, the modern representative is the 墓誌銘, *mu chih ming*. In the last-named writer's great work, *The Religious System of China*, vol. iii, pp. 1122 et seqq., will be found a full account of the "funeral eulogies in ancient China", from which I transcribe the following: "Placing eulogistic biographies, engraved in stone, in the graves of the dead is by no means a custom of modern times. The common opinion in China, apparently well-founded and supported by documentary evidence, is that it dates from high antiquity, being based upon a usage, frequently mentioned in the Classics, of making eulogies to glorify the dead." Again, on the same page, De Groot writes, "In all the works composed during the reign of the Cheu dynasty, funeral eulogies are denoted by the character 誄, nowadays pronounced *lei*. Like the *ming*, or eulogies proper, on the present *mo-chi-ming*, they were composed of a few lines only; and their commendatory character apparently consisted in that they expressed the profound grief felt by the survivors, because of the departure of the defunct. They were, in fact, short elegiac encomiums, eulogistic death-dirges."

Once more, on p. 1124, he says: "At Imperial funerals during the Han dynasty they also served this purpose. They were called at that time 'elegiac bamboo



Inscribed Bone Pin from Honan Province.

slips' [哀策, *ai ts'ê*], being no doubt scratched or written on bamboo, the usual writing material of those times."

Must we not now recognize fragments of bone as the cruder and more primitive predecessors of bamboo and stone burial records?

3. The last and longest legend is a genealogy, presumably that of the Royal line of which the deceased was a scion, and may be compared with the similar document published in the April number of *Man*, under the title "A Royal Relic of Ancient China", by Mr. R. L. Hobson and myself. The text opens with the two words 貞曰, *chêng yueh*, "The inquiry says," a rather puzzling phrase for the first words of what is a declaratory statement of family descent. The third character is as yet unfortunately doubtful, though it is just possible it may be 興, *hsing*, to begin, to raise. Very few of the personal names forming the last character of one line and the first of the next, can be assigned to their modern shapes, and I have therefore used letters of the alphabet to represent them in the English rendering that follows the modern text given below, where their places are taken by asterisks.

貞曰 * 首 徙 祖 曰 * * 子 曰 * * 子 曰 * * 子
曰 * * 子 曰 姝 姝 弟 曰 * * 子 曰 * * 子 曰 * *
子 曰 * * 子 曰 * * 弟 曰 * * 子 曰 * * 子 曰 *
"The inquiry says * the first removal the ancestor was
named A, A's son was named B, B's son was named C,
C's son was named D, D's son was named Mei, Mei's
younger brother was named E, F's [*sic*] son was named G,
G's son was named H, H's son was named I, I's son was
named J, J's younger brother was named K, K's son
was named L, L's son was named M."

The third character of the second column of the original inscription is an interesting one, and has escaped Lo Chên-yü's deciphering eye. It is fairly frequent on the bones with slight variations, in which the upper right-hand element often appears to be 戈 *kuo*, halberd. But

comparison of all the forms seems to show that this component is an older phase of 𠂔, *i*, the reversed form of 身, *shén*, body, and part of the character 殷, *Yin*, the later name of the Shang dynasty. The traditional sense of this obsolete word *i* is "to return", 歸, *kuei*, in which character also the left-hand half is only another variation of this same element *i*, as appears plainly in the Bushell Bowl inscription, character No. 486. Such a graphic element, indicating the body turned round, would be very intelligible in a compound figure formed to give a written shape to a word meaning to move or shift, which is the sense of 徙, *hsi*, and the remark applies equally to such a character as *kuei*, to return.

The last character of column 4 (and the first of column 5), I suspect, is 齒, *ch'ih*, teeth. The last of column 6 is also a very interesting character. It would seem to be an animal form, as to which I have certain dark suspicions. It is noteworthy for the unabbreviated and minute cross-hatching of the upper part.

The last character of column 8 suggests 馬, *ma*, horse, but the absence of the usual three strokes on the neck for the mane makes this a little doubtful, though Lo Chên-yü, on p. 7 of his pamphlet above quoted, includes seven maneless forms among those he attributes to *ma*. Column 11 shows clearly some cervine beast, but hornless, as Lo also points out on p. 22. Possibly it depicts a hind. In column 12 we have another animal form with a long, plain tail suggesting a rat.

As already mentioned, the genealogy may not be complete.

Altogether, I think it will be agreed that this broken shoulder-blade is a curious and notable document.

XXVIII

A CUNEIFORM TABLET FROM BOGHHAZ KEUI WITH DOCKET IN HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS

By THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

AMONG the fragmentary tablets from Boghaz Keui which are in my possession is one with a docket attached to it in Hittite hieroglyphs (No. I). It is the first evidence yet discovered of the contemporaneity of the hieroglyphs and cuneiform, and I therefore give a facsimile of it in spite of its very fragmentary nature. The cuneiform characters were, as usual, impressed upon the clay prior to its being baked in the kiln; the docket was cut after the clay had been baked. As will be seen, the tablet is dated in the reign of Arnuandas, the last king of the Hittite empire.

The cuneiform text reads as follows:—

No. I

- . . . of gold (and) cedar-wood . . .
- . . . 2 sheep made of gold in front (*pannis*) . . .
- . . . *li* a lion made of gold . . .

Second tablet (which) I have compiled for
Arnuanda(s) . . .

the Hittite [king]: the contents of the treasury.

The tablet was the second of a series containing an inventory of the treasures in the royal palace. The Hittite words which I have translated "I have compiled" are *ûl qati*: *ûl* is the particle used elsewhere before the perfect tense of the verb, and *qati* is found in *The Tablet from Yuzgat*, p. 47 (IM-GID-DA *qati*, "a tablet I have compiled"), *Rev.* 13 ("I have compiled the *mugauwas* (dues) of the goddess Telibinus"), as well as in other passages where it must mean "I have compiled", "written", or "registered".

The adjective "Hittite" here appears as *Khati-qi-s*. "Contents" is the borrowed Assyrian *u-nu-ut*. The word for "Treasury" is written É-TAG-AB, but AB must be intended for the similarly formed DUB of the preceding line, TAG-DUB being "seal". "The House of the Seal" or "Sealing" will be the Treasury.

The hieroglyphic docket would have been added by the Treasurer or other official who was responsible for the safe keeping of the royal treasures. He has written it after the style of a Hittite seal on which the characters are arranged in a circle. The first word is represented by the two boots, which the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions show to signify "in front of", "before", and to have the phonetic value of *miami*. The boar's head seems to be the same as the boar's head with the tongue hanging out which we find on the monuments of Carchemish, where it is the equivalent of *kanis*, "minister," "vicegerent." Hence the docket would appear to mean "presented to the (royal) official".

I add here some more fragments in my possession which were found along with No. I.

No. II

1. . . . za-ki-wa-an ba-akh-khi

.

2. . . . LUGAL an-da-an u-it

. . . the king them (?) delivers

3. . . . SAL LUGAL a-na AN X

. . . the queen to the god Hadad (and)

AN Khe-be

the god Khebe

4. . . . DIN-ya ne-bi-is

. . . my (?) life . . .

5. . . . TIR-MES an-na-za-gan

. . . forests then (?)

6. . . . GA VII LU KI-ya
 . . . a milk-bowl (and) 7 sheep along with me
7. . . . AN Khe-be I GA VII LU
 . . . [to] the god Khebe 1 milk-bowl (and) 7 sheep
 AM-SI
 . . .
8. . . . AN UT AN-E bi-ikh-khi
 . . . the Sun-god of heaven . . .

For *uit*, which occurs in the Arzawan tablet, see JRAS., 1909, p. 977. The god Khebe is the Kheba of the name of the king of Jerusalem, Ebed-Kheba, in the Tel el-Amarna tablets; in the Mitannian name Tadu-khipa it appears with *p* for *b*.

Nebis in l. 4 is a participle in the nominative. *Gan* in l. 5 may be the ideograph of "garden". The vocalic difference between *bakkkhi* and *bikkkhi* is interesting. Both words appear to be imperatives, but they may be in the 1st person singular of the past tense. In the second Arzawan tablet Labbaya writes—

nu-san kha-an-da-an am-me-el QAR-TAB-ya
 To him the head (?) like a groom

sa-an-khi-is tu-si na-ta u-ul im-ma
 inclining (?) I lowered (?); thereupon verily now (?)

bi-ikh-khi bi-ikh-khi-it-ta
 . . . thy . . .

The word possibly means "to pay a due". We find SAG-DU-an-da in one of the Liverpool tablets; hence *khanda* may signify "head".

The participle *sankhis* occurs in YUZGAT, *Obv.* 21-5, where we read—

21. AN IM-as AN UT-i bi-i-e-it i-id-din-wa
 Sandes to the Sun-god a temple has given, and
 AN UT-un u-wa-te-it . . .
 the Sun-god has addressed . . .

22. pa-a-ir AN UT-un sa-an-khi-es BIT-zi
 . . . the Sun-god bringing-down to the temple:
 na-an u-ul u-e-mi-ya . . .
 "It verily I have prepared (?) . . ."
23. AN IM-sa te-iz-zi nu-wa-ra-an ku-it
 To Sandes' words answer he has made:
 kha-an-da u-ul u-e-mi-ya . . .
 "The head (i.e. myself) verily I have made ready . . ."
24. . . . -sa-wa am-me-el tu-e-ig-ga-as mi-e-es
 in place of the . . . my . . . s
 a-a-an-ta . . .
25. . . . -sa-wa ku-wa-bi khur-ak-ta nu
 in addition to the . . . for
 AN Za-ma-ma-an bi-i-e-it . . .
 the god Zamama a temple [I have given]."

A comparison of passages in which the words are found has made it plain that *kuwabi* signifies "more", "in addition to", and *ammel* or *ammella* "in place of", "like". Thus in the first Arzawa letter we have: (19) AMEL *kha-lu-ga-tal-la-at-ti-in am-me-el-la* AMEL *kha-lu-ga-tal-la-an* EGIR-pa *khat-ra-a khu-u-da-ak*, "like thy messenger, the messenger (who has come), after the former one dismiss."

No. III

1. ka-kha-a-an ya-akh-tu-ul . . .
 2. ak-kha-a-an IS-KUR-RA taq-qa . . .
 3. ak-kha-a-an ka-a-an li-[ku-ut] . . .
-
4. u taq-qa in-ta-a ta . . .
 5. li-ku-u-ut kha-li-is kha-a . . .
 6. ta-ba-ar-na li-ku-ut . . .
-
7. GAZ-ku ku-wa-bi da-a-i . . .
 8. [P]ASSUR da-a I . . .
 9. . . . ma (?) a-na AN U . . .

In l. 2 IS-KUR-RA would signify "dust of the mountain". *Taqqa* is probably an adverb.

In ll. 3, 5, 6 *likut* seems to be the 3rd pers. sing. of a verb.

In l. 6 *tabarna* is a word met with in the tablets published by Winckler, for which Messerschmidt has suggested the signification of "edict".

Line 7 reads "in addition to the sacrifice I have set . . ." The suffix *ku* could also be read *ma* or even *ba*.

Lines 8 and 9 are "Place a bronze dish", "to the god Hadad".

COLOPHON

1. DUB I-kam qa-ti ma-a-an
The first tablet I have compiled (of the series): This
zi (?) . . .

2. DAN-GA te-it-khi-es ki . . .
the mighty one . . . ing . . .

3. nu AMEL AN U SAL-MES AN i-ya . . .
for the man of the god and the women of the god I . . .

No. IV

[wa]-jakh-khu tag-ga . . .
wa-akh-khu tag-ga . . .

GUD QAR-QAR

A labouring (?) ox

QAR-QAR

the work (?)

AN-KAL

of the colossus-bull.

What the meaning of the final note may be I must leave to others to discover. QAR-QAR probably denotes skilled labour or something of the sort; thus in a fragment in my possession we have: AMEL QAR-QAR SAM *du-ug-ga nu me-mi-i* AMEL-MES PASSUR PASSUR-MES

In l. 7 read *sa-an-khir*, as in JRAS., 1909, p. 971. *Sa-an-khi-is* must be read in l. 11 below.

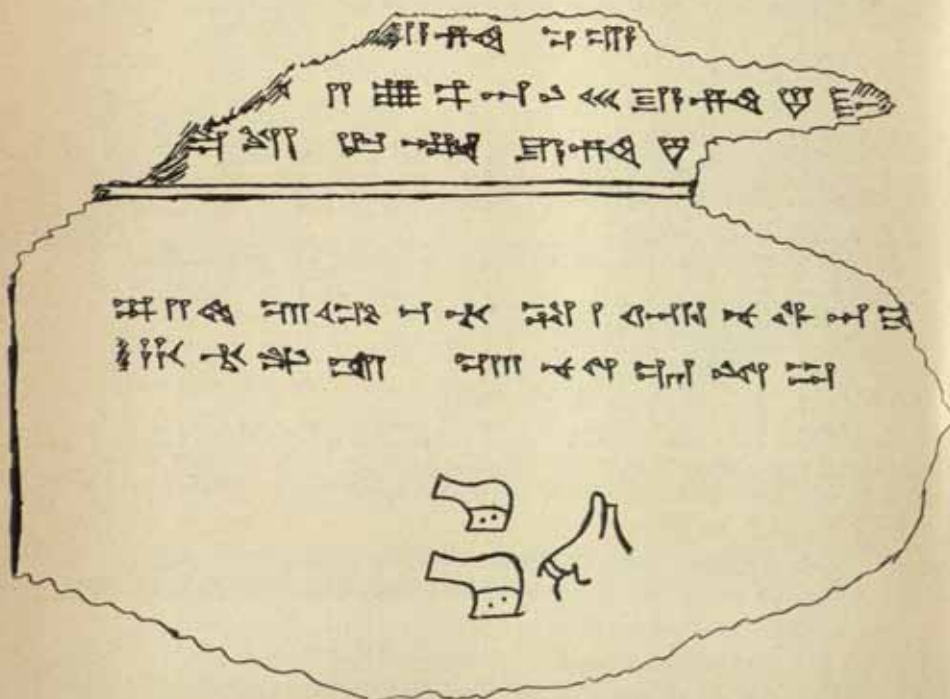
In l. 8 there is no space between *is* and *sa*.

In l. 12 there are traces of *i* before *ya-an-za*.

In ll. 13 and 15 the character which follows PASSUR is DUB, "tablet," not URUDU, "copper." Hence the ideographs signify in both cases "a dish-plate" or "saucer".

In the fragments of lines in the second column of this tablet l. 3 should be *nu din*; l. 4, AMEL ZAB, "soldier"; ll. 8 and 9, AN (*il*)-*li-mu* and *i-li-mu*; l. 11, *a-ne-ya*. There is a line denoting the end of a paragraph between ll. 5 and 6, and between ll. 6 and 7 I have inadvertently omitted a line beginning *na-at*, "these."

No. I



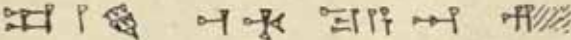
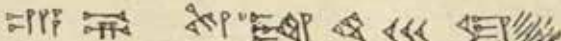
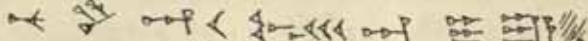
No. II

1. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 2. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 3. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 4. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 5. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 6. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 7. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 8. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵

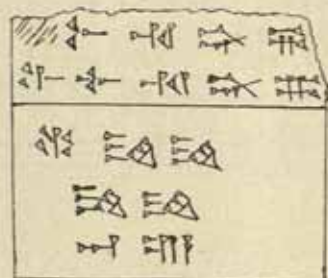
No. III

1. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 2. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 3. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 4. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 5. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 6. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 7. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 8. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 9. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 10. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵

REVERSE

No. IV



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE USE OF THE PLANETARY NAMES OF THE DAYS OF THE WEEK IN INDIA

During recent years much has been written about the history of the seven-days week, with the planetary names of the days, in various countries. But the matter has been neglected as regards India; and there are still some points to be worked out in the general line. My present remarks are offered as a preliminary sketch in respect of India and its connections: they will be useful for some other inquiries also.

At some time not long before A.D. 400, the Hindūs received the Greek astronomy, including the full list of the seven 'planets' arranged in the following order according to their distances from the earth, which was regarded as the centre of the universe; the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.¹ Above Saturn the Hindūs placed the stars; following the Greeks in this respect also, but meaning in particular the *nakshatras* or so-called lunar mansions and the signs of the solar zodiac.

The Hindūs received from the western world not only astronomy but also astrology. It was, in fact, for the sake of the astrology that they took up the astronomy.² In the frequent intercourse between India and the West from the time of Chandragupta onwards, the Hindūs had many early opportunities of learning the Greek astronomy. But it did not interest them in that period: they had their

¹ I use the term planet, unless the context shows anything to the contrary, in the sense in which it was used by the ancients; namely, as denoting the sun and the moon, as well as the five planets, properly so called, which were known to them.

² I am stating a new view here, I think: but I feel sure that anyone who will weigh it will acknowledge the correctness of it and its results.

own astronomy, as taught, for instance, in the Jyōtisha-Vēdāṅga, and were satisfied with it. What attracted them eventually was the Greek astrology: and they took over the astronomy as a necessary adjunct, giving the only means for determining the astrological details with accuracy. Afterwards, indeed, they fully appreciated the Greek astronomy, and went far in their cultivation of it. But they did so always with a view to the purposes of astrology, quite as much as to the better regulation of the lunar calendar which governed their general rites and ceremonies and the details of their religious and private life. And it was the astrology that led them to take up the astronomy.

Now, the Hindū astrology has long been recognized as being the astrology of the Latin writer Firmicus Maternus and the Greek writer Paulus Alexandrinus. Firmicus Maternus wrote his *Matheseos Libri viii* between A.D. 334 and 350: and we may remark that he seems to have been the first noteworthy writer on astrology, if not actually the first of all, in Latin.¹ Paulus Alexandrinus wrote his *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν ἀποτελεσματικὴν* in A.D. 378. And it is in these circumstances that we hold that it was not long before A.D. 400 that the Hindūs took up the Greek astronomy.²

As a part of the astrology which they then acquired, the Hindūs received the idea according to which the planets were treated as lords of the twenty-four hours

¹ Bouché-Leclercq has said:—"Son but a été, dit-il, de combler dans la littérature latine la seule lacune qui y existât encore:" *L'Astrologie Grecque*, introd., p. 14.

² I do not overlook the point that the five planets properly so called are mentioned (in no definite order: Venus, Jupiter, Saturn, Mercury, Mars) towards the end of the Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna, which was translated into Chinese in the third century: see the *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 642, line 15. The editors, however, felt doubtful (p. 655) as to the date of some of the later parts of this writing: and M. Sylvain Lévi tells me that this reference to the planets is not in the corresponding place in the Chinese version.

of the day and of the seven days of the week. In the Hindû books the rule in this matter is first found, so far, in the work of the astronomer Āryabhaṭa, written in or soon after A.D. 499, where it is given in the *Kālakriyā-pāda*, verses 15, 16, in the form of a very concise abstract of the rule as explained fully by Paulus Alexandrinus.¹ The rule takes the planets for this purpose in the descending order,—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon; beginning with Saturn as the highest, the farthest from the earth. The first result was that, Saturn being taken as the lord of the first hour of a day and of the eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-second hours of it, the lordship of the twenty-fifth hour, that is, of the first hour of the next day, fell to the Sun; in the same way, counting on from the Sun, the lordship of the first hour of the next day after that fell to the Moon; and so on through the list and back to Saturn at the beginning of the eighth day. As a second step, the planet which was the lord of the first hour of a day was taken as the chief lord of the whole of that day, with the other planets retaining under him the successive lordship of those hours of the day which did not belong, with the first hour, specially to him. This produced the following order of the planets as lords of the days; Saturn, the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus. And this set up what may be regarded as an astrological week, beginning with the day of Saturn.

It was not such a week, however, which became the practical calendrical week. In circumstances which are not clear, the day of Saturn was identified, whether by intention or by chance,² with the Jewish Sabbath, which was the last day of the seven-days period to the use of

¹ The rule is not in the work of Firmicus Maternus, I think: at any rate, I have not been able to find it there.

² There is, of course, nothing in nature to connect any particular planet with any particular day.

which the Jews had long been accustomed: and so the day of the Sun was identified with the first day of the same seven-days period. The Jews, indeed, did not adopt the planetary names of the days, but continued to treat the days as the "first", the "second", and so on, up to the "Sabbath". Nor, apparently, did the pagan Greeks accept the planets' lordship of the days for any purposes except those of astrology. But the planetary names of the days were taken up as a detail of the calendar in the Roman world, by both pagans and Christians: and we learn from a well-known statement by Dio Cassius that this calendrical use of the planetary names had become general in the Roman world by the time when he wrote, in or soon after A.D. 230; but also that it had only recently become so. There was thus introduced the calendrical week as we have it now; beginning with the day of the Sun, identified with the great day of the Christians, the Lord's-day, and ending with the day of Saturn, identified with the Sabbath of the Jews. And the use of it was confirmed by official sanction in A.D. 321, when the Christian emperor Constantine issued an edict declaring that "the venerable day of the Sun" should be observed as a general day of rest; whereby the seven-days planetary week became definitely substituted for the nundinal eight-days week of the Romans, in which every eighth day was a market-day on which the country people went into the city to sell their produce, make their own purchases, and attend to public and religious affairs.

The Hindūs took over, not an astrological week beginning with the day of Saturn, but this same Jewish-Christian calendrical week beginning with Sunday,—Jewish inasmuch as its first day was the first day of the Jewish week, and Christian inasmuch as it had the planetary names of the days. This is plain from the simple point, even if in no other way, that the established Hindū astrological order of the planets is the weekday

order, beginning with the Sun.¹ Thus, Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587) has taken the planets in this order,—Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn,—in his *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, not only in chap. 104/103, verses 61–3, which teach what acts may be done on the day of each of the planets, but also in chapters 3, 4, and 6–10, which treat of their courses from the astrological point of view,² and in verses 1–34/33 of chap. 16, which state the countries, places, peoples, and things belonging to the domain of each planet, and again in chap. 104/103, verses 5–45, which deal with the general influences of the planets.

For the history of the practical use of this calendrical week with the planetary names of the days in India, we turn to the inscriptions, which are our leading guide in so many matters, and are in fact our only guide in this one.³ From a certain time onwards, we find an almost invariable use of these names: from that time there are but few inscriptions, dated at all, which do not include

¹ There is also the point that a name of Sunday is *Ādivāra*, 'the beginning-day': but this might be explained by the fact that according to the school to which Brahmagupta belonged creation began on a Sunday. There is here, by the way, a curious agreement with the Biblical position: but it is only a coincidence, due to the number of days assigned by Brahmagupta to the Kalpa (that is, due to the exact length of the solar year taken by him) and applied to the cardinal point of Friday, 18 February, A.C. 3102, as the beginning of the present Kali age.

² Chapter 5 deals with Rāhu, the ascending node, between the Moon and Mars.

³ Literature does not help; as, indeed, might perhaps be expected. The planetary names of the days were used occasionally in the astronomical writings from A.D. 499 onwards: as, for instance, when Āryabhaṭa mentions "the Bbārata Thursday", the day which preceded the beginning of the present Kali age (see this Journal, 1911. 678), and says that the revolutions of the sun and the other basic elements are to be counted from sunrise on a Wednesday at Lañkā; and when Brahmagupta tells us that the process of creation began on a Sunday. They are also found in the *Vishṇusmṛiti*, chap. 78: SBE, 7. 242. They are mentioned, in at least some of the *Purāṇas*. Mention is made of Wednesday in the *Vaikhāṇasa-Sūtra* (see Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 262). And occasional references to the names might perhaps be found in other legal and technical works. But such instances, except those in the

this item in their dates; and we can see, thus and in other ways, that the use of the names of the days became far more general in India in formal matters (for the full dating of proclamations, grants, deeds, certificates, etc.), as in fact it is even now, than in any western land. For earlier times, however, the case is very different. Here we find the position to be as follows:—

The earliest known genuine instance of the use of the planetary name of a day in India and its neighbourhood dates from A.D. 484, and is found in the Ēraṇ inscription of Budhagupta from the Saugor District, Central India,¹ which is dated in the (Gupta) year 165, on the twelfth *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āshādhā, and *Suragurōr divasē*, "on the day of (Bṛihaspati, Guru, Jupiter) the Preceptor of the gods": the exact equivalent is Thursday, 21 June, A.D. 484. The next such instance from India itself is of A.D. 664, and is found in a copperplate charter of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishṇuvardhana II from the Nellore District, Madras.² But we have two intermediate instances, one dating from just before A.D. 578,

astronomical books, are not dated ones: and though there is a chance that early dated manuscripts might yield some instances likely to be of use to us, this source of information still remains to be explored.

From general literature,—the drama, the *kāvya*, the prose stories, and so on,—there is forthcoming, I believe, only one instance, otherwise than in passages expressly devoted to recording dates, as, e.g., in a South-Indian *Prasasti* of A.D. 897, and in a series of dates, ranging from A.D. 746 onwards, which are put forward as historical items in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (written A.D. 1305). And this instance, also, is not a dated one. Still, it seems worthy of a special comment, for which I refer to p. 1045 below.

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 89: Kielhorn, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, appendix, No. 454. We shall not be surprised if we should obtain hereafter evidence carrying back the use of the names of the days to an earlier date than this; indeed, to any time about, say, A.D. 375–400. But there we shall stop; for the simple reason that it was as part and parcel of the Greek astrology that the Hindūs received the idea of the planets as name-givers to the days.

² Kielhorn, *List of the Inscriptions of Southern India, Epi. Ind.*, vol. 7, appendix, No. 550.

the other of A.D. 658, from Champā, in Cochin-China.¹ After that, down to A.D. 800, we can count from the inscriptional records perhaps ten other instances, coming in almost equal numbers (1) from various parts of India, and (2) from the Indian settlements in Java, Champā, and Cambodia. And these cases suffice to show that the assignment of the days to the planets was well enough known, by the end of the eighth century, in widely distant localities. But the number of instances is very small in comparison with the total number of records down to the same time. It is therefore plain that down to A.D. 800 there was as yet no habitual practice of citing the weekday in dates or for other general purposes.² And as a matter of fact, the inscriptions make it clear that it was not until after A.D. 900 that the weekday became at all generally recognized as an habitual and ordinary item of the Hindū calendar: before that time it seems, though we cannot actually assert the point as a fact, to have been used more as an astrological detail.

In note 3, p. 1043 above, I have said that there is forthcoming, I believe, only one instance of the use of the name of a day in general Indian literature. This instance is not a dated one, and so does not help in our particular inquiry. Still, it has an interest of its own.

It is found in the *Hitōpadēśa*, ed. Johnson, p. 16, line 411, where mention is made of Bhaṭṭārakavāra, "the day of the Great Lord". It occurs in the story of the deer, the jackal, and the crow: the deer, caught in

¹ Inscriptions at Mi-so'n; *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, vol. 3 (1903), p. 210, and vol. 4 (1904), p. 920: I am indebted to M. George Cœdès for these two references.

² In corroboration of this position down to at any rate a certain time, we may cite the point that Hsien-tsiang found nothing to say about this detail in his account of the Hindū astronomy and calendar written at some time between A.D. 630 and 644 (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, 71-3), though it is a feature which could hardly have failed to attract his attention, and to be noted by him, if it had been generally prevalent then.

a hunter's snare, asks the jackal to gnaw the snare and set him free; to which the jackal replies:—"Snares are made of sinews: therefore, how shall I touch them with my teeth on this day which is Bhattacharakavāra?: my friend!, think of some other means (*of escape*)."

Here, the term Bhattacharakavāra is understood to mean Sunday. I have no desire to question that. But from what point of view does it mean Sunday? The term *bhattacharaka* seems to be used to denote the Sun as a god in an inscription of A.D. 973 (EI, 9. 236), which records a gift to "Ādichchan-Umaiymmai of Tirukkalayapuram, the *bhattacharakar* set up by Ādichchan-Umaiymmai at Ayurūr." But I know of no evidence that the word was a special epithet or appellation of the Sun, any more than of any other god; just as the feminine *bhattacharikā* could be applied to any goddess. The word means 'a venerable person, a holy god, a great lord'. Is it the case that the term Bhattacharakavāra is not a planetary name, but is a literal translation of the *Κυριακή ἡμέρα* and *Dominica dies* of the Greek and Latin ecclesiastical writers? The sanctity attaching to the Christian Sunday perhaps has also an echo, not exactly in the nature, but in the idea of the Ādityavāra-kalpa, 'the ritual of the day of the Sun', which is the topic of a short section, chapter 97, of the Matsya-Purāṇa.

J. F. FLEET.

A NOTE ON THE PURANAS

On p. 255 above, Mr. Pargiter, working on the basis of certain verses about the merit of making grants of land and the sin of confiscating them which are found in inscriptional records of known date ranging from A.D. 475 onwards, has presented the conclusions (1) that the Padma, Brahma, and Bhavishya Purāṇas existed long before the end of the fifth century; and (2) that, as these three appear to be among the latest in this class of works, "it

seems reasonably certain that the Purāṇas cannot be later than the earliest centuries of the Christian era." But we are, I presume, not to make any very comprehensive deduction from these conclusions: there are other considerations which lead to the result that, while we may accept such a position for some parts of the Purāṇas, the works as a whole must be compositions which have come down from very unequal times. For instance, those of the Purāṇas which give the list of the kings of the present age mention the Guptas; and such a record as this cannot have been made before A.D. 320, when the Gupta sway began. Again, the Brahmaṇḍa and the Vāyu say that the Śakas ruled for 380 years: they mean Nahapāna, who founded the era beginning in A.D. 78, and Chasṭana and his descendants, the so-called Western Kshatrapas, who carried it on long enough to lead to its perpetuation: and this passage, accordingly, must be dated not earlier than A.D. 458.

There are, however, other parts of the Purāṇas which do not reveal their earliest limits so openly. Such are the astronomical chapters, dealing more or less with astrology also, in respect of which it would be a great mistake to think that they date from such early times as those indicated by Mr. Pargiter for the passages which he had in view. These chapters, which present a curious mixture of the earlier and the later astronomy, are not without interest, unscientific though they are: they perhaps do not actually teach us anything which may not be learnt from the writings of the scientific Hindū astronomers: still, they contain much which is worthy of attention; and they might with advantage be extracted, edited, and translated. I must confine myself here to only one feature in them.

At some time not long before A.D. 400 (see p. 1040 above), the Hindūs received the Greek astrology and astronomy, including the full list of the seven 'planets' arranged

in the following astronomical order according to their distances from the earth, which was regarded as the centre of the universe,—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Above Saturn the Hindūs placed the stars; meaning in particular the *nakshatras* or so-called lunar mansions and the signs of the solar zodiac. And this arrangement was always preserved by the Hindū astronomers, so far as the relative positions of the planets and the stars are concerned.

That scheme, however, is not the one which is found in the Purāṇas.¹ These works present the following order: next above the earth, the Sun; then the Moon; then the *nakshatras*; and then, one after the other, Mercury, Venus,

¹ My references are as follows: some of the Purāṇas state also distances between the different orbits; but it does not seem necessary to lengthen matters by including this detail, in which they do not all agree: there is no basis in the astronomy for the distances stated in the Purāṇas.

Agni-Purāṇa, chap. 120, verses 6-8: ed. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.

Brahma, chap. 23, verses 5-10: ed. Ānandāśrama Series.

Brahmāṇḍa, chap. 24, verses 119-22: text printed in 1906 at the Sri-Veṅkatēśvara Press, Bombay.

Matsya, chap. 128, verses 71-4: ed. Ānandāśrama Series. It may be added that this work takes the planets in the weekday order in verses 10-20 of chap. 93, the topic of which is the propitiation of them by sacrifices, and in chap. 94, which describes their forms and attributes.

Vāyu, chap. 101, verses 129-35: ed. Ānandāśrama Series.

Bhāgavata, book 5, chap. 22, and chap. 23, para. 1: ed. Burnouf, and text printed in 1905 at the Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay. But this work transposes Mercury and Venus: it places Venus next after the *nakshatras*; then Mercury above Venus; and then Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. I may remark that the wording of the passage is such as to preclude the possibility of an accidental transposition of the text. In respect of this transposition of the two planets see also the next note.

The Vishṇu does not seem to contain any corresponding passage: but it takes the planets in the same order with the Agni, etc., as far as the Vāyu, in describing their chariots: book 2, chaps. 8, 12: text printed in 1866 at the Vṛttadipa Press, Bombay; and see Wilson's translation, vol. 2, pp. 237, 299, 304.

The Padma seems to have a passage of the usual kind in part 3, Svargakhaṇḍa, chap. 6, Bhuvādivarṇana, in the recension described by Wilson from a manuscript, *Works*, vol. 3, preface, p. 21 ff. (see p. 40): but I have not been able to examine it and ascertain its details. In

Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn,—with, in one case, a transposition of Mercury and Venus:¹ above Saturn they place the sphere of the Saptarshis (the Seven Rishis, the stars of the Great Bear), and then Dhruva (the pole-star). Here we have the full list of the planets, and partly in the Greek order; which shows that these statements were

another recension of this work, given in the text printed in 1893-4 at the Anandāśrama Press, Poona, but not included in that Series, I do not find any corresponding passage: but this text presents the weekday order of the planets in teaching the worship of them in part 5, Srishtikhanda, chaps. 78, 79, 82; and it treats Mercury as the middle planet in chap. 82, verse 6:—*Somaputra . . . namas-tē graha-madhyastha . . .*: this seems to postulate either a quasi-astronomical arrangement of them in the weekday order, or else the same transposition of Mercury and Venus which is made in the Bhāgavata. The same remarks apply to a third recension of this Purāṇa, the text of which was printed in 1895 at the Śrī-Veṅkatēśvara Press, Bombay: here, the sections teaching the worship of the planets are in part 1, Srishtikhanda, chaps. 80, 81, 82; and the mention of Mercury as the middle planet is in verse 6 of chap. 82.

¹ See remarks under the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa in the preceding note. This transposition of Mercury and Venus (which is of course quite right from one point of view) is found also in a passage in the writings of Cicero; but not, I think, as a view of Cicero himself, though it has been referred to as such.

In the *De Divinatione*, book 2, § 43, Cicero, speaking in his own person, gives the usual arrangement in the ascending order, from the Moon to Saturn, and expressly says that Mercury is the nearest star to the earth (after the Moon). So, also, in the *Somnium Scipionis*, § 4, he puts into the mouth of Africanus the same arrangement in the descending order, from Saturn to the Moon. But in the *De Natura Deorum*, book 2, § 20, Balbus, in speaking of the five planets properly so called, is made to place them in the following order, descending,—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and then Venus; and he says about Venus that she is “the lowest of the five wanderers, and the nearest to the earth”:—*Infima est quinque errantium, terraeque proxima, stella Veneris; Φωσφόρος* Graece, *Lucifer* Latine dicitur, cum antegreditur solem [i.e., as a morning star], cum subsequitur autem [i.e., as an evening star] *Hesperus*.

For the order in the *De Divinatione*, Cicero cites *ratio mathematicorum*, “the science of the Mathematicians”. For the order in the *Somnium Scipionis*, no authority is quoted. For the order given by Balbus, also, in the *De Natura Deorum*, no authority is specifically quoted: book 1, § 6, however, represents him as holding a very high place among the Stoics: perhaps that may account for the transposition of Mercury and Venus.

not written before the time when the Greek astronomy reached India. But the astronomical order is followed only partially: it is broken by the transfer of the Sun from the position between Venus and Mars to the place nearest to the earth, and by the introduction of the *nakshatras* between the Moon and Mercury. We are not greatly concerned about this disposal of the *nakshatras*: it is not unnatural that in unscientific writings they should be connected most closely with the Moon, and should be placed accordingly. The important point is the treatment of the Sun as the planet nearest to the earth. What are the circumstances which introduced this feature into the Purāṇic scheme? And what light does it throw on the age of the passages in which it is found?

We can, in my opinion, only attribute this feature in the Purāṇic scheme of the universe to the influence of a well-established use of the planetary week beginning with the day of the Sun. And in my preceding note I have said (and have given part of the proof) that it was only after A.D. 900 that that use became thoroughly habitual in India. But I do not seek to suggest for those parts of the Purāṇas which I have in view so late a date as that. And I find, in fact, that it was only indirectly that the influence in question produced the feature to which attention has been drawn. We can recognize an appreciably earlier time, when it may be held to have operated.

As has been said, the Hindū astronomers have always preserved, so far as the relative positions of the planets and the stars are concerned, the astronomical order stated on p. 1048 above, beginning with the Moon as the nearest orb to the earth, and having the Sun between Venus and Mars. And probably every one of them has been careful to state that arrangement, in either the ascending or the descending order, at least once in his writings. But they did not by any means deal with the planets always in that

order. They took them in whatever order suited best the point involved and the composition of their verses. And when there was no particular reason for following any other course, they were specially prone to taking them in the astrological or weekday order, beginning with the Sun, which was evolved and carried to India in the circumstances explained in my preceding note. Thus, both Brahmagupta (wrote A.D. 628) and Lalla (apparently just about the same time) have taken the planets in this order in stating, each in his first chapter, the numbers of the revolutions of them in their *exeligmoi* or calculative periods. This habit was so general as to be the subject of special comment in A.D. 1030 by Alb  r  ni, who said:¹—“It is a custom of the Hind  s to enumerate the planets in the order of the week-days. They will persist in using it in their astronomical handbooks, as well as in other books, and they decline to use any other order, though it be much more correct.” And to such an extent did it prevail that we find the expression *S  ry-  di*, “the Sun, etc.”, used freely in the astronomical writings to mean the Sun and the other six planets in (as is always made clear by the context) the astrological or weekday order. So, also, in matters in which the Sun happens not to figure, we find *Chandr-  di* used to denote the Moon and the remaining five planets, again in that same order. And occasionally, when something is to be taught about only the planets properly so called, we find use made of *Bhaum-  di*, *Kuj-  di*, “Mars, etc.”, to denote Mars and the remaining four, again in the same order. And though this habit does at first sight seem a somewhat peculiar one to be adopted by scientific writers, it is not altogether a matter for surprise. Its origin is found in the method of the Hind   astronomers, of beginning their treatises by stating the number of the revolutions of the planets in their *exeligmoi*. In this procedure the Sun

¹ Trans. Sachau, I. 215.

was taken first, because the number of the revolutions of the Sun laid down for any particular *exeligmos* gives the number of the years in the period, and so paves the way for the application of the number of revolutions assigned to each of the other components of the system. The Moon's turn came next in any circumstances. And then, the order adopted so far agreeing with the well-established astrological order, it was not at all unnatural that the same order should be followed in stating the elements for the remaining components of the system; especially because probably every early Hindū astronomer was also more or less of an astrologer, though, perhaps, seldom to such an extent as in the case of Varāhamihira.

It is to the influence of this inveterate habit of the Hindū astronomers,— due, itself, to the influence of the planetary week,— of neglecting the astronomical order of the planets in writing about them, in favour of taking them in the astrological or weekday order beginning with the Sun, that we may attribute the view presented in the Purāṇas, which actually places the Sun as the first of the planets, the nearest to the earth.¹ And this habit of the astronomers plainly became fixed long before the use of the planetary week as an ordinary item of the Hindū calendar became at all general. Even so, however, the habit must have existed for an appreciable period, before it could have so peculiar an effect. And the point remains as to the time by which it had become sufficiently confirmed for it to operate in that manner.

With the materials available to us in the shape of edited texts and translations and abstracts of unpublished works, we can, so far, only trace the habit from the latter part

¹ It remains, no doubt, a curious point that the Purāṇas should thus transfer the Sun from the position in the centre of the list, between Venus and Mars, to the place nearest to the earth, and yet should abstain from rearranging the whole series of the planets into the astrological or weekday order. This point may perhaps be considered on some other occasion.

of the sixth century. We recognize, indeed, a beginning of it in the work of Āryabhaṭa, written in or soon after A.D. 499. Verse 1 of the *Daśagītikasūtra*, the introductory part of his work containing his elements and certain other preliminaries, states first the revolutions of the Sun for the *exeligmos* used by him, the Yuga of 4,320,000 years, and then the revolutions of the Moon. Next, however, it states the rotations of the earth (for which other writers substituted the revolutions of the stars; stating them, however, after the same detail for Saturn): and then, dealing with the remaining planets, it preserves the astronomical arrangement in the descending order,—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. Thus, what he did stops far short of the practice which we have quoted from astronomical writers who came after him.

It is, in fact, only from the time of Varāhamihira, who died in A.D. 587, and whose literary activity may be placed from A.D. 550 onwards, that we can, so far, trace the habit as an established one. And in view of the point that he was both an astronomer and an astrologer, we may venture to suggest that it was actually by him that the habit was set going. But, as has been said, the habit must have existed for an appreciable time before it could have such an influence as is seen in the Purāṇic idea of the universe. And while I write, of course, with reservations, subject to anything that we may learn hereafter from the publication of other astronomical texts which can be referred to the sixth century or before it, I think that we must fix A.D. 600 as the earliest limit for the composition of the passages which present that idea, or of some archetypal passage on which they were based.

J. F. FLEET.

THE RUPNATH AND SARNATH EDICTS OF ASOKA

Since the time when Dr. Thomas showed that the *Sahasrām* text of Aśoka's short sermon on "zeal" contains

the word *rātri*, "a night,"¹ the much-discussed term *vivāsa* of the Rūpnāth text has been taken in two slightly different ways. Dr. Thomas and M. Lévi² explain it by "nights spent abroad" and Dr. Fleet by "nights spent in worship".³ The same difference of opinion prevails in the interpretation of the last clause but one of the Rūpnāth text, which contains the gerundive *vīvasetavāya* (read *vīvasetaviye*). According to Dr. Thomas (p. 518) the king "requests his officers to start or to make people start on similar tours in their whole jurisdiction", while Dr. Fleet (p. 1103) translates: "And by this same token, as long as your food lasts you should make *vivāsa* everywhere." M. Lévi (p. 125) does not translate this passage, but he renders the similar clause of the Sārnāth pillar inscription as follows: "Faites que, dans l'étendue de votre ressort, partout on quitte sa maison conformément à ce texte; et aussi faites que dans tous les pays de protectorat (?) on fasse que l'on quitte sa maison."

The Sārnāth passage may be expected to contribute to the correct interpretation of the Rūpnāth one, as it contains all the three crucial words of the second, viz. *viyaṃjana*, *āhāra*, and *vivāsayati*. I shall now endeavour to ascertain their true meaning by considering the context in which the Sārnāth passage occurs. For this purpose it is first of all necessary to define the subject of the Sārnāth edict with the help of two other, closely connected, inscriptions, viz. the Sāñchi pillar edict and the so-called Kosambī edict on the Allahabad pillar. Luckily the main portion of the royal order is preserved in all the three versions.

Sārnāth edict, ll. 3-5

e chuṃ kho [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṃghaṃ
bh[okha]t[i] s[e] odātāni dus[ān]i [sa]ṃnamdhāpayiyā
ānāvāsasi āvāsaiye

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, série 10, tome 15 (1910, part 1), p. 520.

² *Id.*, tome 17 (1911, part 1), p. 119. ³ *This Journal*, 1911, p. 1106.

"But indeed that monk or nun who shall misdirect the Saṅgha, should be caused to put on white robes (and) to reside in a non-residence."¹

Sāñchi edict, ll. 4-7

ye saṅghaṃ bhokhati bhikhu vā bhikhu[ni] vā odātāni
dus[ān]i sanāṃ[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e]

"The monk or nun who shall misdirect the Saṅgha, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence."

Kosambi edict, ll. 3-4

. . . [saṅghaṃ bho]khati bhikh[u] v[ā] bhikh[u]n[i]
vā [se pi] chā [o*]dāt[ā]ni dusāni [sa]nāṃdhāpayitu
a[nā]vā[sas[i] ā]v[ā]sayiy[e]

"And also that monk or nun [who] shall misdirect the Saṅgha, should be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence."

This sentence is preceded at Sārnāth (l. 3) by the words . . . *ye kenapi saṅghe bhetaṇe*, in which, as M. Boyer ingeniously proposes,² *ye* is perhaps the remainder of *na sakiye*: "The Saṅgha [cannot] be divided by anyone." In the Sāñchi edict (ll. 2-4) I read now . . . [y]ā bhe[ta] . . . (restore *bhetave*) . . . [gh]e (restore *saṅghe*) *mage* (restore *samage*) *kaṭe* [bhi*]-*khūna*[m] *cha* bhi[khun]īnam ch[ā] ti [p]uta-pa[po*]tike *cham*[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke, and translate: ". . . [cannot] be divided. The Saṅgha both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine)."³ The Kosambi edict (l. 2) reads instead: . . .

¹ See this Journal, 1911, p. 168, footnotes 1 and 2, and p. 169, footnote 1. As pointed out by M. Senart (*Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1907, p. 28), *ārāsāyige* is the optative passive of *ārāsāyati*.

² *Journal Asiatique*, série 10, tome 10 (1907, part 2), p. 129.

³ For the reading *puta-papotike chumadama-sūriyike* see this Journal, 1911, p. 167 f.

[sa]ma[ge ka]t[te] sa[m]gh[a]si no t[a]hiye, which may be translated: "[The Saṃgha] is made united . . . should not be received¹ into the Saṃgha."

The first line is preserved only in the Kosambi edict, which begins:—

[Devānaṃ*][p]iye ānapayati Kosambiyam mahām[ā]ta

"[Dēvānām]priya commands(thus). The superintendents at Kosambi . . ."

At the beginning of the Sarnāth text, only the two first syllables of Aśoka's title *Dēvānāmpriya* are preserved; but it may be safely assumed that both this edict and the Sāñchi one were, like the Kosambi edict, addressed by the king to the local Mahāmātras. The object which he had in view is repeated at the end of the Sāñchi edict (l. 7 f.): "For my desire is that the Saṃgha may be united² (and) of long duration"; and it was for this purpose that he threatened monks and nuns who would cause divisions with expulsion.

The Sāñchi and Kosambi texts go no farther than this; while the Sarnāth text (ll. 5-9) adds the following clauses:—

"Thus this edict must be submitted both to the Saṃgha of monks and to the Saṃgha of nuns.

"Thus speaks Dēvānāmpriya:—

"And let one written³ copy of this edict⁴ remain⁵

¹ *Lahiye* may be derived from the root *lahh*; cf. the optative passive *āvasayiye* in l. 4 of the Kosambi edict and in l. 5 of the Sarnāth edict.

² Cf. this Journal, 1911, p. 168, where I have pointed out that the reading of the stone is not *samghasa mage*, but *samghe samage*, and see the *Pāṭimokkha* (id., 1876, p. 75, § 10): *samaggo hi samgho . . . phāsu viharati*.

³ Professor Venis (Journ. and Proc. As. Soc. Bengal, 1907, vol. 3, p. 2) was the first to translate *nikship* by "inscribing". That he is right appears from the *Raghuramāśa*, vii, 65, where Mallinātha explains *nikshēpita* by *tēkhāta*.

⁴ Literally, "one edict of this description."

⁵ M. Senart (*Comptes Rendus*, 1907, p. 30) explains *huvāti* as subjunctive. Cf. the Māhārāshtrī form *huvanti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 476.

with you in (your) office.¹ And write ye another copy of this very edict, (to remain) with the lay-worshippers.

"And these lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict. And invariably on every fast-day every superintendent (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it)."

It will be seen that this longish passage adds nothing new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sāñchi and Allahabad, but provides merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the Mahāmātras and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services.

It will now be clear that it is impossible to translate the two last clauses of the Sarnāth text in the manner proposed by M. Lévi (see p. 1054 above). An abrupt order to the Mahāmātras to "make people leave their houses" would be unintelligible in this connexion. What we expect is further provisions for giving a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra.² It is but natural to assume that the word *āhāla* in l. 9 refers to the *district* of Pāṭaliputra, and the *koṭa-vishavā* in l. 10 to outlying jungle tracts, which were not fully pacified but were held by means of military posts, such as the "forests" mentioned in the thirteenth rock edict. It follows, further, that the two

¹ M. Senart (*Comptes Rendus*, 1907, p. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering *sauśalana* (= Sanskrit *sauśarāṇa*) as the designation of some locality. Professor Venis (*Journ. and Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1907, vol. 3, p. 2) translates it by "place of assembly".

² Of this word only the two first syllables are preserved at the beginning of l. 3.

subjunctives *vivāsayātha* and *vivāsāpayāthā* in ll. 10 and 11, which are addressed to the Mahāmātras of Pāṭaliputra, can only mean "go ye on tour" and "cause ye (others) to go on tour",¹ and that the instrumental *etena viyañjanena* must refer to the edict itself. As *viyañjana* is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of "letter" as opposed to "sense" (*attha*),² I propose to render it by "with a literal copy of this (edict)". In this way I arrive at the following translation of the two last clauses of the Sārnāth text, which I am glad to say is nearly identical with the one given by M. Senart in *Comptes Rendus*, 1907, p. 35 f. :—

Sārnāth edict, ll. 9-11

"And as far as your district (extends), go ye on tour everywhere with a literal copy of this (edict).

"In the same way cause ye (others) to go on tour with a literal copy of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts."

It remains to apply this result to the passage of the Rūpnāth text which was quoted at the beginning of this note, and which I would now translate thus :—

Rūpnāth edict, l. 5

"And with a literal copy of this (proclamation)³ (you) must go on tour everywhere, as far as your district (extends)."

¹ As Dr. Thomas (p. 517) notes, the usual Pāli equivalent of *vivasati* is *vippavasati*; see Childers, s.v. Dr. Vogel (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. 8, p. 171) justly remarks that *vivāsayati*, though a causative in form, can hardly have a causative meaning, as it is followed in the second clause by *vivāsāpayati*, which can be nothing but a causative of *vivāsayati*. The form *vivasati* at Rūpnāth (l. 5) may be either a Prākṛit variant of *vivasati* (cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 472) or a clerical mistake for *vivāseti*.

² See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *viyañjana*, and note the antithesis between *attha* and *viyañjana* in ll. 4 and 5 of the Rūpnāth text.

³ The word "proclamation" (*sāvana*) occurs in ll. 3 and 5 of the Rūpnāth edict. Cf. the Delhi-Siwalik pillar edict vii, ll. 20 and 22, where Aśoka states that he has issued "proclamations on morality" (*dhamma-sāvaṇāni*).

I trust to have proved, by the comparison and analysis of the Sārnāth edict, that this clause of the Rūpnāth edict has nothing whatever to do with the actual subject of Aśōka's proclamation (which, as I believe with Dr. Fleet, is *parākrama* or "zeal"), but is intended merely to provide for the circulation of the latter among the inhabitants of the district. For the substantive *vivāsa*, which may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and therefore ought to be connected in meaning with, *vivaseti*, see this Journal for 1910, p. 1309.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on that passage of the Rūpnāth and connected texts in which the king states that, as a result of his zeal (*pakuma* = *parākrama*), men in Jambudvīpa had been made associated with the gods. I believe that Dr. Thomas has come very near the actual meaning of it when he says (above, p. 480): "Are we to understand a conversion of people who previously did not recognize the Brahmanical gods?" In a slightly modified form, this suggestion finds support in many passages of the rock and pillar edicts, in which Aśōka declares that his chief aim was to secure the "attainment of heaven" (*svagāradhī*, Girnār, ix, l. 9) by his subjects through the practice of morality. I shall only quote the sixth rock edict (Girnār, ll. 11-14):—

"And (this is the object of) whatever effort I am making (*ya cha kiñchī parākramāmi aham*), viz., that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, that I may make them happy in this (world), and that they may attain heaven in the other (world). For the following purpose this edict on morality was caused to be written, viz., that it might last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons might conform to this for the welfare of all men. But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal (*parākrama*)."

E. HULTZSCH.

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE WARDAK VASE

This vase was found by Masson in the topes of Khawat, south-west of Kabul, during the years 1834-7, and is now in the British Museum. It is described in *Ariana Antiqua* (p. 117) and E. Thomas' edition of *Prinsep's Essays* (p. 161); and several scholars have endeavoured to decipher the inscription on it.¹ At Dr. Fleet's request I undertook the attempt, and my article on it will be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, but meantime (with permission) a very brief statement of my results may be of interest to scholars.

The script is Kharoṣṭhī, and the letters are all well made and clearly distinguished, except *y* and *ś*, which are much alike. The characters for *ḍ* and *ph* are of a modified form, and a new character for final anusvāra appears in *paḍiyamśam* (ll. 3, 4). An important feature is the rightward stroke added to the foot of a consonant. It is of two forms when added to *g* in the first part of the inscription (down to *bhavagra* in l. 3), straight and curved up; the latter denotes a real *r* as in *agra* (l. 2); the former does not signify *r*, but probably gave *g* the sound of *ḡ* and is transcribed as an italic *r*, thus *gra* = ordinary *ga*. It is also added to *mi* and transcribed as *r*, but *mri* probably = *mhi*. There appear to be only three clerical errors, in *rajaṭibaja* (l. 2), *aviya* (l. 3), and *asamśrana* or *asamryana* (l. 4), with possibly a fourth in *avaṣatrigana* (l. 3).

The language is a Prakrit close to Sanskrit. The chief modifications are briefly these. The Sanskrit tenues *k*, *t*, *t*, and *p*, when not initial and not conjunct, are changed here to their corresponding mediæ, except in verbal terminations; thus *mada-pidara* (l. 2) = *mātā-pitara*,

¹ JASB., 1861, p. 337; JRAS., Vol. XX, pp. 221-68, 1863; Journ. Asiat., sér. VIII, vol. xv, p. 121, 1890; sér. IX, vol. vii, p. 8, 1896; JRAS., 1909, p. 661.

a genitive collective singular corresponding to Skt. **mātā-pitar* + *ah*.¹ This holds good for *tr*, thus *puḍra* (l. 1) = *putra*. Accordingly such a media in the inscription may represent an original single media, thus *sada* (l. 3) = Skt. *sadas*, and *bhagrae* (l. 2) is from Skt. *bhāga*; or (since consonants are not written double in this script) a doubled media, as the *b* in *bhradaba* (l. 2), which = *bhrātabba*, Skt. *bhrātrvya*; or an original single tenuis, as the *d* in *bhradaba*, and as *nabagra* (l. 3) = *napaka*, Skt. *nrpa* + *ka*. Consequently, a single tenuis non-initial here represents an original doubled tenuis, thus *natiḡra* (l. 2) = *nattika*, Skt. *naptr* + *ka*. If the words be modified accordingly, they appear as Sanskrit or but one step removed therefrom, as shown in the italic interlineation.

The inscription evinces Greek and Persian influences. *Arṭamisiya* (l. 1) is Greek; so also probably *ṭumbi* (l. 1) and *Mityaga* (l. 3). *Haṣṭuna* (l. 2) seems Persian; so also probably *Kamagulya*, *Vagra*, and *Marega*.

Text

- 1 Sam 20 20 10 1 masya Arṭamisiyasa stehi 10 4 1
Sam[vatsare] 51 māsasa Arṭamisiyasa stehi 15
 Imena gaḍigrena Kamagulya puḍra Vagra-Mare-
Imena gaḍḍikena Kamagulya putra Vagra-Mare-
 grasya iya-Khavadamri kadalayigra Vagra-Marigra-
gasya iya-Khavatamhi kat-ālayika Vagra-Mariga-
 viharamri ṭumbimri bhagravada Śākya-mune śarira
vihāramhi ṭumbimhi bhagavata Śākya-mune śarīra
 paridhabeti
paridhāpeti
- 2 Imena kuśala-mulena maharaja-rajatibaja-Hoveṣ-
Imena kuśala-mūlena mahārāja-rājātirāja-Hoveṣ-
 kasya agra-bhagrae bhavatu Mada-pidara me puyae
kasya agra-bhāgāe bhavatu Mātā-pitara me pūyāe

¹ Visarga disappearing in Prakrit. Similarly *bhagravada Śākya-mune* (l. 1) = Skt. *bhagavata(h) Śākya-mune(h)*.

- bhavatu Bhradaba me Haṣṭuna-Maregrasya puyae
 bhavatu Bhrātabba me Haṣṭuna-Maregasya pūyāe
 bhavatu Śoca me bhuya Natigra-midra-sambhatti-
 bhavatu Śoca me bhūyā Nattika-mitra-sambhatti-
 grana puyae bhavatu Mahiśa ca Vagra-Maregrasya
 kāna pūyāe bhavatu Mahiśa ca Vagra-Maregasya
 agra-bhagra-paḍiyamśam
 agra-bhāga-paṭiyamśam
- 3 bhavatu Sarva-satvana aroga-dachinae bhavatu
 bhavatu Sarva-sattvāna aroga-dacchiṇāe bhavatu
 Aviya-nabagra paryata-śava-bhavagra yo adra-
 Ariya-napaka paryatta-śava-bhāvaka yo ādra-
 am̐tara-am̐da-jo jalayuga śaphatiga arupyata
 antara-aṇḍa-jo jalāyuka śapphattika arūpyattā
 sarvina puyae bhavatu Mahiśa ca Rohana sada-
 sārviṇa pūyāe bhavatu Mahiśa ca Rohana sada-
 sarvina avaśatrigana sa-parivara ca agra-bhaga-
 sārviṇa avaśattrikāna sa-parivāra ca agra-bhāga-
 paḍiya(m)śam bhavatu Miṭyagasya ca agra-bhaga
 paṭiyamśam bhavatu Miṭyagasya ca agra-bhāga
 bhavatu
 bhavatu
- 4 Eṣa viharam̐ asam̐srana (or asam̐ryana) Maha-
 Eṣa vihāram̐ asam̐śraya (? or ācāryāna ?) Mahā-
 sam̐ghigana parigraha.
 saṅghikāna parigraha.

Translation

In the year 51 on the day 15 (of the first half ?) of the month Artemisios. By means of this vase Vagra Marega's son Kamagulya, who has fixed his residence in this place Khavata, inters a relic of the Lord Śākya-muni inside a vault within the Vagra Mariga monastery.

By means of this meritorious foundation—may it (the

ERRATA

Page 1063, line 30. *For* Teke-youen *read* Tche-youen.

p. 1064, l. 3. *For* chen-tch'esu *read* chen-tch'eu.

p. 1064, l. 7. *For* Tche-Houng *read* Tche-t'oung.

p. 1064, l. 25. *For* Koan-che-yin *read* koan, etc.

p. 1065, l. 3. *For* Koan-tze-tsai *and* Koang-ta *read*
koan-tze-tsai and koang-ta.

relic) tend to the pre-eminent lot of the great king, the suzerain of kings, Hoveška! May it tend to the veneration of my parents! May it tend to the veneration of my brother's son Haṣṭuna Marega! May there be purity for me! May it tend to the veneration of *my* grandsons, friends, and associates! And may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord Vagra Marega! May it tend to the bestowal of perfect health on all beings! May it tend to the veneration of all *these*, namely, the saintly king, him who has *obtained* the condition of having mastered the doctrine,¹ the *creature* which is born from moisture, from a womb(?) or from an egg, the *creature* whose life is in water, the graminivorous *animal* and the incorporeal soul! And may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord Rohaṇa, all *his* household and his dependants² together with his retinue! And may there be a pre-eminent lot for Miṭyaga!

This monastery *is* (or *was*) a gift to the Mahāsaṅghikas who are teachers (or, who had no habitation?).

F. E. PARGITER.

NILAKANTHADHARANI

M. de la Vallée Poussin et M. R. Gauthiot ont publié dans le Journal (no. de Juillet, 1912, pp. 629 seqq.) un fragment de dhāraṇī rapporté de Touen-houang par M. (Sir Marc Aurel) Stein. Ce document soigneusement déchiffré par les deux éditeurs mérite de retenir l'attention, malgré son apparence insignifiante. Le colophon de la dhāraṇī lui donne le nom de *Nilakanṭha*. Le Catalogue de la période Teke-youen (Teke-youen lou), compilé de 1285 à 1287, enregistre sous le titre sanscrit de *Nilakanṭha* (dhāraṇī) deux ouvrages admis dans le canon des Song, des

¹ That is, the *śrāvaka*.

² Strictly, feminine, from Sanskrit **avasaktrī + kṣ*.

Youen, des Ming (et qui figurent aussi dans la collection coréenne). L'un porte en chinois le titre de *Ts'ien-yen ts'ien-p'i koan-che-yin p'ou-sa t'o-lo-ni chen-teh'esu king*, "le livre des formules sacrées de la dhāraṇī d'Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva aux mille yeux et aux mille bras" (Cat. de Nanjio, no. 318; éd. de Tōkyō, boîte xxvi, vol. v, pp. 30^b-35^b); le traducteur est Tche-Houng (Nanjio, App. ii, 134), moine chinois qui traduisit quatre dhāraṇīs entre 627 et 653. L'autre est intitulé en chinois : *Ts'ien-cheou ts'ien-yen Koan-che-yin p'ou-sa mou-t'o-lo-ni chen-king*, "le livre du corps de la dhāraṇī de la vieille d'Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva aux mille mains et aux mille yeux" (Nanj., 319; éd. Tōk., xxvi, 5, pp. 23^b-30^a); la traduction est due au fameux Bodhiruci (Nanj., App. ii, 150), originaire de sud de l'Inde et qui traduisit 53 ouvrages, de 693 à 713. Bodhiruci a traduit la Nilakanthadhāraṇī en 709. Les deux traductions représentent le même original. On a trouvé de part et d'autre, enchâssée dans un cadre du type banal, une dhāraṇī très voisine de la formule conservée en brāhmī et en sogdien à Touen-houang, et composée en partie des mêmes éléments. Mais les différences sont trop fortes pour qu'on puisse identifier les textes. Un autre ouvrage du canon chinois rappelle par son titre les deux précédents : c'est le *Ts'ien-cheou ts'ien-yen Koan-che-yin p'ou-sa koang-ta-youen-mang wou-guai ta-peï-sin t'o-lo-ni king*, "le livre de la dhāraṇī du cœur de la grande compassion sans obstacle, abondante et vaste, d'Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva aux mille mains et aux mille yeux" (Nanj., 320; éd. Tōk., xxvii, 10, 31^b-36^a); traduit à une date indéterminée, sous la dynastie des Tang, par Kia-fan-ta-mo originaire de l'Inde occidentale (Nanj., App. ii, 135). Nanjio note que cet ouvrage a été très populaire en Chine depuis la dynastie des Song (960-1127), on y trouve une dhāraṇī qui, elle aussi, rappelle de près la Nilakantha dhāraṇī de Touen-houang, mais sans être identique. L'édition de Corée

a seule conservé une dhāraṇī extraite de l'original traduit par Kia-fan-ta-mo et publié à part : *Ts'ien-cheou ts'ien-yen Koan-tze-tsai p'ou-sa Koang-ta youen-mang wou-ngai ta-pei-sin l'o-lo-ni tch'esu-pen*, "original de la formule sacrée de la dhāraṇī du cœur de la grande compassion sans obstacle, abondante et vaste, d'Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva aux mille mains et aux mille yeux" (manque à Nanjio et aux collections chinoises; éd. de Tōkyō, xxvii, 10, 30^a-31^a). C'est une simple transcription en caractères chinois de l'original sanscrit, exécutée par une des gloires du tantrisme chinois, Vajrabodhi (Nanj, App. ii, 153), le maître du grand Amoghavajra, Vajrabodhi, originaire du pays de Malaya, dans l'Inde du sud, arriva en Chine après un voyage accidenté, coupé de stations prolongées, en 719; il y mourut en 732. L'original suivi par Vajrabodhi est absolument identique au texte de Touen-houang. Il est inutile de donner une transcription intégrale de cet abracadabra. Il suffira de noter que le texte est découpé bizarrement en tranches irrégulières, qui marquent sans doute les haltes du débit rituel. Ces tranches sont au nombre de 113. Le fragment Stein s'ouvre, pour la brāhmī, au cours de la tranche 45; pour le sogdien, au début de la tranche 42. La ligne initiale, marquée O par les éditeurs, a pour équivalent dans la transcription chinoise : (42) *vidyām*, (43) *dehi dehi tavalam* (sic), (44) *gamaṅgama*, (45) *vihaṅgama viṅgama* (sic). Au sujet des particularités graphiques signalées par M. de la Vallée Poussin, je note l. 7 (= 65) *mahā-tripura (ti+li-pou-lo)*; l. 14 (85) *mahātāṭahāsa*; l. 15 (87) *vāci (fo-tsi)*.

Il est acquis désormais que la Nilakantḥadhāraṇī jouissait d'une faveur toute spéciale chez les bouddhistes de la Chine entre 650 et 750 de l'ère chrétienne. La présence à Touen-houang de cette dhāraṇī, tracée en écriture de l'Inde et en écriture sogdienne, est une autre preuve de cette popularité. Le document Stein gagne à cette

constatation un intérêt plus humain et plus réel ; sa date aussi gagne en précision ; nous avons un indice de plus pour la rapporter aux environs de l'an 700.

PARIS.

SYLVAIN LÉVI.

Août 9, 1912.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE *RTUSAMHARA*

The latest assault on the tradition¹ which attributes to Kālidāsa the composition of the *Rtusamhara* is due to Dr. J. Nobel, who, admitting the inconclusiveness of the earlier² doubts expressed on the subject, seeks to disprove the tradition by arguments drawn in the main from the *Alaṃkāraśāstra*. As Dr. Nobel expresses in a more definite and precise form³ than usual the arguments against the ascription to Kālidāsa, it will be useful briefly to consider his proofs.

1. In a MS. taken to China at some comparatively early date, and written, according to Dr. Nobel, about 1200 A.D.⁴, the scribe has copied out the beginnings of the *Kumārasaṃbhava*, the *Meghadūta* and the *Raghuvaṃśa* and adds some obscure Akṣaras which may possibly be read as *trayakāvyah viśaṣa traya kāvyam*. Hence it is deduced that the scribe desired to give the beginning of the Kāvya of Kālidāsa and knew only three. The argument is really too preposterous to need refutation.

¹ Vallabhadeva in *Subhāṣitāvalī*, vv. 1674 and 1678, quotes *Rtusamhara*, vi, 16 and 19, as Kālidāsa's. It should be noted that v. 1673 is also Kālidāsa's (*Kumārasaṃbhava*, iii, 29), which strengthens the attribution. The fact that vv. 1703 and 1704 are quoted as anonymous has no weight; no doubt they were taken from an anthology which gave no names, as Bühler, *Die indischen Inschriften*, p. 71, n. 2, suggests.

² e.g. Weber, *Ind. Streif.* ii, 151; Stenzler, ZDMG. xlv, 33, n. 3. Oldenberg, *Der Literatur des alten Indien*, p. 217, n. 1, leaves the matter open. Weber, it must be remembered, at one time doubted the authenticity of the *Mālarikāgnimitra*, but later recognized his error; see his *Indian Literature*, p. 204, n. 211.

³ ZDMG. lxvi, 275-82.

⁴ The argument for the date is of uncertain value; for the MS. cf. Kielhorn, *Academy*, xlv, 498 seqq.

2. In Mallinātha's commentary on Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*,¹ Mallinātha refers to himself as having explained a certain principle *Kālidāsatrayasaṃjīvinīyam*, and as a matter of fact he has explained the principle in his commentaries on the *Meghadūta*² and the *Raghuvamśa*.³ But the reference to *traya* here has a perfectly simple sense: Mallinātha commented on three Kāvya of Kālidāsa; he refers to this fact, and his reference gives absolutely no ground for the view that he held that Kālidāsa only wrote three; *Kālidāsatrayasaṃjīvinī* means a commentary on three (works) of Kālidāsa, not on "the three", which is a sense we must read in *ab extra*, if at all.

3. It is urged, though not adduced as a substantive ground, that the Kāvya cannot be compared in literary merit with the admitted works of Kālidāsa. I need not oppose my own opinion to this dictum: V. Henry, who quotes S. Lévi's⁴ doubts of the *Rtusamhāra*, says⁵ "encore lui [Kālidāsa] ferait-il honneur"; so Macdonell⁶ writes: "Perhaps no other work of Kālidāsa's manifests so strikingly the poet's deep sympathy with nature, his keen powers of observation, and his skill in depicting an Indian landscape in vivid colours." In truth the reputation of the poem is not due, as suggested by Dr. Nobel, to its production in a comparatively unpolished age; it is owing to its high qualities of style and poetic conception.

4. Walters⁷ has argued that the *Rtusamhāra* displays a distinct fondness, later not characteristic of the poet, for the repetition of the same words. But to this argument the reply is twofold; in the first place it is utterly misleading to say, "Dergleichen findet sich in Meghadūta

¹ xiii, 24. For Mallinātha's date see Keith, *Bodleian Catalogue*, Appendix, p. 23.

² i, 36.

³ xii, 19.

⁴ *Le théâtre indien*, ii, 43.

⁵ *Les Littératures de l'Inde*, p. 217.

⁶ *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 317.

⁷ *Übereinstimmungen in Gedanken bei den indischen Kunstdichtern*, pp. 6 seqq.

und auch in Kālidāsa's übrigen Werken nicht, was sicher kein Zufall ist." The repetition of the same word is never rare in Kālidāsa; thus in the Uttaramegha in v. 41 *dr̥ṣṭipātam* is echoed in v. 42 by *dr̥ṣṭir ālupyate me*; in v. 41 *utpaśyāmi* is followed in v. 43 by *paśyantīnām*; in v. 34 *stanītavimukhaḥ* is followed in v. 35 by *stanīta-vacanaiḥ*; in v. 34 occurs *sahasva*; in v. 42 *sahate*; in v. 34 *gāḍhopagūḍham*; in v. 39 *gāḍhataptena*; in v. 45 *gāḍhoṣmābhiḥ*; in v. 39 *pratana tanunā*; in v. 41 *pratanaṣu*; in v. 29 *virahadivase*; in v. 31 *prathamavirake*; in v. 39 *utkaṇṭham utkaṇṭhitena*; and in v. 40 *utkaṇṭhāviracītapadam*. But it is absurd to collect instances; they occur on every side. In the second place, even if the theory were true, the obvious explanation is that the *Rtusamhāra* is an earlier and less mature work, and this is to some extent supported by the fact that the repetition in the *Meghadūta* seems more artistic than in the *Rtusamhāra*.

5. It is argued that in poetic figures the *Meghadūta* is more advanced than the *Rtusamhāra*. The argument is frankly weak, for the two poems agree substantially in the use of the Śabdālaṃkāras, such as the Yamaka and Anuprāsa, and the *Meghadūta* has no certain case of a Dipaka, while the *Rtusamhāra* has many,¹ and Dr. Nobel, therefore, is reduced to arguing that the Dipakas of the *Rtusamhāra* are simpler than those of the *Kumārasambhava*² or *Raghuvamśa*.³ It is needless to labour the question of taste, in which I do not wholly agree with Dr. Nobel, but in any case it is quite unnecessary to claim more than that the *Rtusamhāra* is an early work. Indeed, in correcting Pischel's⁴ view of the relations of the *Kumārasambhava* and the *Raghuvamśa* Dr. Nobel concedes the point, for he ascribes the comparative neglect of the Kāvya rules in the former work

¹ i, 2, 3, 6, 25; iii, 2, 5, 20, etc.

² v, 5; vi, 69.

³ iv, 42; xii, 9.

⁴ *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i, vii, 201.

to its earlier date. But why not so treat the *Rtusamhāra*?

Dr. Nobel prefers to lay stress on the absence of the figure, Arthāntaranyāsa, from the *Rtusamhāra*, whereas it is common in the *Meghadūta*. For the stress laid on this criterion no ground can be alleged: the Arthāntaranyāsa is a figure admirably adapted for the latter poem with its constant contrast between the lot of the Yakṣa and his former happiness and the misery of the Yakṣa and the happy fate of the cloud (see e.g. *Pūrvamegha*, vv. 3, 5, and 6), while it is far less appropriate in the *Rtusamhāra* which lacks any such motive, nor is there any ground for holding that if genuine the two *Kāvya*s must be closely connected in time.

On the other side Dr. Nobel ignores entirely the force of the argument from the notices of Vatsabhaṭṭi. He accepts the view that this poetaster copied both Kālidāsa¹ and the *Rtusamhāra*,² and he admits that they need not have been far distant in time. But it is really very improbable that Vatsabhaṭṭi should have imitated Kālidāsa and a work attributed to Kālidāsa but not Kālidāsa's, though it is in spirit and general characteristics thoroughly in Kālidāsa's manner. And, it should be added, last but not least, Kielhorn, whose judgment in these matters is of great value, unhesitatingly treats the *Rtusamhāra* as a work of Kālidāsa.

Indeed, the incorrectness of the whole theory can be seen at once if it is remembered that many great poets³ have shown marked changes of power and form in the course of their careers, and that the gulf between their early and their late, their best and their worst work, is

¹ Bühler, *Die indischen Inschriften*, pp. 18, 70 seqq.

² Kielhorn, *Gött. Nach.* 1890, p. 253.

³ The difference between the Eclogues and Georgics of Vergil are much more marked, and yet their ascription to Vergil is in both cases beyond all doubt. Again, the poems of Catullus show a variety much greater than that found in the case of Kālidāsa's poems.

often infinitely greater than that between the *Rtusamhāra* and the other three Kāvya ascribed to Kālidāsa. The differences between the *Meghadūta* and the *Rtusamhāra* are legitimately interesting as traces of poetic development, but they have no value as evidence for difference of authorship.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE STANZAS OF BHARATA

In the *Mélanges d'Indianisme offerts par ses élèves à M. Sylvain Lévi*, Professor Edward Huber presents a brief paper under the title "Sur le texte tibétain de quelques stances morales de Bharata", in which he makes an interesting attempt at shedding light on some obscure passages in this difficult text by consulting the Chinese translation of Yi-ts'ing. In criticizing Schiefner's rendering of this work, M. Huber exclusively refers to his translation which appeared in the *Memoirs of the Petersburg Academy* (vol. xxii, No. 7, 1875), but unfortunately overlooked the fact (though it is expressly indicated in the preface to this memoir, p. vii) that Schiefner has edited also the Tibetan text of this work with a Latin translation and a valuable glossary (*Bharatae Responsa tibetice cum versione latina ab Antonio Schiefner edita*, Petropoli, 1875). If M. Huber will look up this edition, he will no doubt recognize that this is a piece of thorough and creditable work which commands respect. The text is critically and carefully edited from a collation of the Kanjur prints of Narthang and Peking, and the Arabic text of Kalila and Dimna has also been utilized. M. Huber on his part availed himself of a copy of the Tibetan text made for him by a Mongol Lama in Peking after the Peking edition of the Kanjur, a copy which in all likelihood is bound to be less reliable than the edition of Schiefner.

He who is intent on furthering the understanding of

this work must take regard of a good many other things. It is known that the story of Bharata has become part and parcel of Tibetan folk-lore, and that several entirely different versions of it are in existence. Thus far three of these popular versions have been published. One under the title "The Ulūkasūtra" has been translated from a manuscript of the India Office Library by A. Schiefner in the *Mélanges asiatiques*, vol. viii, pp. 635-640 (St. Petersburg, 1879); the relations of this text to the Replies of Bharata are pointed out by him on p. 624. Another more vulgar version entitled "Hā-shang-rgyal-po and Ug-tad (i.e. ཟླ་མཚན་པོ་), a Dialogue", translated from the Tibetan by Karl Marx, was published in JASB., vol. lx, pt. i, No. 2, pp. 37-46, 1891. Thirdly, a Tibetan text under the name རྒྱལ་ཁོང་གི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ "Çāstra of the King and the Minister" is printed in the *Tibetan Reader*, No. v, edited by Lama T. Ph. Wangdan (Darjeeling, 1898); here the Indian king, an incarnation of Māra, is called Ha-shan-deva, and the minister who effects his conversion is Buddha himself transformed into an owl. Substantially, this version differs from those of Schiefner and Marx, and quite naturally, as the comical answers of the minister allow of an almost endless variation. In WZKM., vol. xiii, p. 223, I briefly alluded to a possible connexion of the Bharata series with our stories of *Eulenspiegel*; indeed, Bharata or the minister Owl (Ulūka) is in his very jokes the prototype of our *Eulen* (Owl)-*spiegel*. The three versions here mentioned have not yet been compared; of the text translated by Marx, I possess four manuscripts. But one important conclusion can be reached that, in view of the numerous variations and deviations of these texts, there is a high degree of probability that also a plurality of original Sanskrit versions of this story has existed. If this, however, was the case, it is not necessary to assume that the Tibetan and Chinese translations were

made from exactly the same Sanskrit text, which seems improbable also for the reason that the two translations are separated by a long space of time. M. Huber takes it for granted that both versions have emanated from the same original, and therefore seeks the meaning conveyed by the Chinese stanzas also in the corresponding Tibetan verses. This procedure may certainly prove correct in many cases, but it must not be so in all cases. It cannot be made a general principle, as it is always possible that the Tibetan translator had a different Sanskrit wording before his eyes or interpreted the passage at variance with the Chinese translator. Under no circumstances, however, must the meaning, yielded by the Chinese phrases, be forced into the Tibetan, if it cannot naturally be deduced from the Tibetan sentence. While I gladly admit that M. Huber has largely improved on the translation of the two last stanzas quoted by him on pp. 309¹ and 310 and readily accept his result, I fail to see that his new translation on p. 307 can be deduced from the Tibetan text; nothing is there to justify the translations: "A l'improviste châtient les rois, . . . à l'improviste surviennent les bonnes aubaines." Schiefner's translation certainly is here capable of improvement; the last verse should be: "The monk ought not to think of gain." It is quite manifest that in this case the Chinese and Tibetan translations do not follow the same Sanskrit model.

M. Huber (p. 309) is quite right in attacking Schiefner's translation of *rtsa mjin* ར་མཇེན་ by "meadow", but he is not very fortunate in the explanation of the term. "*Rtsa* signifie 'ami, parent' (bandhu) et *mjin* 'cercle' (*varga*, *maṇḍala*). Il y a donc: 'le riche qui a peu d'amis.'" There is no word *rtsa* in the Tibetan language with the meaning of friend; *rtsa* means root, and there

¹ A different reading of the same stanza is quoted by Sarat Chandra Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 50a, which may serve as additional evidence for the existence of various versions of the text.

is a compound *rtsa lag* (lit. root and hands, i.e. root and branches) which assumes the meaning of relations, friend, usually in a Buddhist sense (= *upāsaka*). The Tibetan-Mongol Dictionaries render it by Mongol *ūri-sadu* or *orok-sadu* (*sadu* from Skr. *sādhu*). The compound *rtsa mjin* is simply a synonym of *rtsa lag*, and is explained in the Dictionary *Zla-bai Od-snañ*, "the Moonlight" (printed 1838 at Peking, fol. 95b), as *ūnār sadu*, "a true friend"; the literal translation of the phrase is "the pith of the root". For the rest, the word "rich" suggested to M. Huber by the Chinese text only is not contained in the Tibetan; the phrase *rtsa mjin c'uñ* simply means "one who has few friends".

Finally, I should like to express the wish that M. Huber would give us a complete translation of Yi-tsing's text. The work has a certain importance for the history of folk-lore; in my opinion the jokes of Bharata must be interpreted as riddles, the solution of which is unfortunately placed first. If his sentences are put as queries, we obtain veritable riddles, and it is this very feature which has been so pleasing to the Tibetans and accounts for the great popularity of the book in Tibet.

BERTHOLD LAUFER.

VISISTADVAITAM

The word *viśiṣṭādvaitam* is strangely mistranslated "qualified monism". This phrase is scarcely intelligible, and in any case does not express the fundamental teaching of Rāmānuja. *Viśiṣṭādvaitam* is *viśiṣṭayor advaitam*, "the identity of the two *viśiṣṭas*." *Viśiṣṭa* means "substantive" as opposed to *viśeṣaṇa*, "adjective." Brahma is *viśiṣṭa*; and Cit (individual souls) and Acit (matter) are as *viśeṣaṇa* to him. Now Brahma exists in two states, viz. in the *kāraṇāvasthā* during the periods of dissolution, when Cit and Acit exist in a subtle (*sūkṣma*) condition as his body, and in the *kāryāvasthā* during the

periods of cosmic manifestation, when Cit and Acit, still forming his body, are in a manifested (*sthūla*) state. Thus in the former case he is *sūkṣma-cid-acid-viśiṣṭa*, qualified by subtle Cit and Acit, and in the latter he is *sthūla-cid-acid-viśiṣṭa*, qualified by perceptible Cit and Acit. The *Viśiṣṭādvaitam* teaches that these two Brahmas, these two *viśiṣṭas*, are one and the same being.

P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR.

SOME NOTES ON BENGALI

A kind footnote at p. 281 of the January number of our Journal emboldens me to write down a few notes on the development of Bengali which may interest students of the modern languages of India. On the title-page of his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen quotes, with natural pride, the *obiter dictum* of an old friend of his and mine to the effect that "Bengali unites the mellifluousness of Italian with the power possessed by German of rendering complex ideas". Bengali is, to be sure, a supple and expressive language, and, spoken as it is in Nadiya for instance, it is very pleasant to the ear. But if we are to look for an interesting and suggestive parallel among Western languages, surely our choice should fall on French. If the Indo-European languages of Northern India are related to Sanskrit as the "Latin" languages are related to the speech of Rome, then Bengali is quite startlingly like French. If Provence was one of the earliest of Roman colonies, the land of the *langue d'oïl* is one of the last to come wholly under the Latin influence, so that people are still biglot in N.W. France and in the Pyrenees. So is it in N.E. Bengal, where Bodo dialects hold their own with Bengali. The word-stress, in Bengali as in French, is so faint that the phrase-stress (in both languages accompanied by an audible rise of tone) is the dominant feature. A result common to both languages is that

verse in both is syllabic, and not divided into feet due to the recurrent beat caused by emphasized or lengthened syllables. In both rhyme seems to be a practical necessity, and attempts to write blank verse are only recognizable as metre by the use of intoning or some other such musical expedient. It has been denied, I know, that Bengali is one of the languages in which phrase-stress dominates and obscures word-stress, just as M. Paul Passy (a formidable authority) says that French verse is not syllabic, and that its rhythm is just as much a matter of regularly recurring beats as the verse of English or German. But the faintness of word-stress in Bengali may be made tolerably obvious by considering the pronunciation of words borrowed from stressed languages, such as Hindi or English. *Dakhl* (possession) is pronounced *dokhol*, with a level accent on both syllables, and *zamīn* (land) becomes *jomī*. In French and Bengali alike, several words are pronounced rapidly together, and the phrasal unit thus formed has a dominant syllable, which, to my hearing, is both stressed and pronounced at a higher pitch than the rest of the phrase. This is, perhaps, particularly noticeable in the so-called "compound verbs", so characteristic of Bengali idiom. They exist, of course, in other Indo-European tongues, but Bengali is particularly rich in this device. A participle (sometimes even two) is joined to a finite verb, and the combined phrase has a meaning different from its component parts. I do not think that this linguistic device is so much as mentioned in native *vyākaraṇs*, and even in grammars written in English the list of such "compound verbs" is manifestly incomplete. It is, of course, sometimes difficult to say in a given case whether there has been a fusion of meaning. For instance, there may be doubt in the case of such a picturesque compound as *se baliyā basila*, "he having said, sat," which means "he quietly said," "he had the quiet impudence to say."

In grammar papers set to candidates for linguistic honours in Bengali, they are often required to describe the Bengali passive. Here the conscientious candidate's difficulty is worth stating with some particularity, since it is an apt example of the different views often held by native and foreign grammarians respectively. The native *vyākaraṇs* do not so much as mention a passive voice, perhaps because they do not recognize any special verbal device exclusively appropriated to the expression of the passive sense. Mr. D. C. Sen is very tantalizing in this matter. At p. 922 of his *History* he cites as a "curious specimen" of European blunders an early attempt by the Rev. J. Keith to conjugate one tense of the Bengali passive. This attempt only differs from the conjugation given at p. 145 of Shama Charan Sirkar's well-known grammar in two points. The second person is made to terminate in *-lā* instead of in *-le*, and the pronoun in the third person plural lacks the honorific *candra-vindu*. The latter error is probably a misprint. The second person in *-lā* survives, I think, in Assamese and in N. Bengal.

In Mr. Beames's little grammar, and in Sirkar, the passive construction is *āmī mārā yāī*, where *mārā* is plainly participial, as in the corresponding construction in Hindi. In Wenger's grammar, and in Mr. R. P. De's recently published *Bengali: Literary and Colloquial*, the construction given is *āmāke mārā yāy*. Here *mārā* has become a verbal noun and the subject of the verb *yāy*. (It may be of interest to note that this way of expressing the passive occurs in Gaelic, but not, I am told, in the Celtic of Ireland or Brittany.) If we search books for examples of the construction we are handicapped by the fact that the passive, rare at all times, seems to be most commonly used of inanimate things. Hence, owing to the structure of the language, the most common specimens of the passive may be interpreted either way. But in the

few cases where there can be little doubt the construction seems participial rather than nominal, as, for instance, in the phrase *ei śakti nā thākile, anek granthakār mārā yāiten*, where the termination of the verb *yāiten* plainly shows that *granthakār* is in the nominative, and *mārā* the complement of the verb and not its subject.

Perhaps we ought not to talk of a passive in analytic languages which have no specific verbal inflection to express the passive idea. In Bengali, as in most modern Indian languages, the passive sense can be expressed in many alternative ways, some not exclusively used for that purpose. Thus, it is possible to say *ami mārā paḍilām*, "I fell beaten," a construction which is interesting because it shows that *mārā* is still used participially, and is not, as shown in grammars written in English, merely a verbal noun. The fact that the grammars disagree may be due to local differences of usage, and, in any case, the nominal construction is probably a new development due to the sense that such forms as *mārā* are becoming verbal nouns.

Perhaps, too, we ought to congratulate ourselves that European grammarians have not discovered a middle voice in Bengali. The causal form of the verb can be used to express a reflexive sense, as in the phrase *tāhā bhāla dekhāy nā*, "that does not look well." There are many verbs of this type which correspond to French reflexives. Thus, *bedāite* = "se promener" and *janmāite* often has the sense of "se produire", as well as the causal meaning which usually belongs to its form.

If an apology is needed for this ingenuous exposition of elementary difficulties, it may perhaps be found in the fact that grammatical discrepancies are often due to an attempt to classify Indian facts of language according to European grammatical terminology. This is very marked in the instance of the cases, so that we get such statements (I am actually quoting) as "the locative is used in cases where in English the dative or accusative would be used".

This implies that the meaning of the *adhikaran* case is normally "locative". In the instance of primitive non-Indo-European languages the facts of grammar can hardly be expressed in European phraseology at all, as Sir Richard Temple has shown. In the case of such languages as Bengali it is perhaps safest in a land of grammarians to use vernacular terms which at least do not beg doubtful questions of interpretation and are based on the observation of natives. Where the foreigner can perhaps be of use is in drawing attention to constructions which from sheer familiarity may have escaped the notice of native grammarians. The passive in Bengali would seem to be one of these. The methods of expressing the passive sense must needs be explained to foreigners, and perhaps native grammarians might like to know how the mechanism of the passive and of "compound verbs" strikes the foreign student. This might stimulate their analytic faculty, and thus help the foreign student to learn from his best masters—those who have used the language from birth.

J. D. A.

NOTE ON THE RAMAYANA OF TULASI DAS

There is an obscure passage towards the end of the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍ of the Hindi Rāmāyaṇa, describing the malice of the god Indra, the sense and origin of which seem to have escaped the sole translator of that epic. The last Chaupāi preceding the 290th Dohā¹ (using the text published by the Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā of Benares) runs as follows:—

लखि हिय हँसि कह कृपानिधानू । सरिस खान मघवान बुवानू ।

This is rendered by Mr. Growse thus: "Seeing this the Ocean of compassion smiled to himself and said, 'Indra is like a dog in his ways.'"

¹ [i.e. the 290th Dohā according to Growse's translation. In the N.P.S. edition it is No. 302. The verse quoted is the last line on p. 331.—Ed.]

The literal translation of the second half of the Chaupāi is "A dog, Indra, and a young are alike".

This is a punning allusion to a Sūtra of the grammarian Pāṇini, अयुवमधोनामतद्धिते (the 133rd Sūtra of the fourth Pāda of the sixth Adhyāya), the meaning of which is that the Sanskrit words for a dog, and for the god Indra (Maghavān), and for a young man are all subject to the same peculiarity in their declension, viz., a change before certain case-terminations of the semi-vowel (व) into the corresponding vowel (a change technically called samprasāraṇa).

R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S.

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA UP TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1911

The following is a list of the volumes of the Survey, showing the state at which each has arrived :—

- | | | |
|---------|---|---|
| Vol. I. | Introduction. | This cannot be touched until all the other volumes have been printed and indexed. |
| „ II. | Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families. | These have all been printed and published. |
| „ III. | Tibeto-Burman family. In three parts. | |
| „ IV. | Munḍā and Dravidian families. | |
| „ V. | Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group. In two parts. | |
| „ VI. | Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate group. | |
| „ VII. | Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group. | |
| „ VIII. | Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group. | |
| | A portion in type, and the rest nearly ready for the press. | |

Vol. IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group:—

Part I. Western Hindī and Panjābi.

In the press.

“ II. Rājasthānī and } Printed
 Gujarātī. } and

“ III. Bhil languages, etc. } published.

“ IV. Himalayan languages. In the
 press.

“ X. Eranian languages. The greater part in
 type. A small portion remaining to be
 written.

“ XI. Gipsy languages. This has been prepared by
 Dr. Konow, and is ready for the press.

It will thus be seen that the Survey, save for the Introductory volume, is nearly completed. Only a few months' work remains. As for what has not already been published, the following remarks may be of interest.

Vol. VIII covers the whole of North-Western India, and deals with Sindhī, Lahndī, and the Piśācha languages (including Kāshmirī) spoken between the north-western frontier of India proper and the Hindū Kush. With the exception of Kāshmirī, all the Piśācha languages have been disposed of, and the section dealing with them is in type. Lahndī, by far the heaviest section, is completed except for a couple of dialects, regarding which it has been found necessary to make reference to India. Sindhī, which will require but a short section, has not yet been touched. All, therefore, of this volume that remains to be done is Sindhī, two dialects of Lahndī, and Kāshmirī.



As regards Vol. IX (Eranian languages), two forms of speech remain untouched, viz. Bilōchī and Ormūri. The latter is a most interesting but little-known language spoken in Wazīristān. I have been fortunate enough to obtain excellent materials, and hope to be able to give

a fairly complete account of it. I have already drafted a grammar and vocabulary. Although distinctly a member of the Eranian family, it also shows points of agreement with the Piśācha languages of the Hindū Kush country. It may here be remarked that Khêtrānī, a dialect of the Indo-Aryan Lahndī, also shows signs of similar agreement. The rest of this volume, dealing with the Ghalchah languages, Pushtō, and some local varieties of Persian, has long been in type.

As regards Vol. IX, the parts dealing with Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, and the Bhīl languages have already been published. The part for Western Hindī and Panjābī has long been ready for the press, but difficulties connected with the preparation of special Oriental type have delayed its appearance. Part IV has lately been completed in MS. and gone to press. It deals with the Indo-Aryan languages of the Himālaya from Darjeeling in the east to beyond Chambā in the west. These have been divided into three languages or groups of dialects, which (proceeding from east to west) I name respectively Eastern Pahārī or Naipālī, Central Pahārī, and Western Pahārī.

These Pahārī languages exhibit points of great interest, both to the ethnologist and to the philologist. In Eastern Pahārī we have an Indo-Aryan language spoken by a dominant class, comparatively few in number, amidst a population whose speech is Tibeto-Burman. In such a case we should expect to find many instances of Tibeto-Burman loan-words, but this does not occur to any large extent. On the other hand, the grammar is greatly influenced, and we find this Indo-Aryan language adopting a system of conjugation and rules of syntax which are essentially Tibeto-Burman. For instance, as in Tibeto-Burman, there is a special impersonal conjugation of every verb, giving an honorific sense; and the subject of a transitive verb in any tense (not only the past tense) is put into the case of the agent.

Central Pahāri is the language of Kumaun and Garhwāl. The many dialects can conveniently be grouped under the two language names of Kumauni and Garhwāli. The speakers of Eastern Pahāri call themselves "Khas", and the principal dialect of Kumauni is called *Khas-parjiyā*, or "the speech of the Khas-people". The main cultivating population of Kumaun and Garhwāl belongs to the Khas tribe. Western Pahāri is the name given to the group of dialects between Garhwāl on the east and Jammū and Kashmīr on the west. It includes the vernacular language of the country round Simla.

The tract over which Central and Western Pahāri are spoken closely corresponds to the ancient Sapādalaksha,¹ the country from which in old times the Gurjaras migrated to populate North-Eastern Rājputānā (Mēwāt and Jaipur). D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that the Rājputās are the modern representatives of ancient Gurjaras who adopted the profession of arms, the remainder, who adhered to the tribal pastoral life, retaining the old name of "Gurjara", or in modern times "Gūjar".

The Khas tribe of the Central Pahāri tract represents the ancient Khaśas, regarding whom much has been written, but little definitely proved. The cultivating population of the Western Pahāri tract calls itself "Kanēt", not "Khas"; but the Kanēts are divided into two classes, one of which, the lower in status, bears the name of "Khas". The other class, of higher status, calls itself "Rāo" and claims, as the name implies, to be of impure Rājput descent.

The language spoken in the three Pahāri tracts is, as is well known, connected with Rājasthānī, and when the Pahāri volume appears it will be seen that it agrees most closely with the dialects of North-Eastern Rājputānā—Mēwātī and Jaipuri. But throughout there are traces of

¹ See D. R. Bhandarkar in *Indian Antiquary*, xl, 1911, 28. The name still survives in the "Sawālakh" Hills.

another form of speech belonging to the North-Western group of Indo-Aryan languages, which I call "Piśācha". These traces are slight in Eastern Pahārī, strong in Central Pahārī, and very strong in Western Pahārī.

The state of affairs is further complicated by the fact that in the extreme north-west, amongst Piśāca-speaking peoples, in the distant hills of Śwāt and Kashmīr, there are at the present day wandering tribes of Gūjar cattle-tenders and shepherds, who have a language of their own quite different from that of the people among whom they dwell. This language also closely resembles the Rājasthānī of Mēwāt and Jaipur.

Although it is unsafe to base ethnological theories on linguistic facts, I think that when Part IV of Vol. IX of the Linguistic Survey is published it will be seen that the following theory is at least not inconsistent with the linguistic facts as we now observe them.

I suggest that the earliest known Indo-Aryan or Aryan inhabitants of the Himālaya tract, known as Sapādalaksha, were the Khaśas. These spoke a language akin to what are now the Piśācha languages of the Hindū Kush. They are now represented in the Western Pahārī tract by the Khas clan of the Kanēts and in the Central Pahārī tract by the Khas tribe, which forms the bulk of the cultivating population.

In later time the Khaśas were conquered by the Gurjaras. The Gurjaras are now represented by the Rājputs of the whole Sapādalaksha tract, and also by the Rāo clan of the Kanēts, which represents those Gurjaras who did not take to warlike pursuits, but remained cultivators. Hence their claim to be of impure Rājput descent. In Garhwāl and Kumaun, where (for our present purposes) there are only Rājputs and Khaśas, the cultivating Gurjaras became merged in the general Khas population. Over the whole of this Sapādalaksha tract the Gurjaras and the Khaśas gradually amalgamated, and they now speak one language,

mainly Gurjari, but also bearing traces of the speech of the original Khaśa population.

As Bhandarkar has shown, many of these Sapādalaksha Gurjaras migrated into Rājputānā, carrying their language with them, which there developed into Rājasthānī. In the subsequent centuries there was constant communication between Rājputānā and Sapādalaksha, and, under the pressure of Mughul domination, there ultimately set in a considerable tide of emigration back from Rājputānā into Sapādalaksha. These immigrants were received with all the prestige of the high position to which they had attained in the social system of the Indian Plains. The foundation by them of various Hill States is a matter of history and need not here detain us, but, from a linguistic point of view, the important fact is that they still further strengthened the Rājasthānī element in the Pahāri dialects.

There remain the nomadic Gūjars of the north-western hills. Their presence is accounted for as follows:—We have seen that those Gurjaras who did not take to warlike pursuits, but adhered to their pastoral occupation, retained the name and social status of Gurjaras or Gūjars. During the period in which Rājput rule became extended over the Panjāb, the Rājput fighting-men were accompanied by their humbler pastoral brethren, and we now find a line of Gūjar colonization running from Mēwāt (the "Gujarāt" of Albirūnī) up both sides of the Jamna Valley, and thence following the foot of the Panjāb Himālaya, right up to the Indus. Where they have settled in the plains they have abandoned their own language and speak that of the surrounding population, but as we enter the lower hills we invariably come upon a dialect locally known as "Gujari". In each case this can best be described as the language of the people nearest the local Gūjars, but badly spoken, as if by foreigners. The further we go into these sparsely populated hills, the more independent do we find the Gūjar dialect, and the less is

it influenced by its surroundings. At length, when we get into the wild hill-country of Śwāt and Kashmir, the nomad Gūjars are found still pursuing their pastoral avocations, and still speaking the language their ancestors brought with them from Mēwāt. But even this shows traces of its long journey. For these Gūjars, wandering over hills where the resident population speaks either Pushtō or some Piśācha dialect, and separated from the Jamnā by the wide plains of the Panjāb, over which either Lahndī or Panjābī is the universal tongue, speak a language which, though nearly the same as Mēwātī, also contains, like flies in amber, odd phrases and idioms belonging to the Hindōstānī of the Jamnā Valley. These they could not have taken from Pushtō or from Piśācha. These are strange alike to Lahndī and Panjābī. These do not occur in Mēwātī, and they clearly show that the Gūjars, on their way to Śwāt and Kashmir, must, at one period of their wanderings, have lived in the Jamnā Valley.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTION FOR MUNICH

An Exhibition was held in Munich during May and June of this year of an interesting collection made by Professor Scherman, Director of the Royal Ethnographical Museum, in the course of a twelve months' tour in Burma and India. Professor Scherman's main object was to fill up gaps in the Museum exhibits, and as Burma was poorly represented more than half his time was devoted to that province. The result is a very fine and complete collection of objects illustrating the daily life of the people—Burmese, Shans, Palaungs, Karens, Nagas, Kachins, and others. Clothing, ornaments, arms, pottery, household and agricultural implements, musical instruments, sacred

utensils, and specimens of weaving all find their place for each of the principal racial divisions. The Todas and Gonds of Southern India are similarly dealt with, and the Jains of Ahmadabad are represented by a set of sacred utensils and by carvings from old temples. The collection also includes religious and other objects from Assam and the neighbourhood of the Himalayas, sculptures from Mathura, and embroideries and ornaments from other parts of India. In all there are over two thousand pieces. Most of them were bought with the aid of officials, missionaries (especially those of the American Baptist Mission), and gentlemen interested in ethnology; but some are from the private collections of Messrs. Needham, Swinhoe, and C. E. Browne, and some presented by Sawbwas and others.

Among the most conspicuous exhibits are two doorways of glass mosaic from a ruined monastery in Upper Burma, a carved throne in the style of those in Mandalay Palace, and a processional car containing a Buddha. One side of a room is occupied by a complete set of marionettes, arranged as in a Burmese operatic play, and in front of these is an entire orchestra. Less familiar objects to those living in Burma are some fine bronze drums from Karenni, made by Shans. There are Buddhas in every position and of every type and material, and specimens showing the stages of the *cire-perdu* process by which brass images are manufactured. Pre-Buddhist religion is well represented by copies of the remarkable carved figures of the Thirty-seven Nats at Nyaungu, near Pagan. The art of wood-carving before it became over-elaborate and degenerate is exemplified by specimens from ruined monasteries in the Upper Chindwin and Mandalay. The silver-work also, which fills a large case, has been chosen as characteristic of the Shan and Burmese art of the last century rather than of the more modern developments. There is a very fine collection of spears, swords, knives,

and bows, and, lastly, models of boats, houses, carts, etc. The uses to which all these things are put are illustrated in photographs by Mrs. Scherman, selected from about a thousand negatives.

The Director of the museum is an official of the Bavarian Government, but the expenses of the tour were defrayed from private subscriptions. Professor Scherman travelled with letters of recommendation from the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

The exhibits will be stored until room is obtained for them in a new museum building.

NOTES ON SOME SUFI LIVES

In the preface to the *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, p. xvii, its author is said to have studied under Khuttali and another. In Mr. Clauson's *Khulāṣa Ta'rīkh al-Bahā* (*ante*, p. 598, n. 1) I have come across the name of a third teacher, Abu-l-Faḍl al-Sahlaki, who is mentioned (*Kashf*, 164) as "Shaikh Sahlagi", and as imparting direct information to the author. In the *Khulāṣa* he is stated to have written a work on the arcana of Bāyazīd, and to have died A.H. 398,¹ whereas Dhahabi dates his death in 477. Were the earlier date correct the pupil must have survived the master by at least sixty years. The *Khulāṣa* again mentions the *Kashf* in connexion with Abu 'Abd A. Muḥ. b. Khalaf al-Rāsāni, d. 419.² He must

¹ وفيها [يعني سنة ٣٩٨] توفي الشيخ العالم أبو الفضل محمد بن السهلقي صاحب كتاب النور في كتمان طيفوركان صاحب كرامات وآيات اخذ الشريعة والطريقة عن شيخ المشايخ البسطامى وقام بعده مقامه . واخذ منه الشيخ عبد الرحمن السلمى والشيخ على بن عثمان الجلبجى صاحب كتاب كشف المحجوب .

² وفيها [يعني سنة ٤١٩] توفي شيخ المشايخ أبو عبد الله محمد بن على بن خلف الراساني العارف بالله وكان عالماً بفنون العلم

be identical with the *Dāstāni* (p. 164), "who found an excellent successor in Shaikh Sahlagi." And the text goes on to notice the death, in the same year, of Kharakāni (p. 163), who is called Rabbāni, presumably an epithet, and to give an Arabic version of his conversation with Mihani, as also Kūshairi's account of his feelings on entering Kharakān to the same effect as in the *Kashf*. The death of the author of that work does not appear to be noticed in the *Khulāsa*.

I take the opportunity of correcting some errors in the article which have been pointed out by one or other of the three Professors to whose assistance I was indebted: 557, n. 3, read تنافروا, as in Sha'rāni's *Lawākiḥ al-Anwār*, i, 97, penult.; 564, ult., read فنتدلّ عليك, and translate "his love was recognized, but the Deity had been coquetting with him"; 566, n. 2, ll. 2 and 3, read خوض; 568, l. 4 a.f., read تكلموا على and هجرتاد, and 3 a.f., translate عزّ "are rare"; 569, n. 1, the text is given more correctly in Subki's *Tabakāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ii, 39, and, differently, *Lawākiḥ*, i, 83; ib., penult., read شجر; 570, l. 16, read Or. 49; and 572, l. 11, read "Akṭa' and Makki disclaimed him — برئ منه — those whom the *Fark*

حكى انه حفظ القرآن وهو ابن سبع سنين وكان من اولياء السديين
جمعوا بين الشريعة والحقيقة ذكره الشيخ على بن عثمان بن على
المجلاي في كتاب المسمى كشف المعجوب . وفيها توقى الشيخ
ابو الحسن على بن احمد الرباني صاحب الكرامات والمقامات
ذكره صاحب كشف المعجوب قال : في زمانه كان ممدوحا
بجميع مشايخ عصره قصد زيارته الشيخ ابو سعيد بن ابى الخير
[يعنى الميهني] وجرت بينهما محاورات لطيفة . وقال ابو القاسم
القشيري : لما دخلت خرقان ارتجت على فصاحتى وعبارتى
من حشمة ذلك الشيخ وحسيت كاتى عزلت عن الولاية . قال
صاحب كتاب آثار البلاد وذكر ان من حضر قبره يغلبه قبض شديد .

mentions as accepting him are Ibn 'Atā, Ibn Khafif, and Naṣrābādhi".

I may add that Naḳkāsh (574, note) was the author of a *Ṭabaḳat al-Ṣūfiyya* (Hāji Kh. 7905); that al-Awāriji (572, n. 2) is mentioned 'Arib, 87, l. 17; and that Muḥ. b. 'Abd A. al-Shirāzi and Ibn Bākūya, mentioned ib. 103, ll. 6 and 21, are one and the same person; cf. *ante*, 556, ult. His death in 428 is noticed by Dhahabi, Or. 49, 148^b.

In the table: p. 581, for Kharkāni read Kharakāni (Ansāb); p. 582, the Maghribi mentioned, Muḥ. b. Ismā'il, should be followed by another, Sa'īd b. Sallām (*Kashf*, p. 158), d. 373 (Sulami, 111^a, and Dhahabi, Or. 48, 135^b). And it is probable that the preceding Ibn al-Kūṭi should be read Ibn al-Ghūṭi (from the Ghūṭa of Damascus), for the name appears thus in the *Kitāb al-Luma'* (B.M. Or. 7710, 148a, b), in a version of the *Kashf* story (pp. 408-9) of the young man's sudden death on the "audition" of a verse. In the *Luma'* it is Duḳḳi who is walking with Ibn al-Ghūṭi at the spot mentioned, and the young man adjures the girl to repeat the verse, not for his own life's sake, but for that of her master. The "change" in the verse seems to be in respect of colour—تَلَوْنَ—and on hearing it the youth exclaims هَذَا وَاللَّهِ تَلَوْنِي مَعَ الْحَقِّ فِي حَالِي and dies. A somewhat similar tragedy, but without a Sūfi environment, is told by Jāḥiẓ as having taken place at the court of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, or of one of his sons (see Mas'ūdi, *Prairies d'Or*, vii, 225, and Ibn Khall., de Sl., ii, 406). The death there was self-inflicted, but the Caliph's conduct may have been the model for the impulsive proceedings of the singer's master here.

I have found the *Kitāb al-Luma'* quoted for a Sūfi there mentioned, Abu-l-Ṭaib Aḥmad b. Muḳātil al-'Akki, in the *Ansāb* of Sam'āni, *Gibb Facsimile*, 396^b, 2 a.f., a volume which may, by the time these lines are in print, have actually reached the public's hands.

H. F. A.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE KITAB AL-LUMA'

In his "Notes on some Šūfi Lives" published in the last number of the Journal, Mr. Amedroz refers (p. 555, n. 1) to my forthcoming edition of the famous Arabic treatise on Šūfism by Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj of Tūs. Only two MSS. of the *Kitāb al-Luma'* are known to exist. One of these belongs to Mr. A. G. Ellis, who has kindly placed it at my disposal: it is dated 683 A.H., is carefully written, and has been collated throughout, as appears from the numerous corrections in the margin. The second MS. has recently been acquired by the British Museum (Or. 7710). Its date is much earlier, namely 548 A.H., and it represents an older recension of the work. Although the two texts agree closely with each other, their variations being generally unimportant, the rule *seniores priores* applies to manuscripts as well as to men; and I should not have decided to make Mr. Ellis's copy (A) the basis of my edition if the British Museum codex (B) were what Mr. Amedroz says it is—"a complete and legibly written MS." The description, however, is seriously misleading. Compared with A, which itself is not complete, B is defective to the extent of more than a third part of the whole text: of the 193 folios in A, 72 are wanting in B. The single lacuna in A covers six chapters (probably between ten and fifteen folios) which B, unfortunately, does not supply. B is legible enough, except where it has been damaged by worms, but A is in far sounder condition and is also more correct. I will add, for the benefit of anyone who may wish to peruse or consult the only copy of the *Kitāb al-Luma'* at present available, that the pagination and order of the text are in hopeless confusion. The correct order is given in the second column of the following table, which also shows what portions of the text are missing:—

A

- A, fol. 1a, ll. 2-10.
 A, fol. 1a, ll. 10-16.
 A, fol. 1a, l. 17—fol. 5b, l. 7.
 A, fol. 5b, l. 7—fol. 6a, l. 9.
 A, fol. 6a, l. 9—fol. 10b, l. 1.
 A, fol. 10b, l. 1—fol. 16b, l. 1.
 A, fol. 16b, l. 1—fol. 17a, l. 3.
 A, fol. 17a, l. 4—fol. 32a, l. 7.
 A, fol. 32a, l. 7—fol. 41b, l. 15.
 A, fol. 41b, l. 15—fol. 62a, last line.
 A, fol. 62b, l. 1—fol. 63b, penult.
 A, fol. 63b, last line—fol. 68b, l. 10.
 A, fol. 68b, l. 10—fol. 69a, l. 12.
 A, fol. 69a, l. 12—fol. 95b, l. 8.
 A, fol. 95b, l. 8—fol. 105b, l. 12.
 A, fol. 105b, l. 12—fol. 108b, l. 2.
 A, fol. 108b, l. 2—fol. 109a, l. 16.
 A, fol. 109a, l. 16—fol. 109b, l. 12.
 A, fol. 109b, l. 13—fol. 112b, l. 8.
 A, fol. 112b, l. 9—fol. 113b, l. 4.
 A, fol. 113b, l. 5—fol. 114a, l. 7.
 A, fol. 114a, l. 8—fol. 115b, l. 4.
 A, fol. 115b, l. 5—fol. 119a, l. 19.
 A, fol. 119a, penult.—fol. 147b, l. 2.
 A, fol. 147b, l. 2—fol. 153a, l. 18.
 A, fol. 153a, l. 18—fol. 172a, l. 8.
 A, fol. 172a, l. 8—fol. 172b, l. 10.
 A, fol. 172b, l. 10—fol. 173a, last line.
 A, fol. 173a, last line—fol. 178a, l. 2.
 A, fol. 178a, l. 3—fol. 193b, l. 4.

B

- B, om.
 B, fol. 3a, ll. 1-11.
 B, om.
 B, fol. 3b, l. 1—fol. 4a, last line.
 B, om.
 B, fol. 4b, l. 1—fol. 15a, last line.
 B, om.
 B, fol. 15b, l. 1—fol. 43a, last line.
 B, fol. 69b, l. 1—fol. 87b, l. 7.
 B, om.
 B, fol. 87b, l. 8—fol. 90a, last line.
 B, fol. 43b, l. 1—fol. 52a, last line.
 B, fol. 68b, l. 1—fol. 69a, last line.
 B, om.
 B, fol. 90b, l. 1—fol. 109b, l. 1.
 B, fol. 232a, l. 6—fol. 238a, last line.
 B, fol. 239b, l. 1—fol. 241a, last line.
 B, fol. 238b, l. 1—fol. 239a, last line.
 B, fol. 62b, l. 1—fol. 68a, last line.
 B, fol. 54b, l. 1—fol. 56a, last line.
 B, fol. 241b, l. 1—fol. 242a, last line.
 B, fol. 52b, l. 1—fol. 54a, last line.
 B, fol. 56b, l. 1—fol. 62a, last line.
 B, fol. 131a, last line—fol. 191a, l. 4.
 B, fol. 109b, l. 2—fol. 122a, l. 10.
 B, fol. 191a, l. 4—fol. 230a, last line.
 B, om.
 B, fol. 230b, l. 1—fol. 232a, l. 6.
 B, fol. 122a, l. 10—fol. 131a, penult.
 B, om.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

THE BUSHELL BOWL

Mr. L. C. Hopkins in deciphering the inscription of the Bushell Bowl, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (JRAS., 1912, pp. 439 ff.), finds considerable difficulty in explaining the character 鼎, No. 245. It seems to me that there is every probability of its modern form being 鼎 or 鼎, which according to Giles' Dictionary (edition 1911), 11268 and 11269, signifies "a caldron; a tripod, or a four-footed vessel, of bronze, with two ears; a sacrificial vessel, regarded as an emblem of Imperial power;

hence, the empire". Of course, to use Mr. Hopkins' own words, such an equation does not satisfy the conditions, for neither the Bushell Bowl nor the San Shih P'an can properly be styled a *ting* any more than a 鬲, *li*, at least as far as modern Chinese is concerned. But we have to base theories on facts, not interpret facts to fit into theories.

If Mr. Hopkins is correct, and the thing referred to in the inscription as having been "completed" or "made" is our very bowl, then it would be well to point out the fact that *ting* is not necessarily a tripod, although commonly denoting such in present-day language, but may include even to-day, and perhaps much more so in the seventh century B.C., sacrificial vessels of other shapes. There is a play of words in this sentence, which may have induced the engraver to use these characters. 元, if Mr. Hopkins reads the character correctly, of which he himself shows some doubt, has also the meaning of "original, to originate", etc., and *ting* that of "dynasty", quite enough to tempt any Chinese scribe. Cf. 定鼎 or 立鼎, "to establish a dynasty" (Giles).

If, on the other hand, Professors Giles, Chavannes, etc., are right, and the bowl is "a fake", then it is quite probable that the inscription of the bowl is a copy, more or less true, of another inscription, the original perhaps having been cast or engraved on the *ting* mentioned.

But the most probable version appears to me to be that the inscription on the Bushell Bowl recounts the deeds and rewards of that Prince of Chin. Among the distinctions bestowed on him by the king is a *ting*, which beside its intrinsic value probably had some symbolical meaning.

On the whole, the arguments of the "iconoclasts" carry more conviction, and it is certainly awkward to base an entire theory on a letter admittedly in dispute, or rather not deciphered yet at all.

H. GIPPERICH.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE

I have read with interest Mr. Gipperich's comments on my article on the Bushell Bowl. The difficulty with regard to the identification of character No. 245 with *ting*, a caldron, is that, though ancient examples of that character are very numerous, there is among them no known instance of our form. Hence I dared not treat the latter as *ting*, for, as Mr. Gipperich remarks, "we have to base theories on facts, not interpret facts [or characters] to fit into theories."

I am not in any doubt as to the preceding character 元, *yūan*. But it is uncertain, perhaps, whether its sense in this passage is "original" or "great".

I am not sure whether Mr. Gipperich supposes me to base my belief in the genuineness of the Bowl and its inscription on the sentence under discussion. However, I formed my opinion long before these few characters came fully to light.

L. C. HOPKINS.

GINGER, ETC.

1. In his note on the Indian names for "ginger" (*supra*, pp. 475-6) my friend Professor Hultsch concurs with me in disconnecting the form *śunthī*, as regards its etymology, from the various forms of *śṛṅga(vera)*, *iñji*, etc. As he does not mention the proposed derivation of *śunthī* from **śuṣṭī*, which was included in my note (1905, pp. 169-70), he will no doubt permit me to recall attention to it, more especially as I understand him to accord it his approval. It is confirmed, as he points out to me, by the fact that the ordinary Tamil designation *śukku* is clearly derived from the Sanskrit equivalent *śuṣka*, "dry," antithetic to *ārdraka*, "fresh ginger."

2. A number of Sanskrit poets bear names ending in -oka, e.g. *Bimboka*, *Gaṅgoka*, *Gopoka*, *Hīṅgoka*, *Nāthoka*,

Niloka, Puṇḍroka, Siddhoka, Vātoka, Yogoka. Aufrecht has made a list of them in one of his MSS., and they will be found scattered in the pages of the *Catalogus Catalogorum*. One of them, however, *Mulloka*, is omitted as not having written in Sanskrit; he is perhaps the oldest, being author of one of the verses in the *Saptaśataka* of Hāla.

We may suggest the following explanation of the suffix. The poet *Amarī* is frequently cited by the variants *Amaraka*, *Amaruka*, and *Amarūka* (see Professor Simon's edition of the *Śataka*, pp. 16 sqq.). *Amarū* will, therefore, be a Prākṛit derivative from *Amaraka* by loss of the *k*, which has subsequently been reappended in *Amarūka*, just as our word *salt-cellar* contains the word for "salt" twice. Similarly, *Vātoka*, etc., represent an original *kose*-form *Vātaka*, etc., reduced to *Vāto*, etc., and again reamplified to *Vātoka*. If, however, I am invited to particularize the dialect in which the change *-akāḥ* — *aū* — $\leq \frac{\circ}{a}$ was thus early completed, I must for the present respectfully decline.

F. W. THOMAS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

KĀTHAKA SAMHITĀ, Book III. Edited by LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER. Leipzig, 1910.

The appearance of the third book¹ of the Samhitā is welcome as at last affording us the actual text of the whole of the *Kāthaka*. It is true that the Mantras have already been utilized for Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*, and that the material of the *Kāthaka* has been extensively used and communicated by Weber in his various works, but it is impossible to rely with full confidence on anything short of the full text, and for it, edited with his wonted care and accuracy, we are indeed grateful to Professor von Schroeder. The work of editing is in many ways particularly unsatisfactory, for apart from the paucity of MSS. and the character far from good in many parts of the text, there can be little doubt that the *Kāthaka* tradition was often not a good one, and the most faithful restoration of the text may yet result in a reading which comparison with other Samhitās shows to be inferior.

Weber's work has rendered it difficult to extract anything new as regards subject-matter² of general interest from the *Kāthaka*, and interest therefore centres in the syntactical side of the text. As in the other two books, the striking feature of the predominance of the narrative imperfect is continued; there are some 370 cases of this usage. Against it is hard to set any narrative perfect at all. The normal use of the perfect is the present sense, seen in *āha*, *veda*, *vidma* (xxxii, 4), *vidus* (xxxi, 15),

¹ For a review of Books i and ii see JRAS. 1910, pp. 517 seqq., and cf. 1909, pp. 149 seqq.

² Bhaṅgyaśravas in a Mantra in xxxviii, 12 may be compared with Bhaṅgyaśravas, *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, vi, 5, 2; *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, xvi, 6, 4. That rain falls most on mountains is asserted in xxxvi, 7.

jāgrhus (xxxvi, 6); *prāpus* (xxxvi, 6), *vivyāca* (ibid., *dadṛṣe* (xxxvi, 1), *vidādhāra* (xxxv, 19), *bhejāte* (xxxii, 14), *dādhāra* (xxxvii, 16). The transition from a present to an historical use is seen in cases like *atha ha smāha* (xxxii, 2, 7): the sense is not a past, as has been erroneously held, it is the present, for the dictum remains a dictum even if said in the past¹; but another form of the same use is seen more markedly in *vidāṃ cakāra* (xxxii, 2) and *uvāca* (xxxiv, 17), which is followed by *ha sma vai pibati* and *abravīt*; these cases, indeed, seem to indicate the mode by which the perfect became used in the prose of the Brahmanas as a narrative form.² Besides these, in the prose I have not found a single case of the narrative use of the perfect.

The aorist is never, of course, used in a narrative sense. It occurs very seldom except in Mantras, where it is very common (e.g. *asadan*, xxxi, 10; *arutsmahi*, xxxiii, 1; *ahauṣuḥ*, xxxii, 4; *vyakramsta*, xxxii, 5; *ayākṣus*, xxxvi, 6; *parākramsta*, xxxvii, 16; *askān*, xxxiv, 17) in the usual sense of a proximate past. In the prose its use is almost in these books confined to the sense approaching that of a present which is so common in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*. Clear examples are *akran* (xxxii, 7), *agrahīt* (ibid.), *āpan* (xxxiii, 2), *arutsata* (ibid.), *akṛkṣat* (xxxvi, 11), *agāt* (ibid.), *abhūt* (ibid.), *agan* (xxxvi, 13), *ayāt* (ibid.), *abhūvan* (xxxvi, 14), *akrata* (ibid.), *adhīta* (xxxvii, 16), *akṛta* (ibid.), *akar* (xxxvii, 17). They tend to occur in groups, and they are rather unusually frequent for the *Kāthaka*.

The imperfect shows practically no variation from the narrative use; in conjunction with the past passive

¹ Cf. *Kaṇṇitaki Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 6: *yo vā tata āgachati tasya vā śūsrāṇanta īti ha smāha*, if Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, ii², 328, is right in taking this as a quotation. If not, it illustrates xxxiv, 17, as *abravīt* follows.

² See e.g. *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 23; JRAS. 1909, p. 150; 1912, p. 724.

participle¹ it gives a suitable expression for the condition resulting from the action of the verb, as in *pravīṣṭāśīt* (xxxī, 4), *sr̥ṣṭā āsan* (xxxv, 20), *saṃyattā āsan* (xxxvii, 14, and often), etc. In xxxvii, 1 the form *asarat* is, of course, to be regarded not as an imperfect of *sr̥* (which in the Veda is of the third conjugation) but as an aorist, which alone gives the correct sense.

In the use of the moods there is little to remark; in xxxī, 4 is read: *ya evaṃ vidvān bhrātr̥vyānām madhye, 'vasāya yajeta yāvanto 'sya bhrātr̥vyā yajñāyudhānām upaśṛṇvanti teṣām indriyaṃ vīryaṃ vr̥ṅkte*; and in xxxī, 5: *yāvad ekā devatā kāmayeta tāvad asyā āhuteḥ prathate*; it would be unwise here to see the indefinite, for the change to the indicative is too slight to justify our keeping the text; see, for instance, the change which the editor has made in xxxī, 7 and xxxiv, 1 in the readings *pravr̥jyete* and *saṃpadyateti* of the Chambers' MS. In xxxii, 2 the teacher Kapivana is credited with the sentence *kim u sa yajeta yo gām iva yajñam na duhe*, but in this case also we cannot fully rely on the text. In xxxiii, 5 we have *tat kutas sā dhokṣyati yām dvādaśa-kṛtva upasīdeyuh*, where the future is well adapted to bring out the sense; it is noteworthy that this sequence is decidedly rare; the *Taittirīya*, vii, 5. 3. 1, has the indicative. In xxxiv, 2 *yeṣām dikṣitānām pramīyate* is followed once by two, once by one, optative, and the optative seems to be required in that clause also. On the other hand, in such cases as xxxiv, 3, *yady akrītam apahareyur anyah kṛtavyah*, the optative is justified by the fact that the apodosis is equivalent to an optative of direction, which can of course always be used with an optative in the protasis. The optative is also in place in

¹ This form is very frequent, and it occurs not rarely without a finite verb, but it never has the narrative sense as in later Sanskrit. It expresses the state as existing in the present when no verb is used, e.g. *pravīṣṭah*, xxxī, 15; see Keith, ZDMG. lxiii, 348, 349.

cases like xxxiii, 5 with *yathā* and no verb in the apodosis, but only *tat*. The optative occurs also in cases like xxxv, 17: *sā yād āniṣṭa udvāyād vichittir evāsya sā*, an instance which is important, as it shows us the origin of the inorganic *sa yadī*, which is found not only in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, but sporadically elsewhere.

Of other verbal forms may be noted the use of the future participle, which occurs not only very often participially¹ but is also frequently used with an auxiliary verb in the sense "mean to do", as in xxxv, 16: *dadyād yāḥ (dakṣiṇā) dāsyān bhavati*; other examples are *āgamiṣyād bhavati* (xxx, 10), *nirvapsyān bhavati* (xxx, 15), *yakṣyamāṇas syāt* (xxxii, 7), and *grahīṣyān syāt* (ibid.). The use of *i* with the participle in the sense of continuous action is frequent, e.g. xxxiii, 3, 7, 8; xxviii, 1. The infinitive is not common, and usually occurs with *īśvara* and a form in *°toḥ*, as in xxxii, 5; there are also found *purā apākartoḥ* (xxx, 15), *purā pracaritoḥ* (xxxiv, 17), *ā vaditoḥ* (xxxii, 7), *ā tamitoḥ* (xxxvi, 13); *udgamaṇ nāśaknot* in xxxvi, 8 may be set beside the use of *hantum upaplāyata* (xxxvi, 10) and *arhati* with *unnetum* (xxxvi, 13) and *āptum* (ibid. 14); more interesting are the rare usages *nāticarītavai* (xxxvi, 5) and *nā grahītavai* (xxxiii, 4). In *avapādād abibhet* (xxxiii, 6) the infinitive is given up and a simple noun used instead.

In two cases a curious usage is found: in xxxiv, 2 the text runs: *sa īśvara pāpīyān bhavati*, and in xxxvii, 14: *īśvara vā abhicaro 'śāntaḥ*; in both cases *bhavitoḥ* and *abhicaritor* suggest themselves almost irresistibly as the correct versions, and if the text is correct the usages are really only illogical developments.

Of interest are the *Kāthaka* variants of the following passage: in xxxi, 7 we read *nāvindanta yasmīn yajñasya*

¹ e.g. xxxii, 7; xxxvii, 11; cf. Keith, *Classical Quarterly*, v, 128.

*krūraṃ mārksyāmaha*¹ *iti*, and following that: *abravīd ahaṃ vaṣ taṃ jāniṣyāmi yasmin yajñasya krūraṃ mārksyadhva* (misprinted "dhyā") *iti*. The construction in the two cases really illustrates the difference between the direct and the indirect, and the single *iti* must be that which ends the quotation *abravīt*.²

In case construction there is little noteworthy: *brū* is used with the genitive in the sense of "claiming to be the descendant of" in xxxi, 15; the accusative with *anirdāhukaḥ* in xxxii, 6 follows the positive construction; the older use is seen in *ṣaṣṭis trīṇi ca śatāni* in xxxiii, 1. A curious case is xxxiv, 17: *yajña ṛdhyate yasyaivam viduṣo yasyaivam vidvān brahmā bhavati*, and xxxvii, 17: *yasyaivam viduṣo yasyaivam vidvān stomabhāgair brahmā bhavati vasyān bhavati*, where the relative is caught up again in an illogical but intelligible manner. *Vayasam vīryavattamaḥ* occurs in xxxvii, 14, and the concord in *brahma ca kṣatram ca sayujau karoti* in xxxvii, 11 is noteworthy. In xxxi, 1: *asyā evainad rāsnām karoti* is read while the *Kaṣiṣṭhala*, xlvii, 1, has *enām*: the only justification of the text is to take it that *enad* represents the real object and *rāsnā* is in apposition, in which case the text is no doubt correct. The use of a neuter predicate is not rare: *nediṣṭham* occurs both with a masculine (xxxiv, 3) and a feminine (*sā hi pītṛnām nediṣṭham*) (xxxvi, 11). Particular interest attaches to the Mantra citation *juṣṭāḥ juṣṭatarā panyāt panyatarā*, in xxxii, 3, where the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, i, 4, 1, has *panyāt panyatarā*, for it decides definitely the question raised above³ whether in such cases the object of comparison is expressed by a noun or an adjective. In xxxvii, 14 von Schroeder corrects *pravla(ya)vyathitam iva manyeta* into *pravlayavyathita*, following Professor

¹ The *Kaṣiṣṭhala* points to *mārksyāmaha* as the reading, as in *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, iv, 1, 9 (see above, JRAS. 1910, p. 157).

² Cf. JRAS. 1910, p. 1320.

³ Keith, JRAS. 1909, p. 430.

Caland; but he ignores the fact that the St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes for the accusative the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, ii, 19: *hataś cen manyute hatam* and *paṇḍitaṃ manyamānaḥ* from that Upaniṣad and the *Muṇḍaka*, and that the accusative is probably to be found in the *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, iii, i, 4.¹

It is not at all clear in what way the editor takes the phrase in xxxvi, 7: *te 'bruvan kasya vāhedam śvo bhavitā kasya vā pacateti*. The subject seems clearly from the next clause to be *odana*, and the future in *bhavitā* seems to call for a future used passively² in *pacitā*. The only objection to this is that *pac* is normally used without the "intermediate *i*" and that *paktā* is therefore to be expected. But the rules as to the use of *i* have, of course, no fixed value, and the reading *pacateti* seems difficult indeed to understand, though, of course, it may be a vocative.

In the use of the particles there is little to note: *mā* occurs without a verb in xxxi, i; the following verb, *ṛdhyāsam*, being the positive while *mā* has a sense supplied thence; *api ha vai* occurs as beginning a sentence in xxxii, 2 and after *etad* in xxxii, 20; *ha sma vai* occurs in xxxiv, 17 with the present *pibati*, following on *etad ha vā uvāca Vāsiṣṭhas Sātyahavyaḥ*: the sense is not really a mere simple equivalent of the past; the dictum, as noted above, is persistent, and the following clause expresses the custom of the sage on which the dictum was based. In xxxiv, 17 *uta—uta na* is found; both *tvai* (xxxvi, 6) and *tvāva* occur. In xxxvi, 1 is found *na hi paśavo na bhuñjanti*.

Mention may also be made of *phalīkr*,³ found in xxxi, 4, and of the Mantra form (xl, 4) *manmalābhavantīm*, which the editor needlessly changes to *malmalābhavantīm*,

¹ See Keith's ed., p. 242.

² See Speyer, ZDMG. lxiv, 316 seqq.

³ Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1191.

following the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, i, 4. 34. But the variant has frequent parallels¹ in onomatopoetic cases.

The Mantra material offers less of definite interest, as it is of very varying character and age, lacking the distinctive unity of the prose. In xxxiv, 5 the constant confusion² of first persons singular and plural is illustrated by the lines—

*yādi jādgrad yādi svāpna énáṃsi cakṛmā vayām
sūryo mā tasmād énaśo víśvān muñcatv āṃhasaḥ.*

In xxxviii, 9 the mixture of nominatives and the vocative *Indra* following them with *avata* is noteworthy. In v, 5. 15, after *śrotram asi śrotram mayi dhehi* comes *āyur asy āyur me dhehi*, and here, following *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, vii, 5. 19. 2, the editor suggests *mayi* for *me*, but that is needless, for *me* is perfectly good syntax with *dhā*³ and interchange of cases is not at all rare.⁴ An excellent case is *Mahābhārata*, xiii, 4533: *adhvaryave duhitaraṃ dadātu chandoge vā caritubrahmacarye*.

In v, 9. 2 there is a very curious form: two animals are named as offered to *Tvaṣṭr*, a *chagalaḥ kalmāsaḥ* and a *kikidivīvidīgayaḥ*, while in the *Taittirīya* (v, 6. 22) there are three mentioned, a *kikidivī* and a *vidīgaya* being two. The compound is a monstrosity and difficult to understand: a masculine singular *Dvandva* is a rarity, if not unknown; it is denied for this period by Wackernagel,⁵ but the denial is not absolutely certain: *ukṣavaśa* occurs twice as a masc. sing. in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (ii, 1. 7. 2, 6) and the version "Stierkalb" of the St. Petersburg Dictionary is for once not followed by Monier-Williams. In point of fact, the same text (ii, 1. 4. 4)

¹ Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1193.

² See e.g. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, iii, 5. 4. 2, as against *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, i, 4. 3.

³ See St. Petersburg Dictionary, iii, 902.

⁴ See Keith, JRAS. 1910, p. 468; Oldenberg, ZDMG. lxiii, 287, 288.

⁵ *Altind. Gramm.* II, i, 163.

has *ukṣavaśaú* as a compound, meaning beyond all doubt "ox and cow", and the temptation to accept the same version is strong for the singular. Possibly also another case of a non-neuter Dvandva is concealed in the strange *ukṣavehāt* of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xii, 4. 4. 6, which is to the St. Petersburg Dictionary doubtfully, but to Böhtlingk¹ and Monier-Williams certainly, "ein zeugungs-unfähiger Stier", but to Eggeling a "cow longing for the bull".

The forms revealed have been nearly all used by Weber and by Whitney: *varīṣu* in v, 4. 4 gives support to the tradition of the *Naighaṇṭuka*, i, 13, and the conjecture *kāvārasya* in v, 6. 3 is perhaps legitimate, as *kāvāra* is recorded in the *Amarakośa*, i, 2. 3. 1.² In xxxv. 7 *bhūpati* retains the account postulated by Pāṇini, vi. 2. 19.³ *Dyaurdāh* in xxxix, 9 is strange⁴ but clearly traditional; *kṣutsambādhamānāh* in xxxiii, 3, which is parallel to *kṣutsambādḥāh* in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, vii, 4. 11. 2, is of very remarkable character, and is probably corrupt.⁵

One of the many corrections of the text has a special interest: in xxxi, 7, for *so matiṣkas sa purodāśaḥ* the editor reads *yo*, which is borne out by the *Kaṣīṭhala Saṃhitā* (xlvii, 7) and by the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (iv, 1. 9), which

¹ Böhtlingk agrees; Eggeling renders "bullock" in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iv, 5. 1. 9. Cf. possibly *yogakṣema* in *Taittirīya*, vii, 5. 18.

² But *kāvāra* may equally well be merely a variant of *kūbara* (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, ii. 1. 11), "cart pole"; for *v* and *b*, see Wackernagel, I, 183.

³ Wackernagel, II, i, 265. The form *kultraya* found here for the *pulikaya* of the *Maitrāyaṇī*, iii, 14. 2, 6, *kulipaya* of the *Vājasaneyi*, xxiv, 25, and *kulikaya* of the *Taittirīya*, v, 5. 13, is probably a mere case of a blunder; the original was *pulikaya* or *kulipaya*, and a corrector inserted *rī* (or vice versa), with the result that it has ousted the syllable *ka* or *pa*; a similar case of a correction being treated as part of the text is found in the *Kaṣīṭhala Saṃhitā*, xxviii, 8, where *lalāya* corresponds to *laya* (*Taittirīya*, iv, 7. 3) or *lāya* (*Kāthaka*, xviii, 8), meaning perhaps "ploughshare".

⁴ Wackernagel, II, i, 47.

⁵ Ibid. 193; not only is such a compound unknown to early texts, but the sense requires the participle to be passive.

has *yāthā matīśka evāṃ purodāśah*. This helps to confirm the conjecture of Geldner¹ in the Bisastainya legend in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (v, 30. 10, 11) of *bisāni steno api yo jahāra* for *so*, which in turn is supported by the *Mahābhārata* (xiii, 94. 16) *yas te harati puskaram*.

In the critical note to xxxix, 13 Weber has been overlooked: he suggested *hasto* for *hastau*.²

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

GAṆIT KA ITIHĀS, A HISTORY OF MATHEMATICS. First part, Arithmetic. By MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA SUDHĀKAR DVIVEDI. Benares: Prabhākari Printing Works, 1910. pp. 207. Price Rs. 2.

This is a small work written in Hindi by Sudhākar Dvivedi, the well-known mathematical professor at the Government Sanskrit College, Benares. It appears from an incidental allusion to have been composed about the year 1902, but has been published after his death, which happened in 1910. Though styled a history, the term history cannot properly be applied to it, for it does not attempt to deal with the subject historically; yet much mathematical history is introduced into it. It aims rather at giving an account of arithmetic, with concise notices of all eminent mathematicians and their discoveries and inventions in this field. The first quarter of the book sets out the various systems of numerical notation that were employed in former times in different countries, so leading on to the Arabic system now in universal use, and discusses the conventions adopted for expressing large numbers and the terms selected in India for the highest numerals. The next half of the book deals with the

¹ ZDMG. lxx, 306, 307; cf. Charpentier, ZDMG. lxxi, 45; Oldenberg, NGGW. 1912, p. 184; the *ekātīhiṃ rṇuddhi* of the *Aitareya* confirms the second version of the *Mahābhārata* (ZDMG. lxxiv, 74) and the *Bhīṣajātaka*.

² *Ind. Stud.* iii, 468.

processes of addition, subtraction, etc., with squares and cubes, and their roots, fractions and decimals, arithmetical signs, prime numbers, series, magical squares and figures, and logarithms. This discussion is more philosophical than practical, as befits the author's aim, and he endeavours to explain how each of these branches of arithmetic was developed by various mathematicians and the theorems that they discovered or propounded. He explains how the English terms "decimal" and "logarithm" were wittily Hinduized in the forms *daśama-lava* and *laghu-riktha*. In the last quarter are contained a notice of Vedic arithmetic, a list of the Sanskrit names of the numerals and their synonyms, succinct biographical accounts of the principal persons mentioned in the book, arranged alphabetically, and a full index.

The book should be of real value to Hindi students. The language is generally simple and plain, though not always so when the author, in explaining some process or theorem, introduces terms or symbols that belong more properly to algebra. His treatment of the higher portions, and especially of the theorems, indicates the hand of a devoted mathematician, and presumes a good acquaintance with algebra and even some trigonometry on the student's part. The historical information is very considerable; it appears to be generally accurate, and is often highly interesting, and that regarding Indian mathematicians should be useful to English students. The only salient blemishes are that the author, not being a literary scholar, has at times transcribed ancient and modern European names into strange Hindu forms, as "Cyrene" into *Siren*, "Euler" into *Yalar*, and so on. Had he lived to publish this work, he might have revised the names with the help of some English friend.

F. E. P.

A MANUAL OF THE KĀSHMĪRĪ LANGUAGE, COMPRISING GRAMMAR, PHRASE-BOOK, AND VOCABULARIES. Vol. I: Grammar and Phrase-book. Vol. II: Kāshmīrī-English Vocabulary. By GEORGE A. GRIERSON. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1911. 12s.

Sir G. A. Grierson has laid the first foundation of a scientific study of the Kāshmīrī language. The older treatises, by Leech, Wade, Elmslie, have been very useful to those who wanted to acquire a practical knowledge of the language. They were not, however, satisfactory. The learner was left quite bewildered in the chaos of unexplained forms. Now, after the appearance of Sir G. A. Grierson's Manual, everything will be changed.

The author's connexion with Kāshmīrī dates back to the nineties of the last century. In 1898 he published Íśvara Kaula's Kāshmīrī grammar, written in Sanskrit in the year 1875. While all the Europeans who had dealt with Kāshmīrī had described the Musalmān dialect of the language, Íśvara Kaula based his grammar on the much purer form which Kāshmīrī assumes in the mouths of the Hindūs of Śrīnagar. He also marked the so-called *mātrā*-vowels, the very short form which some vowels assume in certain positions, which had not been noticed by previous writers. In his *Essays on Kāçmīrī Grammar* (London and Calcutta, 1899, reprinted from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal) Grierson gave us an analysis of Kāshmīrī grammar and phonology, based on a careful examination of the sounds of the spoken language, which for the first time enabled us to understand something of the matter.

In the Manual the author goes a step farther. He has re-arranged the whole Kāshmīrī grammar at the hand of his studies on Kāshmīrī phonology. And the result has been excellent. Kāshmīrī has always been considered as a very difficult language, and those few people who have made an attempt at learning it have often given the

matter up in despair. The many changes which individual words are apt to undergo were too bewildering. Thus one might understand how the plural of *gāv*, a cow, could be *gōv*, or at least the difficulty in learning such forms would be surmountable. But when one finds plural forms such as *wōj* from *wāl*, a hole; *rōts* from *rāth*, night; *grūnz* from *grand*, a counting, one is apt to think that the mind of those old Kāśmīris in whose mouths the language took shape must have been somewhat deranged. Now Grierson makes all this clear, simply by analysing Kāśmīrī phonology. We see how the *mātrā*-vowels, which have so long remained unnoticed, are of all-pervading importance. The form *rōts*, nights, e.g. should correctly be written *rōts^u*, with a very short *mātrā*-vowel *ū* at the end. The *mātrā*-vowels are the reason for the puzzling changes in this and in other words. The author then makes Kāśmīrī, if not an easy language, at least intelligible and learnable by laying down the rules regulating the use of these *mātrā*-vowels and the changes which they bring about in the words. Those who have tried hard and in vain to understand Kāśmīrī grammar, would, of course, think that such an exposition would have to extend over a great number of pages. Grierson's treatise of the alphabet, the pronunciation, and the various changes of vowels and consonants, however, only occupies ten small pages, and these ten pages give us the key to the whole grammar. This is the most striking feature about the new Manual, and one which is worthy of our highest admiration. Then follows a sketch of Kāśmīrī grammar, appendixes about the difference between the Musalmān and Hindū dialects and about the written characters; 1937 English-Kāśmīrī sentences, alphabetically arranged after leading words; and, finally, a Kāśmīrī-English vocabulary with detailed analysis of words and word forms.

The whole Manual will be an extremely useful companion

to every visitor to the happy valley. The author has, however, also another aim in view, viz. to provide the student who wants to get a deeper insight into the language with the means of achieving this. Also in this respect he has been successful. His grammatical sketch is surprisingly full and suggestive, and the sentences and the vocabulary contain so many interesting remarks that nobody will go to the study of the Manual without the greatest benefit.

The author is also inclined to think that Kāśmīrī and other languages belonging to the same group may possibly prove to be the clue to the literary languages which were once spoken in Central Asia, and in which written documents have in the last twenty years been brought to light. I am not very hopeful in that respect. One of the two "unknown" languages is now comparatively well known, and there cannot, in my mind, be any doubt that it is an Iranian tongue. The other is perhaps the one which Dr. Grierson has in mind. Professor Sieg, one of those who knows most about it, told me some time ago that he had tried in vain to find any connexion between what he calls "Tocharisch" and the Kāśmīrī group. "Tocharisch" is certainly not an Aryan tongue, and I am afraid that we shall have to look forward to translations of known Sanskrit works for the elucidation of the various problems which it still presents to the understanding.

STEN KONOW.

THE SHIVA-SUTRA-VIMARŚINĪ OF KṢEMARĀJA. Translated into English by P. T. SHRINIVAS IYENGAR. Indian Thought Series, No. II. Allahabad, 1912.

From the above title, which we have faithfully copied from the title-page, our readers will observe with regret that Mr. Shrinivas Iyengar has joined the ranks of those gentlemen who have lately added to the old confusion in

their transliteration of Indian words by adopting a new method, in which (in accordance with the supposed facts of European pronunciation) the consonants of the dental series are marked by a dot underneath and those of the cerebral series are undotted. This is bad enough; but as this arrangement is complicated by the dotting of the cerebral nasal and the dental nasal is left without a dot, in the old style, while the Indian printer raises his usual crop of minor misprints, the reader's brain soon reels.

Apart from this superficial drawback, the book is an excellent piece of work. Mr. Shrinivas Iyengar is already known by his learned and instructive *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (Theosophical Office, Adyar, 1909), and the present work shows the same qualities. It is gratifying to see competent native scholars studying the Śaiva literature in this manner, and enabling Europeans to realize its nature. The fact that at the earliest date to which it can be traced back it is already divided into the three great schools of Kashmir (Spanda and Pratyabhijñā, which are fundamentally the same), Gujarat (Lakuliṣa-pāsupata), and the South (the Tamil Śaiva-siddhāntam and cognate literatures), shows how ancient and important it is.

The Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī is a commentary upon the Śiva-sūtra, a series of aphorisms of Śaiva Yogic teaching which are said to have been discovered through the grace of Śiva by Vasu-gupta (about the end of the eighth century). Kṣēma-rāja, our commentator, is somewhat later (he was a disciple of Abhinava-gupta, and so belongs to the end of the eleventh century); but he appears to represent faithfully the ancient traditions. The work, while incidentally throwing much valuable light on the philosophical theory of the school, is primarily practical, its object being to enable a Yogi by physical and mental exercises to attain to miraculous powers and ultimately to the stage of pure Consciousness in which, while his life

lasts, he is equal to the Absolute Śiva, and after death immediately becomes Śiva himself for all eternity. A work of this kind naturally bristles with technicalities and obscurities; but the learning and skill of the translator have enabled him to surmount most of these stumbling-blocks and to furnish valuable material for the knowledge of Hindu "mentality".

L. D. BARNETT.

TRIVANDRUM SANSKRIT SERIES

The publication of texts in the "Trivandrum Sanskrit Series" proceeds with laudable rapidity. This series, edited by Pandit T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, and published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Travancore, was begun in 1905, and has already reached its fourteenth volume; and of the fourteen volumes no fewer than seven have appeared within the years 1910-12. These are briefly as follows:—

VIII. Pradyumnābhyudaya of Ravivarman, a drama founded on the exploits of Pradyumna, son of Çri-Kṛṣṇa. The author is a Kerala prince who is known from inscriptions to have been born in the Çaka year 1188 (= A.D. 1266).

IX. Virūpākṣapañcādikā of Virūpākṣanāthapāda, with the commentary of Vidyācakra-vartin, a metaphysical work dealing with the tenets of the "Pratyabhijñā" system as described in the Sarva-darçana-saṃgraha.

X. Mātangalilā of Nīlakaṇṭha, a treatise on elephants.

XI. Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa of Kuḷaṣekharavarman, with the commentary of Çivarāma, a drama on the story of Tapatī and Saṃvaraṇa in the *Mahābhārata*. The author is described in the prologue as lord of Mahodaya, "crest-jewel of the Kerala family." Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstrī supposes him to have lived at some time between the latter part of the tenth and the early part of the twelfth century.

XII. *Paramārthasāra* of Bhagavad-Ādiṣeṣa, with the commentary of Rāghavānanda, a résumé in eighty-five āryā-verses of the tenets of the Vedānta philosophy.

XIII. *Subhadrādhanañjaya* of Kulaçekharavarman, with the commentary of Çivarāma, a dramatized version of the romance of Subhadrā and Dhanañjaya in the *Mahābhārata*.

XIV. *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka, with the commentary of Çaṅkarārya, an epitome of Kautilya's *Artha-śāstra*. The author is supposed to have lived before the time of Bhavabhūti.

THE MAHAVAMSA OR THE GREAT CHRONICLE OF CEYLON.

Translated into English by WILHELM GEIGER, Ph.D., Professor of Indo-Germanic Philology at Erlangen University, assisted by MABEL HAYNES BODE, Ph.D., Lecturer on Pali at University College, London. Demy 8vo : pp. lxiv, 300 ; with a map of Ancient Ceylon. Published for the Pali Text Society by Henry Frowde ; London : 1912.

Professor Geiger gave us in 1908 his critical edition of the text of the Original Mahāvamsa ; that is, of chapters 1 to 36 and verses 1 to 50 of chapter 37 of the whole work, being that portion which was written to rearrange, expand, and explain the Dipavamsa (see p. 11 of the introduction to the translation). He has now followed that up by his translation of the text, published in English through the co-operation of Mrs. Bode : Professor Geiger made his translation in German ; Mrs. Bode turned his translation into English ; and the English rendering was then revised by Professor Geiger : we may congratulate both collaborators on the result. As is well known, the text of the Dipavamsa, with an English translation, was given by Professor Oldenberg in 1879. We are now at last provided with reliable and easy means of studying both the great Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles.

Professor Geiger's translation is preceded by an introduction of 63 pages, in eleven sections, in which he has discussed a variety of important points.

In the first place, he has briefly recapitulated the demonstration given in his *Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvamsa* (1905) that the two chronicles were based on an older work, known as the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa*, which must have come down originally to only the arrival of Mahēndra in Ceylon (in the time of Aśoka), but was afterwards continued to the reign of Mahāsēna (first half of the fourth century A.D.).

In the second place, Professor Geiger, defending the two chronicles against what he has justly described (p. 14) as "undeserved distrust and exaggerated scepticism", has shown that they are to be accepted safely as reliable historical records, with a framework of well-established dates. We have, indeed, to clear away from them a certain amount of miraculous matter. But they do not stand alone among ancient histories in presenting such matter. And when we have made the necessary elimination, which is not difficult, there remains, easily recognizable, a residue of matter-of-fact statements, in respect of which the chronicles have already been found to be supported by external evidence to such an extent that we need not hesitate about accepting others of their assertions, which, though perhaps we cannot as yet confirm them in the same way, present nothing which is at all startling and naturally incredible.

In dealing with the chronology, Professor Geiger has accepted B.C. 483 as "the probable year" of the death of Buddha (p. 24). That particular year is undoubtedly the best result that we have attained, and that we are likely to attain unless we can make some new discovery giving us the absolute certainty which we do not possess. For a brief statement of the manner in which it is fixed, see p. 239 above: Professor Geiger has added observations of

his own (pp. 26, 28-30), based on something pointed out by Mr. Wickremasinghe, endorsing it. As regards one item in the process by which it is fixed, the interval of 218 years from the death of Buddha to the anointment of Aśoka "is supported", as Professor Geiger has said (p. 25), "by the best testimony and has nothing in it to call for suspicion." As regards another item, we need not hesitate about accepting 28 years according to the two Ceylonese chronicles, against the 25 years of the Purāṇas, as the true length (in round numbers) of the reign of Bindusāra. This last consideration, we may add, entails placing the anointment of Aśoka in B.C. 265 or 264 (p. 27): if that should still remain unwelcome to anyone who, taking one item from one source and the other from another source, would place both the death and the anointment four or five years earlier, — well; it can be shown on some other occasion that there is nothing opposed to B.C. 265 or 264, for the anointment of Aśoka, in the mention of certain foreign kings in the thirteenth rock-edict. So, also, though the matter does not affect that point, we may safely follow the 37 years of the two chronicles, against the 36 years of the Purāṇas, as the length (in round numbers) of the reign of Aśoka.

Professor Geiger hesitates (p. 28) to accept the "bold and seductive combination" by which I explain the mention of 256 nights in the record of Aśoka at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Brahmagiri, and other places. In what way, then, is it to be explained? As regards the other two explanations which have been advanced, there is nothing in the calendar to account for the selection of that particular number of nights or days; and a tour of such a length by Aśoka, while reigning, — whether made by him actually as king or in the character of a wandering mendicant monk, — is out of the question. On the other hand, my explanation, — that the 256 nights mark 256 years elapsed since the death of Buddha, — is suggested exactly by the

number of years established by the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamśa* from that event to the end of Aśoka's reign, and by the well-established practice of ancient Indian kings, of abdicating in order to pass into religious retirement: see this *Journal*, 1911. 1091 ff. My explanation may be set aside: but it has not been shown to be open to adverse criticism as the others are.

In respect of the later Buddhist reckoning, the erroneous one, now current, which would place the death of Buddha in B.C. 544, Professor Geiger, putting Mr. Wickremasinghe's remarks in a clearer light, has shown (p. 29) that it existed in Ceylon in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. This carries it back there to more than a century before the time at which I arrived in this *Journal*, 1909. 333.

In § 8 of the introduction, Professor Geiger has given (p. 36) a tabulated list of the ancient kings of Ceylon, down to Mahāsēna, on the lines of the list given by me in this *Journal*, 1909. 350, but with some improvements. His table has the advantage of giving the references by chapter and verse to his text of the *Mahāvamśa*; a detail which, for reasons stated at the time, I was not able to fill in. It increases the total period according to the *Mahāvamśa* by 1 year, 4 months, 15 days, by alterations under Nos. 10 and 11 (plus 2 years) and No. 17 (minus 7 months, 15 days): these are due to improved readings. And it includes two additional columns, which give the chronology in terms of the Buddhist era of B.C. 483 and of the Christian reckonings B.C. and A.D.

As regards a remark on p. 39-40, there is no need to accept the assumption that Samudragupta began to reign in A.D. 326: a more reasonable date is A.D. 335 or 340: see this *Journal*, 1909. 342.

The last section of the introduction (pp. 51-63) deals with the first, second, and third Buddhist Councils, all of which are shown to be historical events, and clears away the confusion in the Indian tradition between two

distinct persons, Kālāsōka and Dharmāsōka son of Bindusāra, —the Aśōka who issued the edicts.¹

Appendix D gives a list of Pāli terms used in the translation without being turned into English. Under No. 34 there is quoted a statement that, according to the details given in a table of the end of the twelfth century, the *yōjana* works out, for Ceylon, to between 12 and 12½ miles, but that in actual practice it must have been reckoned at from 7 to 8 miles. This latter value, however, is quite an imaginary one: see this Journal, 1907. 655. And as regards early times there is no reason for discriminating between India and Ceylon in this matter; and for India we have (1) the vague day's-march *yōjana*, averaging 12 miles, but liable to vary according to the circumstances of the particular march, and, in the way of *yōjanas* of fixed unvarying lengths, (2) the long *yōjana* of 32,000 *hasta* = 9 miles, and (3) the short *yōjana* of 16,000 *hasta* = 4½ miles; the last being specially favoured by the Buddhists: see p. 236 above, and this Journal, 1906. 1011.

Limitation of space prevents any further remarks. I conclude by expressing the hope that some Pāli scholar will give us shortly the technical review of Professor Geiger's translation which it merits.

J. F. FLEET.

CHAU JU-KUA: HIS WORK ON THE CHINESE AND ARAB TRADE IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES, entitled CHU FAN CHÏ. Translated from the Chinese and Annotated by FRIEDRICH HIRTH and W. W. ROCKHILL. St. Petersburg: Printing Office of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1912.

If somewhere in the chill nether regions Chau Ju-kua has knowledge of what passes in the sunlit orb above, he

¹ There is an accidental slip on p. 60, last line but one, where Dharmāsōka is spoken of as the son of Chandragupta: read 'grandson'.

should be a proud man, or shade, this year. For after more than six centuries of neglect by his own countrymen his meritorious work has been rescued from oblivion and given to the world in translation by the exceptionally qualified writers whose names appear in the title. Ten cycles of Cathay are, perhaps, in Chau's eyes too long a pause between the cup of composition and the lip of celebrity, however select. It may also strike him as an irony of history that effective recognition of his labours should come, not from his compatriots, but from two of those *fan jên* or barbarians, whose countries, customs, and traffic it was his pleasure to describe with a tolerant and careful pen.

Little is known of our author but that he held an appointment under the Sung dynasty as Inspector of Foreign Trade at the port of Ts'üan chou in Fukien Province, and composed his book, the *Chu Fan Chï*, or "Description of Foreign Peoples", apparently about 1250.

In Ts'üan chou or Zayton, to give it its mediaeval name, it was Chau's office to collect import duties for the Imperial Government, and his hobby to extract information about foreigners, their countries, and their wares for himself and a rather unappreciative generation of readers. We learn from the masterly introduction of the joint editors and translators (who merge all distinction of views in one penetrating but indiscriminate "I" throughout the notes), that Chau's complete text was not published till it was included in the immense and very rare collection of works known as the "Yung Lo Ta Tien" early in the fifteenth century. From this colossal literary tomb it was disinterred, and again included in a much smaller collection by a private individual in 1783, and once more, in 1805, republished in a collection—always in a collection—by another Chinese editor. It is thus a book difficult to procure in the original, and Messrs. Hirth and Rockhill have therefore accumulated even more merit in making

the *Chu Fan Chi* accessible to us in English than if the Chinese text itself were to be bought in any good native bookseller's.

Chau has divided his work into two parts. In the first he assembled a number of "miscellaneous notes on foreign countries and their products", to quote his Chinese editor, some of which notes he transferred in an absent-minded way from earlier native works without acknowledgment, being himself similarly treated by certain later authors. In part ii he epitomizes what he had gathered regarding these various products under separate headings, beginning with camphor, and bringing the list of forty-seven articles to a close with beeswax.

Chau's description of foreign countries can hardly fail to interest Indianists and students of Arab history, for we find sections on Malabar, Guzerat, Malwa, the Coromandel coast, India, the Arabs, Mecca, Baghdad, besides regions so far apart as the southern coast of Spain, Asia Minor, Japan, Egypt, and many others. The value of these thirteenth century jottings has been immensely added to by the profuse and scholarly notes drawn from the stores of accumulated knowledge possessed by the two editors, whose combined qualifications for elucidating the many difficult and little-known points arising from the text are such as to make the reading of this book a deep satisfaction, and the task of serious criticism an unattainable aspiration.

In the Introduction of thirty-nine pages the editors put before us in a convenient form all that can be ascertained, whether from Chinese, Arab, or other sources, of the early mercantile relations between the Western world and the Far East, or, as they put it, "trace briefly the rise and development of the maritime intercourse between China and Southern and South-Western Asia down to the latter part of the twelfth century," when Chau Ju-kua takes up the tale. A very full General Index of twenty-three

pages, and a Chinese Index of unusual foreign names and terms, follow, and the volume, which is beautifully printed, is closed with a large and clear map to illustrate the text of an author who is fortunate indeed to have fallen at long last into the hands of two such ripe and sound scholars as the collaborating editors.

L. C. HOPKINS.

MALEISCHE TAAL, overzicht van de Grammatica door
C. SPAT. 2nd edition. Breda De Koninklijke
Militaire Academie, 1911.

The number of Malay grammars that have been written by Dutch scholars is very great, but this work in 270 pages by Mr. Spat fulfils a need. Taking the chief works of the modern school, we have the classical *Spraakleer der Maleische Taal* of Gerth van Wijk, printed in Batavia and now in its third edition, a book crowded with examples and indispensable for reference, but somewhat formless, and with the advance of comparative study already somewhat out of date in its theories; we have Dr. Tendeloo's *Maleische Grammatica* in two volumes, the most scientific and exhaustive treatise yet written, containing an especially valuable feature in its review and criticism of the work of previous scholars in the same field, and expressing views of its own so clearly and with such marshalled evidence that even if one sometimes disagrees with the result one can have nothing but the highest praise for the method; and finally we have *Maleische Spraakkunst*, by Ch. A. van Ophuijsen (Leiden, 1910), a short work very strong in the idiom of the language, but defaced (if I may say so) by a few startling theories such as the view that the *di* form of the verb, which had hitherto been regarded as built up from the locative preposition *di*, is a contraction (unparalleled and involving a redundant use of *nya* at the end of the

derivative, e.g. *di-makan-nya* = *dia makan dia*!) of the 3rd person pronoun *dia* and denotes conjugation in that 3rd person! On the whole, therefore, there was room for a concise work, at once practical and scientific, not burdened with too many examples or too much theory, but based on the results of modern scholarship. This want the grammar under review supplies. It is hardly too long or too scientific for the beginner, and it contains all that any scholar except the advanced expert can require.

Since a review to be helpful either to author or to reader must be critical, I will venture to refer to a few points which to me seem worthy of remark.

In the first place, I doubt if Mr. Spat has used the results of comparative students like Professors Kern, Brandes, Schmidt, and especially Brandstetter quite so much as he might have done. He starts by saying Malay belongs to the Austric family of languages, a family split into the two sub-families Austro-Asiatic and Austro-nesian. This, I believe, is now accepted, but it has not been accepted so long that one would not have been glad to have two or three pages of evidence instead, say, of the interesting but rather useless detail on pp. 23-7 under *Grammatische figuren*. And one would like to have had more on the Indonesian element, especially its system of affixation which helps to throw so much light on that very vexed problem the Malay derivative verb.

The chapter on Phonetics contains a long quotation from Dr. Fokker on the vowels, a quotation justified in Holland by the fact that Fokker's treatise is in English, but of rather doubtful value in a general grammar, as Dr. Fokker wrote of Malay of the west coast of Borneo, and, moreover, has, I believe, come to modify many of his views. Page 37 contains the usual Dutch view of accent in derivative words, a view which finds no sanction in the speech of the modern Peninsular Malay. The rules given

for spelling in the Arabic character are neither more nor less useful than such views can be at a time when the Malay has abandoned Arabic principles and not yet quite made up his mind to substitute for them Roman principles.

The portion of the grammar dealing with the parts of speech, simple and derivative both together under the conventional heads of noun, adjective, verb, and so on, is arranged on the usual lines. It is not an ideal arrangement. One would prefer to have the simple word dealt with by itself and followed by a chapter on affixation, showing how the same prefixes often attach to and form several different parts of speech—how, in short, the language probably failed to make that strict divorce between parts of speech which our grammar makes. But the problem is very difficult. The table on p. 150 is useful; the pages on the suffixes *kan* and *i* good. I confess I am not yet satisfied that the so-called conjugated forms on pp. 164–7 are really conjugation or anything but a device to throw the emphasis off the agent on to the act; the order, viz. that no word may intervene between pronoun and verb, it seems to me possible to explain on the ordinary rules of Malay syntax. No fresh light is thrown on the *mě* forms. I can see no sufficient reason to speak of *bě* and *tě* forms instead of the more usual *běr* and *těr*; certainly *r* is an infix in Indonesian languages, and its omission in certain Malay dialects may be merely phonetic. Spat's treatment of the verbal derivatives may be summarized as sane and clear, but not very illuminating.

The chapter on pronouns might have contained rather fuller treatment of the improper personal pronouns considering what great importance attaches to their nice distinctive nuances; but, of course, this would trespass on the province of lexicography.

Under conjunctions one would like it to be shown how

Malay can dispense with that part of speech altogether, supplying its place by balance and antithesis in construction. It is a defect of Dutch grammars that while most of them contain chapters on *ellipsis*, few or none bring out those two other great principles of Malay construction—(a) *emphasis*, (b) *balance* or *antithesis*. Mr. Spat just alludes to it, e.g. p. 267, but they are such far-reaching principles that they deserve handling at length.

One word on the romanized spelling of the Malay. Mr. Spat's use of the *hamza doedoe* * (where we should write *dudok*) seems an attempt to make the best of two worlds—the Roman and the Arabic! I can see no objection to the use of *k* final to represent the glottal check. In the first place, it appears to be historically correct and to represent a final *k* which was sounded, as Mr. Blagden points out, by the Malay race when the Sakai of the Peninsula learnt the language; and the final *k* is still sounded in parts of the Archipelago. Moreover, *k* to indicate the glottal check need cause no confusion if it is remembered that final *k* is now never sounded in Malay (except in dialect) and always represents just the glottal check. It speaks little for English research in Malay that our best grammar is still that of Marsden, printed a century ago, and that for such a work as Spat's, dealing with his matter in a way only possible when there is already a literature upon the subject, the ground in England is still unprepared.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

ABŪ'L MAHĀSIN IBN TAGHRĪ BIRDĪ'S ANNALS. Edited by WILLIAM POPPER. University of California's publications in Semitic Philology. Vol. II, Part II. pp. 539 + 1.

This is a continuation of the edition of the well-known Arabic history entitled *En Nujūm ez Zāhīrah*. The

whole work consists of six volumes. Juynboll brought out the first volume and the first half of the second volume (Leyden, 1852-7), being aided in the first volume by Matthes. Mr. Popper now completes the second volume in three fascicles.

Particulars with regard to Abû el Mahâsin's life and his other books will be found in Juynboll's introduction and the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, and it will be sufficient to mention here that he lived in Egypt in the fifteenth century of our era. His aim in *En Nujûm*, as stated by himself, is to afford a comprehensive history of the rulers of Egypt in Muhammadan times up to his own day, to deal with certain special points of Egyptian history, and to include also obituary notices of men of mark in Islam, and some account of events in other countries. His arrangement is chronological. A section is allotted to each ruler, or to each term of office where the same person governed for separate terms. The ruler is first treated of in a general way; the events and the notices of deceased persons are then given under their years. The special sections, which relate to matters like the conquest of Egypt, the virtues of Egypt, the lineage of the Fatimites, are introduced in convenient places. The result of this plan, as it is worked out, is to produce a mixture between a history and a biographical dictionary.

The portion edited by Mr. Popper extends from 365 to 524 A.H. (975 to 1130 A.D.). During this period the power of the Abbasid Khalifs was little more than nominal, and the dynasties of the Buwaihids, Ghaznavids, and Saljûqs in turn were in the ascendant in the eastern part of the Muhammadan world. In the western regions the Fatimid Khalifs had the foremost place. Egypt was throughout under their rule, and they had made Cairo the capital of their dominions. It was from the Fatimids that the Crusaders took Jerusalem in 1099 A.D. The first crusade, which was thus brought to a successful

termination, may be singled out as the most important event of the time, but Muhammadan history is concerned also with several other movements and developments of consequence. Some of the men who are most distinguished in the various departments of Islamic literature and science belong to the epoch.

The record furnished by the native writers is far from being as complete as could be wished. Abû el Maḥâsin's account hardly rises above the level of a compilation consisting of passages transferred bodily from the books of older historians. The biographical matter may be spoken of first. The obituary notices, by which most of it is supplied, rarely extend beyond ten or twelve lines, and not infrequently they do no more than indicate the date of the death of their subjects. Usually, they afford a few general facts, with the addition perhaps of an anecdote or two or a few verses of poetry. The number of the notices may average five or six to the year, so that altogether they make up a large collection. The principles on which names are selected for inclusion is not obvious, but those connected with theological sciences predominate. The history relating to countries outside Egypt is necessarily disjointed in consequence of the plan adopted, and the substance, moreover, does not seem to be of much value; for most of it appears to be covered by well-known books, such as the histories of Ibn Khaldûn and Ibn el Athîr. The history particular to Egypt, which was the compiler's main object, amounts to about one-third part of the text. It includes some very interesting passages with regard to the Fatimid Khalifs, summing up their reigns; and also some interesting accounts of Egyptian events occur under the years in a few places. At the same time, it must be said that Abû el Maḥâsin has not succeeded in bringing together sufficient to enable the leading events in Egypt during the Fatimid time to be followed up consecutively, and he omits a good deal that one might expect to find

in his pages. He gives a regular annual record of the height of the Nile at low river and at flood, and this useful feature seems to be unique. In this part of the book there are no sections relating to special points of Egyptian history, similar to the articles on Cairo, the lineage of the Fatimites, etc., which are found in the earlier portion.

Abû el Maḥâsin usually indicates his sources. Three writers are drawn on regularly for each of the Fatimid Khalifs, and thus seem to be entitled to be counted as his main authorities. These are Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzî (d. 654 A.H. = 1257 A.D.), Ibn Khallikân (d. 681 A.H. = 1282 A.D.), and Ed Ḍahabî (d. 748 A.H. = 1348 A.D.). The last-named is only occasionally cited as the source of the biographies, but on examination it appears that many for which no authority is given come from his *Tarîkh el Islâm*. Among other historians quoted, one finds El Musabbîḥî (d. 420 A.H. = 1029 A.D.), Ibn eṣ Ṣâbî' (d. 448 A.H. = 1056 A.D.), El Quḍâ'î (d. 454 A.H. = 1062 A.D.), Ibn el Qalânîsî (d. 555 A.H. = 1160 A.D.), Ibn el Jauzî (d. 597 A.H. = 1200 A.D.), Ibn el Athîr (d. 630 A.H. = 1233 A.D.), El Qiftî (d. 646 A.H. = 1249 A.D.); the list includes several others, but none of them contributes anything of much importance.

It would have been useful if Mr. Popper's notes could have indicated in all cases the passages that are taken from books which have been printed. So far as appears from a comparison of a fair number of passages, it is likely that all the quotations from Ibn Khallikân are taken from *El Wafayât*, and are covered by the printed edition. Likewise, the quotations from Ibn el Athîr and Ibn el Qalânîsî will probably all be found in the printed histories of these writers. As to the authors whose works exist only in manuscript and those whose works have been lost, Mr. Amedroz has kindly undertaken a comparison of a number of passages from Abû el Maḥâsin with the British Museum MSS. of Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzî's *Mir'ât ez*

Zamân and Ḍahabî's *Ta'riḵh el Islâm*, and the result, which is included in the observations with regard to the text at the end of this paper, is instructive. All that is ascribed to El Quḍâ'î seems to have been taken from the first-named book, and Ḍahabî's *Ta'riḵh el Islâm* is evidently the origin of the most important of the four passages taken from Ibn el Jauzî and of the single passage which comes from El Qiftî. With regard to Ibn es Ṣabî', the extracts from whose history amount altogether to some fifteen or sixteen pages and possess much interest and value, the case is not so clear. The passages for the most part have been traced in the *Mir'ât ez Zamân*, but one long quotation given by Abû el Maḥâsin (77, 11-79, 9) has not been hunted down, and in two other cases Abû el Maḥâsin's quotations are fuller than the text of the *Mir'ât* in the British Museum MS. It may be that this version is defective, for, taking the passages from Ibn es Ṣabî' as a whole, one can hardly doubt that, except in the cases referred to, this writer is not cited direct, but through the *Mir'ât* as an intermediary. All that is ascribed to El Musabbiḥî, save perhaps a line or two, will be found in the printed edition of Ibn Khallikân's *Wafayât*. One can say for certain that Mr. Popper's volume does not preserve much relating to the history of Egypt that cannot be found elsewhere, either in the original or in versions older than those of Abû el Maḥâsin, and a more exhaustive search than that which has been made for this review would probably reduce the quantity to a very small amount and perhaps leave no residuum. The volume is valuable from two points of view: first as a biographical epitome, and then because it brings together and makes accessible material that otherwise must have remained out of the ordinary reach for a long while, since there is no prospect of editions of such histories as those of Eḍ Ḍahabî or Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzî being brought out at any near date in the future.

Mr. Popper's edition is based on five MSS., and the text is provided with the usual critical notes at the foot of the pages. Among those who have read the proofs is the renowned Professor Nöldeke; and the mention of this name leads one to look for a high standard of accuracy in the text, an expectation which is not disappointed. The printing and general turn-out of the book is excellent, and nearly all the few misprints that occur have been corrected in the erratum. Mr. Popper has thoughtfully provided a paging continuous with that of Juynboll, so that the second volume of Abū el Mahāsin may be cited without the need for specifying the edition. He also furnishes separate indexes of names, authorities, titles of books, and of places, which give the line as well as the page, and by their fulness and careful planning much facilitate the use of the book. From a reader's point of view it would have been more convenient for proper names to have been vocalized in the text than in the indexes; the vocalization given there appears, moreover, to be somewhat insufficient, and the authority for it is as a rule not stated. The glossary at the end of the book is perhaps a little over-elaborated. It would be out of place, however, to dwell upon minor points of criticism. Altogether, Mr. Popper presents a good edition of a book which will be indispensable to the student of the history of Egypt in the Fatimid period and valuable to many others.

A. R. G.

OBSERVATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE TEXT

In the following Dahabī = Br. Mus. Or. 48, 49, and
Sibī Ibn el Jauzī = Br. Mus. Or. 4619

- 1, 14. This quotation from Musabbihī occurs in Dahabī, 198a. 2, 5. This quotation from Eth Tha'ālabī occurs also in Dahabī.—15. Dahabī reads *يعني انه دعني لا تعرف قبيلته*, and his narrative continues, quoting Ibn el Jauzī as in text 4, 11. 3, 9. This quotation from El Qiftī

occurs in Dahabi. **4**, 11. See above.—15. Dahabi adds *واستتاب بالشام منشأ اليهودي*, and then continues with the quotation from Ibn Khallikān. **5**, 14. Dahabi ends. **12**, 4. For *يشربه* read *فشربه*, as in Ibn Khallikān, ii, 153.—5. Read *غلط*, and omit *تاريخ*.—10. Ibn Khallikān, instead of *رجلاه*, has *قدماده*, which seems better. **13**, 2. For *التهت* read *يلتهى*, with Ibn Khallikān.—3. It is surprising to find here *انتهى كلام المستبحي*, seeing that Ibn Khallikān gives on El Musabbihī's authority the completion of the anecdote. Apparently Abū el Mahāsin must be quoting Ibn Khallikān at second hand. **26**, 13. For *لم يل* read *لم يل*. **45**, 1. For *منصور* read *نصر*, as in other passages. **62**, 13. This quotation is the same as the text of Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzī, 206a. **63**, 8. Read *يترصدّها*, as in the MSS., i.e. the stars.—18. After *هدمها* Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzī has *مكاتها مسجدًا*.—20. The words *وهدم القمامة وبنى مكانها مسجدًا* in the text of Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzī stand between *المكاتبات* and *وجعل* of the previous line. **64**, 1. This passage occurs in Dahabi, 75b.—6. After *مملكته* Dahabi has *مملكته*, and after *السمك* *الذي لا قشر له*.—13. Dahabi here contains a short allusion not copied in the text.—14. Read *اسمائه*.—18. After *مائة* Dahabi has *من البلاد*. **66**, 8. This passage from Ibn eṣ Ṣābi' occurs in Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzī, 206b. **67**, 11. Read *وانظرنا*.—12. This and the remainder of the page are not given by Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzī. **68**, 1–7. Occurs in Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzī.—7–17. This does not appear in Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzī.—18. Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzī resumes and ends at **70**, 10.—11–18. Occurs in Dahabi.—19. This quotation from Ibn eṣ Ṣābi' is found in Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzī, 207a. **71**, 14. *انتهى* seems out of place. The narrative is

uninterrupted in the older text.—16. Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzi read *فأما أن تنكرت*. 72, 15. Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzi reads *واركبتة*; [غير] القرافي وصي وربما رن القرافي; Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzi has instead *وتحتة*.—17. This passage from El Qudā'i follows also in Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzi, 209a. 76, 18. This passage from El Qudā'i is also included in Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzi, 209b. 79, 10. This passage from El Qudā'i is included in Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzi, 209b.—22. This passage from Ibn eṣ Ṣābi' is included in Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzi, 210a. 80, 10. For *طيب* read *أطيب*. 81, 2. Here the narration of Ibn eṣ Ṣābi' ends in Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzi, 210b. 84, 15. For *الغنية* read *العنية*; see *Islām*, 1910, p. 138. 111, 14. The part of the life after *قلت* is also given by Dahabī, 32b. 112, 3. The whole of this paragraph occurs in Dahabī, 2a.—6. Read *والمعرفة* *والمعرفة*.—7. Read *الحرمي* for *الحرمي*.—18. For *اليهودية* read *الكشغلي*. 113, 6. For *الكشغلي* read *الكشغلي*. 116, 2. For *المغاري* probably read *المغاري*.—11. For *في فته* Dahabī reads *في فته*. 131, 10. This quotation from Ibn eṣ Ṣābi' occurs less fully in Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzi, 211b.—12. For *البصرية* read *التصيرية*. 132, 6. For *من قاصد* read *فركاً من*. For *سیر الحج* read *سیر الحج*.—8. After *مكر* Sibṭ Ibn el Jauzi has *لانه من طائفة يدعوا بالتصيرية يدعوا (يذعنون) في علي ما يدعوا (يدعوا) النصارى في المسيح وحمله لعم في عقله على قصد الحاجر الاسود الخ*. 168, 11. This quotation from Dahabī occurs 208a. 320, 12. For *عشرين* read *عشرين*, cf. text 304, 20, where the date of the capture of Jerusalem is given correctly. 329, 19. Read, as in Ibn Khallikān, ii, 138, *فلما مرّ يوم*. 332, 8. For *يُفَرِّش* read *يُفَرِّش*. 451, 8. Delete 203, 10: this mention under 437 A.H. of

ابن مرداس cannot refer to صالح بن مرداس, who (135, 10) was slain in 420 A.H. Presumably the person intended is ثعال بن صالح. 521, 3. For سبت read بيت.

A. R. G.

THE TAJÂRIB AL-UMAM, OR HISTORY OF IBN MISKAWAIH, reproduced in facsimile from the MS. at Constantinople, with a Preface and Summary by LEONE CAETANI, Principe di Teano. Printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial". Vol. I, to A.H. 37. Leyden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac & Co.: 1909.

De la comparaison du texte de l'histoire des quatre dynasties antéislamiques de la Perse dans Miskawaih et dans Tabari, il résulte que Miskawaih s'est borné à abrégé le texte de l'histoire de Tabari, en en faisant disparaître tous les *isnads*, et en raccourcissant le récit, absolument comme l'a fait Ibn al-Athîr. Il y a ajouté de loin en loin quelques détails relatifs aux habitudes des rois dont il parle, et aux particularités de leur caractère, sans que ces additions aient une grande importance. Ce qui est certain, c'est que Miskawaih n'a pas utilisé de source historique inconnue à Tabari, par exemple, des livres des Guèbres, qui existaient encore à son époque, et dans lesquels il aurait pu puiser des renseignements, sinon importants, du moins différents de ce qui se trouve dans Tabari. On peut dire, sans aucune exagération, que toute la partie historique qui s'étend jusqu'à l'époque musulmane, n'a coûté, à part quelques additions, à Miskawaih, que la peine de rayer dans une copie de Tabari les phrases qu'il jugeait inutiles; c'est ainsi du reste que se sont faites toutes les chroniques musulmanes, qui n'ont de valeur que pour la partie contemporaine de leur auteur et pour les années qui l'ont immédiatement précédé. La comparaison des deux passages suivants de Tabari et de

Miskawaih montrera suffisamment le procédé employé par cet historien.

Miskawaih, I, pp. 127-9

Tabari, I, pp. 823 et sqq.

ثم انتهى الملك الى سابور بن
اردشير فمن وجود المكائد الغريبة

سابور

étymologies de Sapour et différents
autres détails

ما تم له على رجل من الجرامقة
يقال له الساطرون وهو الذي

(p. 827, l. 6) وكان مجبال تكريت
بين دجلة والفرات مدينة يقال لها
المحضر وكان بها رجل من الجرامقة
يقال له الساطرون وهو الذي يقال
فيه ابودؤاد الايادي

un vers

تسميه العرب الضيزن¹ وكان ينزل
بجبال تكريت بين دجلة والفرات
في مدينة يقال لها المحضر¹ وزعم هشام
بن الكلبي انه من العرب من قضاة

والعرب تسميه الضيزن وقيل ان
الضيزن من اهل باجرمي وزعم
هشام بن الكلبي انه من العرب من
قضاة وانه الضيزن بن معاوية بن
العبيد . . .

وانه ملك ارض الجزيرة
وكان معه من قبائل
قضاة ما لا يحصى وبلغ ملكه
الشام ثم انه تطرف
بعض السواد في غيبة لسابور الى
ناحية خراسان
فلما قدم من غيبته

وزعم انه كان ملك ارض الجزيرة
وكان معه من بني عبيد بن الاجرم
وقبائل قضاة ما لا يحصى وان ملكه
كان قد بلغ الشام وانه تطرف من
بعض السواد في غيبة كان غابها الى
ناحية خراسان سابور بن اردشير
فلما قدم من غيبته اخبر بها كان
منه فقال في ذلك من فعل
الضيزن عمرو بن الت . . .

¹ Toute cette phrase a été déplacée par Miskawaih ; le texte s'en retrouve un peu plus haut, identique dans Tabari.

3 vers

فلما اخبر سابور بما كان منه شخص
اليه حتى اناخ على حصنه وتحصن
النصيرين في الحصن فزعم ابن الكلبي
انه اقام سابور على حصنه اربع
سنين لا يقدر على هدمه ولا على
الوصول الى النصيرين واما الاعشى
ميمون بن قيس فانه ذكر في شعره
انه انما اقام عليه حولين فقال
الم تر للحضر ان اهلكه
بنعمي وهل خالد من نعم
اقام به شاهبور المجنو
د حولين يضرب فيه القدم

4 autres vers

ثم ان ابنة النصيرين يقال لها النصيرة
عركت فاخرجت الى روض المدينة
وكانت من اجمل نساء زمانها
وكذلك كان يفعل بالنساء اذا
هن عركن وكان سابور من اجمل
اهل زمانه فيما قيل فرأى كل
واحد منها صاحبه فعشقه
وعشقه فارسلت اليه ما يجعل لي
ان دللتك على ما تهتم به سور هذه
المدينة وتقتل ابني فقال حكمك
وارفعك على نسائي واخصك
بنفسي دونين قالت عليك بحمامة
ورقا مطلقا فكتب في رجلها بحيف
جارية بكر زرقا ثم ارسلها فانها تقع

كما قال الاعشى
ميمون بن قيس سنتين لا يقدر
سابور على الوصول اليه وهو قوله
الم تر للحضر ان اهلكه
بنعمي وهل خالد من نعم
اقام به شاهبور المجنو
د حولين يضرب فيه القدم

وكان للنصيرين هذا بنت يقال لها
النصيرة عركت فاخرجت الى روض
المدينة
وكذلك كان يفعل بالنساء اذا
عركن وكانت من اجمل نساء زمانها
وكان سابور ايضا من اجمل رجال
زمانه فاعلمت عليه يوما فرأته
فعشقه وارسلت اليه ما يجعل لي
ان دللتك على ما تهتم به سور هذه
المدينة وتقتل ابني قال حكمك
وارفعك على نسائي واخصك
بنفسي دونين

على حائط المدينة فتداعى المدينة
وكان ذلك طلسم المدينة لا يدهمها
إلا هذا ففعل وتأهب لهم وقالت أنا
أسقى الحرس الخمر فإذا عرضوا
فاقتلهم وأدخل المدينة ففعل
وتداعت المدينة ففتاحها عنوة وقتل
الضيزن يومئذ وأبيدت أفنا قضاة
الذين كانوا مع الضيزن فلم يبق
منهم باق يعرف إلى اليوم وأصيبت
قبائل من بنى حلوان فانقرضوا
ودرجوا فقال عمرو بن العلاء وكان مع
الضيزن

فاحتالت للحرس حتى سقتهم الخمر
وصرعتهم وأظهرت علامة ذلك لسابور
فنصب للصور حتى تسور وفتحها
عنوة وقتل الحرس والضيزن وأبا
قضاة الذين كانوا مع الضيزن فلم
يبق منهم باق يعرف إلى اليوم

وأخرب سابور المدينة وفي ذلك
يقول عمرو بن العلاء

les 4 vers de Tabari

واحتمل سابور
النضيرة بثت الضيزن فاعرس بها بعين
التمر فذكر أنها لم تتم وتصورت
ليلتها من خشونة فرشها وهى من
حرير محشوة بالقر فالتمس ما كان
يودها فإذا ورقة آس ملتزقة بعكته
من عكته قد أثرت فيها

4 vers

وأخرب سابور المدينة واحتمل
النضيرة ابنة الضيزن فاعرس بها بعين
التمر فذكر أنها لم تزل ليلتها
تصور من خشونة فرشها وهى من
حرير محشوة بالقر فالتمس ما كان
يودها فإذا ورقة آس ملتزقة بعكته
من عكته قد أثرت فيها

C'est ce même procédé de travail facile et rapide que l'on retrouve chez la plus part des chroniqueurs musulmans, de toutes les époques, et qui rend inutile toute une partie de la littérature islamique qui ne se compose que de copies ou d'abrévés des ouvrages anciens.

E. BLOCHET.

ASPECTS OF ISLAM. By DUNCAN BLACK MACDONALD, M.A.,
D.D. pp. 13, 375. New York: Macmillan, 1911.

ISLAM, HER MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUE. A rational
and psychological study. By Major ARTHUR GLYN
LEONARD; with a Foreword by SYED AMEER ALI,
M.A., C.I.E. pp. 160. London: Luzac & Co., 1909.

MYSTICS AND SAINTS OF ISLAM. By CLAUD FIELD.
pp. viii, 215. London: Griffiths, 1910.

The first in the list is an interesting and instructive book, consisting of ten Hartford-Lamson lectures for 1909. As may be gathered from the title, the author does not endeavour to lay before the reader a complete outline of the tenets of Islām, nor any description, in systematic form, of its religious life and thought. It is this freedom from the trammels of a methodical structure which enables him to discuss in ten lectures the highways and byways of Islām, and its conception by, and effects on, the sundry classes of believers. There are few subjects on which opinions differ so much as the first steps and growth of Islām. The author gives in fluent style and conversational tone the results of his studies, which are chiefly meant to serve as a guide to missionaries. He had the advantage of observing Moslim life at various of its chief centres, and of discussing theological and social problems with enlightened Mohammedans, and, as a result, draws a living picture of the religious life of the Moslim East as it presents itself to-day. Books with a religious tendency must necessarily be lacking in that freedom of criticism which would bring out its scientific results regardless of consequences, and therefore a few grains of theological zeal are unavoidably scattered here and there in our book. Nevertheless, the author proves himself a keen observer of men and facts, and much of the information he conveys is really valuable.

No book on Islām can entirely dispense with a brief

survey of the activity of its founder. The chapter on the person and life of Mohammed contains several statements which cannot be accepted offhand. I quite agree with the author that Mohammed was not, in the beginning of his prophetic career, a self-seeking, insincere impostor, but I do not believe that his revelations came to him in a trance. The *igra'*-verse (Qor. xevi, 1) is bodily taken from the Pentateuch. The traditions on the event of the first proclamation are altogether fictitious. Mohammed's enthusiasm for monotheism, pent up for years in his mind, burst eventually forth in words which he had carefully rehearsed in solitude. This, however, does not impair the loftiness of his motives, and at this period he was anything but a "schemer", a "politician", etc. To say, further, that the Qorān is simply a collection of fragments gathered up from the trance utterances of Mohammed is, in my opinion, quite untenable. Large portions of the book are the result of deliberate, though imperfect and unmethodical, study. The narrative and legislative revelations were uttered in full consciousness of their purpose. The term "book" in the Qoranic sense does not refer to bulk, and it would be better not to translate *kitab* by "book" at all, but by "writ", because any written document may aspire to the same title. The unsystematic arrangement of the Qorān has led to much misconception. That no adequate translation exists is quite correct. To show how the book grew it would be best to discard the official arrangement of the chapters, and to attempt a translation in chronological order of the speeches, provided the task of establishing such order can ever be achieved. But even approximate results of such labours would shed light on many obscurities.

Likewise hard to believe is another of Professor Macdonald's theories, viz. that the mysticism which subsequently permeated Islām had its seeds in the mind of Mohammed. I fail to notice any mysticism in

Mohammed's preachings. Mysticism entered Islām in spite of him, just as it entered Judaism in spite of the teachings of the Rabbis. However interesting Professor Macdonald's remarks on the "Face of Allāh" are, I can see in it no mystic element, except what is due to later Mohammedan doctors. Neither can the opinion be upheld that Mohammed was an ascetic. The ascetic exercises with which tradition credits him are just as unreliable as those on his first prophetic utterance, and they do not offer the least guidance as to his ascetic practices. There is, however, plenty of evidence to the contrary.

Of great interest is the chapter on the attitude of Islām, and Mohammed's in particular, to the Scriptures. He had, in all probability, never scanned a copy of either the Old or the New Testament, but whatever particle of Jewish or Christian legendary lore came to his knowledge was described by him as coming from the Tōrā, or from the Gospel. The authenticity of Qor. lxi, 6, is very doubtful to me, and all the conclusions drawn from this verse as to the announcement of Mohammed as *περικλυτός* or *παράκλητος* are unjustified. Really valuable are Professor Macdonald's remarks on Moslim ideas about education, and his extracts from Ibn Khaldūn very useful. An interesting parallel to this chapter is offered by the history of the Jewish ideas on education, and here the author might be recommended to peruse the corresponding pages in Mr. Israel Abraham's *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*. For many of his theories on the earlier stages of Islām Professor Macdonald might have gained much lucidity if he had given some attention to the Rabbinic sources of the Qorān and Moslim tradition. Perhaps he considered them a negligible quantity.

Major Leonard's little book is a sympathetic apologia of Islām. He impartially discards any previous contribution to the subject, but confines himself to his own study of the Qorān and the results of his personal touch with

Moslims. This would, indeed, be an ideal way of getting at the heart of Islām, if the Qorān were an open book, containing nothing but Mohammed's own thoughts and a religious system absolutely original, and if the modern Moslim were a true mirror of Mohammed's Islām, unaffected by foreign influences which through thirteen centuries brought believers in contact with heterogeneous elements. Yet through Major Leonard's remark (p. 24) that Mohammed had a powerfully receptive mind and a specially retentive memory, that he was well versed in all the tenets and traditions of his own people and of the Jews, there peeps the desirability of ascertaining the sources at his disposal. This should enable us to establish in what measure Mohammed was creative and where he borrowed. The words Qor. ii, 256 (a very late passage) are not the expression of "awe and veneration", but the adaptation of a very popular Jewish phrase coined on the base of Ps. cxxi, 3. Historically incorrect is the assertion that Mohammed was a son of the desert (p. 51), since he was the son of a Meccan citizen. One of the foremost results of modern research is to discredit many of the reports of the traditionists. Yet the author accepts the legend that in his youth Mohammed was called al-Amin. Whilst in one passage (p. 27) Mohammed is described as a thinker, we read in another (p. 89) that he was not of vigorous intellectuality nor in any sense an original thinker. In opposition to Professor Macdonald's view, our author points out that Mohammed was "diplomatic, that on occasions he displayed artfulness, and guile—duplicity, in fact". The author's sympathy with his subject, in combination with a warm and racy style, will, no doubt, be pleasing to many readers, and might stimulate them to further inquiry, but a little more historical criticism would have made his book more valuable scientifically.

Narrower in scope than the two preceding works is

Mr. Claud Field's little volume. It does not claim to be based on original research, but in the main consists of translations from the books of foreign scholars. Only the essays on al-Ghazālī and Jalāleddin Rūmī are the results of his own studies. In the preface the author, like Professor Macdonald, expresses the opinion that the roots of mysticism are to be found in the Qorān, and this opinion is based on the passage Qor. xxiv, 35. This verse, however, contains the reminiscence of a "perpetual" lamp, seen alight somewhere in a Jewish or Christian place of worship, the flame of which Mohammed mistook for a symbol of the deity. If this be mysticism, every emotion aroused in a person by an impressive sight of known meaning, which lingers in his mind, may be so termed. This, however, is scarcely strong enough to influence such person's *Weltauschauung* and to regulate his mode of life, as was the case with the Ṣūfis. Mohammedan mysticism takes its beginning from the time when the faith was blended with Neo-Platonic ideas, and without them Ṣūfism would never have assumed its pantheistic character. Mr. Field places at the head of his book a translation of the chapter on pantheistic Ṣūfism of Kremer's *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islām*. Then follow short biographies, history mixed with legends, of leading Ṣūfis, with expositions of their theories. He also includes in their number Ibn Sinā, translating his little "mystical allegory" known as Ḥayy ibn Joqzān, but he makes no mention whatever of Ibn Tofeīl's really mystical treatise of the same title, the object of which is to show how man, relying on his innate spiritual faculties, can rise up to the highest pitch of mystical intuition. The book reads well, and can be recommended to such readers who are satisfied with a general and second-hand knowledge of the subject.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

DIE KEILINSCHRIFTEN AM GRABE DES DARIUS HYSTASPIS,
VON F. H. WEISSBACH. 11 by 7 inches. Leipzig:
Teubner, 1911.

This work, which is from the 29th volume of the *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, is one of the neat and most scientific little monographs for which Dr. Weissbach is renowned. Beginning with the history of the place, he quotes from Ktesias the story of Darius' command, that a grave should be constructed for him "in the twofold mountain". Wishing later on to inspect it, he was restrained by the Chaldeans and by his parents. The latter, however, desiring to see the place, got the priests to hoist them up. This was done, but the priests, terrified by the appearance of serpents, let the ropes go from their hands, and Darius' parents, precipitated to the ground, were killed. Darius greatly lamented his parents' loss, and had the careless people who were the cause of the misfortune executed.

Dr. Weissbach then goes on to describe how this accident was possible, and the first of the eight plates at the end gives a view of the place. There, in the rocky wall of Naqsh-i-Rustem, is the tomb in question. The entrance is high up, a tall rectangular door in the middle of four columns supporting an entablature, upon which rests a double platform supported by two rows of captives of various nationalities. Upon this platform stands the great king, holding his bow, faced by the divine figure arising out of the winged disc. This sculptured rock-tomb was described by the Venetian Geosapà Barbaro (end of the fifteenth century), Pietro della Valle (1622), H. v. Poser u. Gross-Nedlitz (1624), Sir Thomas Herbert (1627), and many others of less note, until the visit of Sir W. Ouseley (1811), Buckingham, and Ker Porter. Sir Henry Rawlinson obtained copies of the inscription from the Kazanian Professor, W. F. Dittel, whom he met at Bagdad in

1843-4. Rawlinson, however, did not publish it. More complete copies were made by Mr. Tasker in 1848, and were received by Rawlinson in 1850 and 1851, after this new explorer's death by fever (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII). The Elamite text was published by Norris in 1855 (Vol. XIV, Pt. I).

The upper inscription, Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian, is fairly perfect, but the lower one (all three versions) is considerably mutilated. In the former Darius gives praise to Ahuramazda (Hormuzd); recounts his conquests, emphasizes his greatness and the power of the Persian arms, and announces all that had happened according to the will of Ahuramazda. The last paragraph reads as follows:—

"Man, the will of Ahuramazda, let not this seem contrary to thee. Leave not the right way. Do no harm."

The figures are thirty in number, and are indicated by short inscriptions, from which we learn that they represent Gaubarwa, Darius's lancebearer; Aspakana, his mace(?)-bearer; and the representatives of the various nations who are shown supporting his throne—a Persian, a Median, a Parthian, a Sakian, a Babylonian, a Makian, etc.

Such a working-up of old material as this is always welcome.

T. G. PINCHES.

ARAMÄISCHE PAPYRUS AUS ELEPHANTINE: KLEINE AUSGABE
UNTER ZUGRUNDELEGUNG von Eduard Sachau's Erstausgabe bearbeitet von ARTHUR UNGNAD. 8vo.
(Hilfsbücher zur Kunde des alten Orients, 4. Band.)
Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911.

For all who cannot afford the great edition of these papyri from the pen of Sachau (noticed by Prof. Hirschfeld in the *Journal of this Society* for July last, pp. 817 ff.),

this publication will be most welcome. It is a modest volume of 119 pages, containing the text of the papyri in square Hebrew (with an introductory paragraph in each case), a commentary in the form of numerous footnotes, and a glossary of about 160 words at the end.

From the Assyriological point of view certain of the names in these inscriptions are noteworthy. Thus we have not only סנאבלט *Sinuballit*, the correct form of the Biblical *Sanballat*, but also such names as *Iddin-Nabû*, "Nebo has given"; *Nabû-kudurri*, "Nebo (protect) my landmark," or the like (if for *Nabû-kudurri-ušur*, this would be the same name as *Nebuchadrezzar*); *Shin-iddina*, "Sin (the moon-god) has given"; *Nabû-ushalliw* (for *-ushallim*), "Nebo has accepted," etc.

Egypt being under Persian rule, Iranian words occur, as well as some Semitic Babylonian expressions—*arad êkal*, "servant of the palace," an official whose duties are uncertain; and Ungnad quotes also מרתא, the Babylonian *mātu*, "country," and *alluk*, which he compares with *allūkā* (palace?).

Especially gratifying to the writer of this short notice is the opinion of Prof. Ungnad (likewise of Prof. Eduard Meyer), that the divine name יהו ought to be read *Yahwa* (the ה supporting the vocalic ending being omitted), and compared with the termination *-ya-a-wa* or *-ya-wa* of several Hebrew names occurring in contracts and similar documents of the later Babylonian period found at Sippar, Babylon, and Nippur. Attention was called to these in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology for November, 1892. It remains to be seen whether the Babylonian full form presupposes the pronunciation *Yahawa*, the rarer and more defective *Yawa* standing for *Yahwa*, with omission of the second vowel.

T. G. PINCHES.

MESOPOTAMIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. An Introduction to the Archaeology of Babylonia and Assyria. By PERCY S. P. HANDCOCK, M.A. With numerous illustrations and two maps. London: Macmillan, 1912.

For such an important subject as Assyriology, some such book as that now before us was needed, so that the author has supplied what most would regard as a real want. It may be doubted whether the title is not a little too wide for the subject, but that is a mere detail, except from the point of view of attractiveness.

The book is a successful monograph dealing with the land of the Assyrians and Babylonians. It treats of the excavations and their results, the people, the literature, art, architecture, manners, customs, dress, etc. Mr. Handcock is of opinion that the originators of Babylonian civilization, the Sumerians, migrated from the Elamite plateau on the east of the Tigris to the low-lying plain of Shinar; and he finds a convincing argument in favour of this view in certain of the primitive seal-cylinders which they have left, which show trees and animals whose home is in the mountains—the cypress and the cedar; the mountain-bull, *Bison bonasus*, and the gazelle. As Hayes Ward points out, the composite creature generally identified (probably wrongly) with Éa-bani (Enki-du), the companion of the hero Gilgameš, always has the lower part of his body like that of a bison, never that of a buffalo. With regard to the ethnic position of the Sumerians, much might be said. The Rev. C. J. Ball has seen in the Sumerian language and writing old forms of the Chinese idiom and script, thus developing what had been foreshadowed by the late Terrien de la Couperie, and this is somewhat supported by the sporadic Mongolian types found in a small number of early Sumerian sculptures. It is naturally an open question, however, whether these peculiarities be accidental or intentional—in the majority of the more carefully sculptured heads, the type shown is similar to that of the

Christians of Bagdad to-day. Relationship between the early Sumerians and the Chinese, on the other hand, may be correct, notwithstanding many indications to the contrary. It is not every Mongolian who has oblique eyes—there are many exceptions, and the scantiness of their beards is not a strong argument against the theory.

The sketch of Babylonian and Assyrian history given by Mr. Handcock is short, but very serviceable. Referring to the reign of Me-si-lim of Kish (Oheimir, about 18 miles north of Babylon), he speaks of his restoration of the temples, but for the modern world his principal claim to fame will lie (if Thureau-Dangin's rendering of the inscription be correct) in the fact that he is the earliest known arbitrator in history. Whether this ruler was a Semite or a Sumerian is regarded as uncertain, but concerning Sargon of Agadé—he who was placed in a kind of ark of reeds on the Euphrates by his mother—there would seem to be no doubt—he was a Semite. The empire of this king, and of Narâm-Sin, his son, was destined, as Mr. Handcock says, to entirely eclipse that of their forerunners, for it not only embraced Mesopotamia north and south, but also Syria and Palestine, and was, in fact, the first Babylonian empire worthy of the name. Unfortunately, the information did not come in time for him to make use of it, but Scheil's researches show that Šarru-ukin or Sargon of Agadé and Šargani-šarri were not one, but two different rulers. It is doubtful how far Semitic influence prevailed in the other states of Babylonia after the reign of the last, but it probably continued to increase, and in the time of Hammurabi the Sumerians had lost all their ancient predominance.

Interesting to the British reader is the account of the explorations and excavations, beginning with the name of Claudius J. Rich, born 127 years ago at Dijon, and ending with that of Capt. Gaston Cros, de Sarzee's successor at Tel-loh. It is a brilliant assemblage of names, and includes

Botta, Place, Layard, Rassam, Rawlinson, Oppert, Loftus, G. Smith, de Sarzec, Peters, Hilprecht, Koldewey, and Andrae. Scheil, the first translator of Hammurabi's laws, can hardly be dissociated from de Morgan, the director of the excavations at Susa. The history of the decipherment is also noteworthy, though its very special nature will possibly cause the less serious reader to pass it over rather lightly.

The author has tried to give a comprehensive account of the flora and fauna of the two countries treated of, and has filled with information the chapters on architecture, sculpture, and metals. The section on the temple-towers is good, Fisher's restoration of that at Nippur being given, as well as a half-tone reproduction of this structure as it exists at present. Fisher's picture of the excavations in the temple-court is probably one of the most picturesque things in bricks and mortar possible.

Other points worthy of notice are the references to cremation on p. 62, the use of the bow and arrow on pp. 340, 341, the curved mace or throwing-stick (pp. 341, 342), and the leaden gate-socket (p. 267). It is impossible to touch on every section of the work, but it may be regarded as one of the best monographs of its kind. The illustrations consist of 33 half-tone blocks and 116 line-blocks (some of them containing several figures) in the text. Text and pictures give a large amount of information in a small space.

T. G. PINCHES.

L'ASTROLOGIE CHALDÉENNE. Le livre intitulé "enuma (Ann)^u Bêl", publié, transcrit, traduit, et commenté par CH. VIROLLEAUD. Letterpress, 12 x 8 inches; plates, 11½ x 7½ inches. Paris: Geuthner, 1912.

The publication of this useful book continues, the sections treated of being Sin, Šamaš, Ištar (planets and

stars), and Adad (the atmosphere), with supplements, to the number of fourteen parts. Four more parts are in preparation, and will be looked for with considerable interest, their titles being "*Commentaire épigraphique*", "*Traduction et commentaire philologique*" (two parts), "*Introduction et Index*."

Though we have not yet M. Virolleaud's translation, the transcription enables us to see, to a certain extent, how far he has been able to make out the sense of these difficult texts, and we have to admit that, notwithstanding the progress which he has undoubtedly made, there is still much to be found out concerning these inscriptions. The publication of such a large number of fragments, however, cannot but aid largely in the decipherment of the more or less ideographically written texts in general, and enable their interpretation to become more sure.

It is this, in all probability, which forms their great value. Whether they will ever furnish us with trustworthy historical facts seems doubtful, but they will at least give a clue to the many forecasts they contain—some of them doubtless based upon historical events—as well as the system adopted. One or two examples of these will indicate the nature of the work, and will probably be not without interest:—

"[If at a certain period of the moon] the star Anunitum is dim, it is a decision of the Tigris and of Agadé, and a decision of the land of the sea, the land of . . .

"[If at a certain period of the moon] the Labourer (= the Ram) is dim, it is a decision of Erech and of Kullaba."

"If the moon at its appearance is constantly surrounded by a crown, the harvest of the land will be prosperous, the land will remain in content, the king it will honour.

"If the moon at its appearance is surrounded by a crown, in that month the kings of all the lands will be embroiled and hostile."

"If Delebat (Venus) in the month Nisan show a beard,

the people of the land will bring forth males. Within that year tariff will be low," etc.

"To show a beard," literally, "to beard a beard," *zigna zaqānu*, is an expression used also of the moon, and in this case is, perhaps, an additional proof that the phases of Venus were not merely known to the Babylonians, but that they were likewise in the habit of observing them.

The omens from the blowing of the wind are of special interest, as they were probably based upon atmospheric phenomena which the Babylonians had themselves observed.

Criticism of an incomplete book is naturally impossible, especially as, in this case, the author is certain to know more than the critic. All scholars interested in Babylonian astrology or astronomy will be glad to have the text of the work entitled *Enuma Anu-Bêl*, now made available in as complete a form as is possible.

T. G. PINCHES.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(July, August, September, 1912.)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

June 18, 1912

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL TO H. F. A.
KEATING, OF ETON COLLEGE, BY THE RIGHT HON.
LORD HARRIS, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

LORD REAY, who presided, said: The presentation of the Public School Medal for the study of Indian History is always a pleasant event. Lord Harris will be able to tell us presently what was the attention paid to Indian history and to English history when he was at Eton. Certainly in the curriculum of schools, both elementary and secondary schools, we have not assigned to history—I am thinking specially both of British history and of Indian history—the place which it should occupy. I have always wondered that should be so; because it seemed to me that the study of history would provide a very pleasant alternative to the more serious studies of the classics and mathematics. I may mention that we in Scotland have recently laid much greater stress on the history of Scotland.

Now we have given this medal since the year 1904. In 1904 it went to Merchant Taylors, and the subject was Akbar; in 1905 it went to Eton, the subject being the Sikhs; in 1906 to Rugby, the subject being Hyder Ali; in 1907 to Westminster, the subject being Warren Hastings; in 1908 to Harrow, the subject being Clive; in 1909 it went for the second time to Eton, subject Wellesley; in 1910 to Merchant Taylors for the second time, subject Alexander the Great; in 1911 to Marlborough, with

Dalhousie for the subject ; and now Eton for the third time stands first ; and I think we may congratulate Eton on that fact. I may mention that the school which came next to that which gains the gold medal was Harrow ; therefore, to a certain extent, Harrow may also be congratulated. The other schools which sent essays were Marlborough, Perse, and Rugby. I wish that more schools had competed, but otherwise the number of essays sent in, and the merits of those essays, are very satisfactory. I admit that no subject could have been selected which would have been more fascinating to anybody to deal with than that of Lord Lawrence. Lord Lawrence certainly occupies in the annals of India an entirely exceptional position. We know what we owe to Lord Lawrence for the way in which he dealt with the first stages of the great uprising in India, the way in which he undertook the full responsibility of those measures which had to be taken immediately, and the fruit he reaped on that occasion from his judicious government of the Punjab, because, as you remember, the Punjab remained perfectly loyal, and that was due to the fact that Lord Lawrence had made friends specially with the Chiefs in the Province.

There is a curious coincidence to which I might refer. You will remember that after Lord Lawrence left India they elected him first Chairman of the London School Board ; and here I am as the last Chairman of that extinct body ; and I am also very pleased to-day to speak in the presence of the very distinguished daughter of Lord Lawrence, the Hon. Maud Lawrence, who was my colleague, a most distinguished and efficient colleague, on the London School Board, and who has still got a link with the cause of education, being the Head of the Women Inspectors at the Board of Education.

Now we have been fortunate enough on this occasion to have been able to secure my noble friend Lord Harris, himself a most distinguished Etonian, in order to give the

medal to the boy who has obtained it, and deservedly obtained it, and whom I congratulate on his essay. If he intends to join the Civil Service in India I hope that he will continue his studies in Indian history; for I think he will find that those studies will add to the interest of his career if he pursues it in India. With these few words, I now call upon Lord Harris.

LORD HARRIS: This is a most pleasant honour to have paid me, to be asked to present this medal to H. F. A. Keating to-day, because as an old Etonian I am naturally very proud of any distinction that my old College wins.

It seems to us who are old Etonians, only right that Eton should distinguish itself in this particular competition, because Etonians have had so much to do with the administration of India, going back to the days of the Marquess Wellesley and of his still more distinguished brother. Coming down to the Eton of later days, in my time two Presidencies and the Government of India and the administration of the Army were all administered at the same time by four Etonians, so that we have some right to hope that the present generation at Eton will regard it as one of their many duties to fit themselves for high posts in connexion with the administration of India. As regards precedence in competition, I may earnestly express the hope that the same precedence that has happened in this competition, Eton being first and Harrow second, will repeat itself a month hence in another part of London.

Well, my Lord President, you ask me whether the study of, or opportunity for the study of, Indian subjects or of Indian history was given or undertaken at Eton in my time. I cannot say that it was, and I must confess that it would be more interesting to read of the progress of *Secunda Beg* than to read the productions of *Xenophon*. But, passing to later times, I confess that I do not think that anything much earlier than Akbar

would be of very great interest to the young student. It has always seemed to me that there was such a *mélange* of contest going on in India preceding that time that it is very difficult to grasp any particular incidents that are even important, much less interesting. But certainly the history of the British conquest of India, of its administration gradually extending from Peshawar to Cape Comorin, or rather the other way, from Cape Comorin toward Peshawar, would have been, I should think, as of great interest to young students as any other of the historical subjects that are given them to get up; and I must say I regret that more attention is not paid to these subjects in our Public Schools. In dealing with a subject of this kind I think it is legitimate to look at the object and at the subject and at the treatment of the subject. We are all most appreciative of the object which those distinguished gentlemen, some of them princes of ancient lineage, had in view in founding the fund with which you are able to present this medal, for young England should study the salient points in the history of India in order that, if fate threw them into that part of the world, they might be able the better to grasp the extraordinary difficulties which face the administrator in India, the necessity for great sympathy, but at the same time of an overpowering sense of justice. It was a noble idea that these princes and gentlemen had in view when they founded this Fund; and I hope they are well repaid by the amount of interest taken in the donation of this medal. Five schools competed for it this year; and I think there was something like seven papers presented by the winning College. That shows that in each of these schools, even if it is only a beginning, there is a decided inclination to study the history of the great men who have been taken as the subjects for these competitive essays.

Passing to the subject of this year's essay, I think I agree with you it would be difficult to find in all the history of what we have done in India a more notable or a more admirable figure than Lord Lawrence. One can pick out in Lord Lawrence's career many incidents that were striking. Of course, you may say he had the opportunity. The occasion of the Mutiny was unprecedented. Still, he rose to those opportunities, and therefore one finds in his career more incidents of a remarkably striking character than in the careers of most other great men whose lives in India are full of such profound interest to us who are devoted to that country. I agree with your Lordship that probably in all the history of what we have done in India, of what great men have done in India, there is perhaps nothing so striking as the dominant courage of the man when he was almost isolated up there in the Punjab, his dominant courage and confidence that England must win through.

Men in the Punjab came out in such a remarkable way in the days of the Mutiny. Unquestionably they were men of great merit; unquestionably they had on the frontier opportunities which induced those elements of courage and determination and of speedy resolution which they so eminently showed; but I think too those distinguishing features in their character were brought out to a great extent by the example of Lord Lawrence; and it is attempting to refine silver to dwell at any length upon such a career as his was during those troublous days. One rises from the study of the history of the Mutiny with the most profound admiration for the man, and one feels that one can realize what his subordinates felt towards him and the confidence they had in him, not only his own countrymen, but the natives of the country—the confidence they had in him that he would pull England through that most serious crisis.

To pass to his great career as Viceroy, I fancy it is

generally thought that Lord Lawrence's official career as Governor-General was not so successful as might have been expected. Personally I disagree with that. It seems to me that after the serious crisis of the Mutiny India was in a state of collapse; to a great extent it had been exhausted; and there may not have been the opportunities during his Viceroyalty, not the same opportunities for those heroic actions and movements which had been possible for him in his earlier days. But it seems to me unquestionable that in those years of his Viceroyalty he effected reforms innumerable of the most important character, laid the foundation for reforms that have since taken place, which practically have made India another country, a new country according to the ideas which its rulers entertained of what India might by degrees become, reforms of a kind which were extremely beneficial to the health and the prosperity of his own countrymen there, both military and civil, and also of the natives: the extension of railways, the extension of canals, the better housing of the soldier, the better draining of the cities, many things which do not show up as great movements, which attract little public attention at the time, but nevertheless are of the most profound importance to the inhabitants of the country. And if you consider Sir John Strachey's story of what he considers Lord Lawrence did during his Governor-Generalship you have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the years of Lord Lawrence's Viceroyalty were of immense importance to the whole of India, and that it is ludicrous to suggest that he was not in any way as successful during his Viceroyalty as he had been in his command of the Punjab, or in his promptitude at the great crisis of the Mutiny, promptitude which is specially marked in the case of the advice which he gave that the utmost trust should be put in the three Phaltan Chiefs, which resulted in our communications with the Punjab being kept up.

I congratulate Mr. Keating heartily on the compendious and sympathetic way he has treated his subject, and I should hope that he feels himself repaid for the amount of time and study that he has given to the subject, because I am sure of this, that when in later days if he has the opportunity of giving service to India—and I do not know of any more honourable or desirable aim for any man than to hope he may some day do some service there—if he does he will find himself all the better able to undertake that service; or if he goes there merely as a traveller he will find himself all the better able to enjoy and to understand India in consequence of the study he has given to the various books that have been written on the deeds of Lord Lawrence. I happened to have the opportunity of visiting India recently after sixteen years, and I was more delighted than I can express at the progress that I was able to notice there, progress in important directions for the greater comfort of everyone resident there, for the greater convenience of those masses of the people, for the greater tendency towards friendship between various races resident there. I found that there was far greater opportunity given for the interchange of social relations between Europeans and Asiatics than in my time. I found those opportunities taken advantage of; and I could tell from conversation with distinguished Indian gentlemen that they recognized that great progress has been made, they were confident that progress was going on, and that by degrees the relations between the two races were going to improve. That is a most interesting thing to have seen; and it is a most satisfactory thing for those who live in India to know; because the protection of India from disturbances either from abroad or internally is almost entirely dependent upon the greater confidence that ought to exist between the two races.

In conclusion, Mr. Keating, I congratulate you most heartily on the success of your studies, and I sincerely

hope you may have opportunities at some time or other of doing some service to India. I have great pleasure in presenting you with this medal.

MR. CONYBEARE, of Eton College: I will not detain you more than a very few minutes; but I must at the outset convey to you and to this distinguished assembly the deep regret of the Head Master of Eton that he has not been able to be present. The date for the conferring of degrees at Cambridge was fixed before the date of this meeting was arranged; and it was quite impossible for him to be at Cambridge at three o'clock this afternoon and here again at five. Nothing else, however, would have prevented him from appearing. But I can say this, that at Eton we are all of us very appreciative and very proud of the honour that has fallen upon us. We are, I need hardly assure you, delighted to find that we still retain our supremacy in the list of those who have won this prize in the years gone by; and I very much hope that in the future that superiority will grow to be even more marked than it is at present.

The study of history at Eton, of course, has been entirely changed in the last comparatively few years. Even when I was a boy there myself there were no special arrangements made for the study, and now there is a large and flourishing school where history is taught as one of the principal, I might almost say as the principal, subject of their study. At the same time, lest any should go away with the impression that an undue amount of time is being devoted to history studies, I think it is only fair to Eton, and even more so to Mr. Keating, to say that he does not devote his main work to the study of history. He combines, perhaps a rare combination, the labours of mathematician and historian; and certainly the more exacting portion of his work is devoted to the study of mathematics. In fact, I think he really does carry out the ideal which has been already referred to, of

history being regarded as a recreation; and there is no reason why the recreation should not be a serious subject of study. I can only say that a great deal of interest is taken in this competition at Eton.

Of course, the connexion between Eton and India has been and is a very close one; and if we have any regrets at the present moment that the Viceroy happens to be an Harrovian, I hope in the course of time that will be reversed.

LORD REAY: I would now move a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Harris. It is to me personally a great pleasure that we have been able to secure Lord Harris on this occasion, for, as will be gathered from what has been said, we have many recollections of the same kind. I entirely agree with what Lord Harris has said in his very interesting remarks on the influence exercised by Lord Lawrence as Governor-General. If, as some critics would say, what I would call the decorative and histrionic element was absent, far from making that a grievance against him, I would admit—perhaps you will call it paradoxical—that I rather admire that defect which proceeded from the strong sense of duty and earnestness with which he undertook the duties he had to undertake. That, after all, is the dominant note of Lord Lawrence's career throughout—duty—duty to his God, to his King, and to his country.

Now the most remarkable feature to my mind in the career of Lord Lawrence is the attitude he took after the Mutiny in repudiating everything which could look like a spirit of revenge. There his Christian character to my mind comes out as finely as did that of Canning. That always will remain in the history of the British Empire, to my mind, the most glorious page in our history there, the attitude we immediately assumed after the Mutiny.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to Lord Harris.

SIR RAYMOND WEST, K.C.I.E.

We regret to announce the death of Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., Hon. Vice-President and late Director of the Society, which took place on September 8 in his 80th year.

A full obituary notice will appear in the next number of the Journal.

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INDEX FOR 1912

A

- Abhinavagupta, origin of his
Paramārthasāra, 257-61.
Abid of Asad, 133.
Ādhāra-kārikāh, 475.
Adud-ad-Dawlah, Buyid, 5, 14,
316-18, 321, 329, 870, 876, 883,
889.
Age criteria in the Rigveda, 726-9.
Age of the Purānas, 254.
Ākhyāna and the origin of tragedy,
411-38.
Ālikā, inscription of Huvishka at,
673.
Almanacs, Kāsmiri, 717-21.
AMEDROZ, H. F., Some Ṣūfi Lives,
551-86.
— Notes on some Ṣūfi Lives,
1087-9.
ANDERSON, J. D., Notes on Bengali,
1074-8.
Anniversary meeting, 840-54.
Anūshirwān, Chosroes, 865, 887.
Arabian poetry, 748 : pictorial
aspects of, 133-52.
Archæological exploration in India,
1910-11, 113-32.
Ardashir, King, 324.
Ardashir-Khūrah district, 315.
Āryabhaṭa's values for dimensions
of earth, 464-7.
Ārya-Siddhānta (second) and Kaṭa-
payādi notation, 459-62.
Asfal el Ard = Lower Egypt, 945.
al-A'shā, the pearl-diver, 499-502.
Asōka, Rāpnāth and Sārnāth
edicts of, 1053-9.
Asōka's Rāpnāth edict, 477-81.
Assassins, sect of, 339, 865.
Astrology, Hindu, 1039-46.
Astronomy, Hindu, 1039-46 ; in
Purānas, 1047 et seqq.
Atabegs of Fārs, 6.

B

- Babylonian civilization, 989.
Bahr Abi el Munajjā, 943.
Bahr Muwais, 943.
Bakālījār or Bākālīnjār, Buyid
prince, 7, 15, 16, 19, 317.
Band Amir, 869, 883.
Bao = Vihara, 261.
BARNETT, L. D., Paramārtha-sāra,
474.
Bengali, notes on, 1074-8.
BEVERIDGE, H., Meaning of the
words Hoji Tāsh, 507-8.
Bharata, stanzas of, 1070-3.
Bharaut, Jātakas at, 399-410.
Bishr al-Hāfi, Ṣūfi, 560.
Bistāmi, Ṣūfi, 557 et seqq.
BLAGDEN, C. O., Bao = Vihara,
261.
— Two Corrected Readings in
the Myazedi Inscription, 486.
— Shan Buddhism, 495.
— Talaing Inscriptions on Glazed
Tiles, 689-98.
Boghaz Keni, Cuneiform tablet
with docket in Hittite hiero-
glyphs, 1029-38.
Bones, inscribed, 1021-8.
Brahmagupta on dimensions of
the earth, 465-8.
Brāhmī inscriptions in Lucknow
Provincial Museum, 153-79.
Bṛihāsātīmita of Mōrā inscription
identified as Bahasātīmita, 120.
BROWN, R. GRANT, Roman Character
for Oriental Languages, 647-63.
Buddha, date of the death of,
239-41.
Buddhism of the Shans, 487-99.
Buddhist monastic terms *sama-*
tittika, *śāradāna*, *uttari-bhaṅga*,
736-42.
Burāzah the engineer, 324, 325.

Burial and cremation in the Rgveda, 470-4.
 Bushell Bowl, 1091-3; and its inscription, 439-57; genuineness of, 440 et seq.

C

Castles in Fars, 876.
 Chaldean civilization, 989.
 Chang-k'ien, arrival in Bactria 128 B.C., 668.
 Characene, maritime commercial state, 990.
 Chāull, Atabeg, 2, 6, 29, 312, 319, 870, 878.
 Chief Justices of Fars, 14, 318.
 Chinese bone inscriptions, funeral elegy, 1021-8.
 Chinese bronze known as the Bushell Bowl, 437-57.
 Cita, the yavana, 380-1; Gothic origin, 381.
 CLAUSON, G. L. M., Catalogue of the Stein Collection of Sanskrit MSS. from Kashmir, 587-627.
 COCHRANE, W. W., Shans and Buddhism in the Northern Canon, 487-95.
 Coinage, of Kanishka, 981-1012; gold, 994; relation to that of Julius Caesar, 1001; gold, imperial privilege, 1002.
 Copper-plate grant from East Bengal, alleged spurious, 710.
 Coronation chronogram, 262.
 Cremation and burial in the Rgveda, 470-4.
 Cūlikāpaśācika Prakrit, 711-14.
 Cuneiform tablet from Boghaz Keui with docket in Hittite hieroglyphs, 1029-38.

D

Dalai Lama's seal, 746.
 Damietta branch of Nile, 942.
 Date of the death of Buddha, 239-41.
 Days of the week, use of planetary names in India, 1039-46.

Delta in the Middle Ages, 941-80.
 DEWHURST, R. P., Rāmāyaṇa of Tulāsi Das, 1079.
 DHALLA, M. N., Iranian MSS. in India Office Library, 387-98.
 Dharmatrāta, fragments de la Udānavarga, 355-77.
 Dhu-r-Rummah, ode by Ghailān, 142.
 Dimensions of the earth, Hindu values, 463-70.
 Documents Sanscrits de la seconde collection Stein, 355-77.
 Drama (early) in India, 423.
 Dreams, the appearance of the Prophet in, 503-6.
 Dualism, Yasna XXX as the document of, 81-109.

E

El Hauf el Garbbi, 945.
 El Hauf esh Sharqi, 945.
 Er Rif = Lower Egypt, 945.
 Ethiopic Senkessar, 261.

F

Faḍlūyah or Faḍlūn, Amīr, 8, 9, 10, 314, 317.
 Family tree (Chinese) inscribed on bone, 1021-8.
 Fan Ye, author of "Later Han" annals, 675.
 Fars, description of the province of, 1-30, 311-39, 865-89.
 Fars Nāmah-i-Nāsiri, 16.
 Fars Province, 17; its five districts, 19.
 FLEET, J. F., Imaginative Yōjanas, 229-39.
 — Date of the Death of Buddha, 239-41.
 — Mahishamandala, 245-8.
 — Katapayādi Notation of the Second Ārya-Siddhānta, 459-62.
 — The Yōjana and the Parasang, 462-3.
 — Hindu Values of the Earth's Dimensions, 463-70.

- FLEET, J. F., Seals from Harappa, 699-701.
 — Note on Sarnath Inscription, 703-7.
 — Ancient Territorial Divisions of India, 707-10.
 — Use of Planetary Names of Days of the Week in India, 1039-46.
 — Note on the Purāṇas, 1046-53.
 Fondation de Goeje, 262.
 FRÄNCKE, A. H., Another Version of the Dalai Lama's Seal, 746.
 Funeral elegy and a family tree inscribed on bone, 1021-8.
- G
- Ganishrā, near Mathurā, mounds excavated at, 121.
 Gata in Junnar inscription equivalent to *goti* = Goths, 383-4.
 GAUTHIOT, R., A propos de la datation en Sogdien, 341-53.
 General meetings of the Society, 541-2, 837, 840-54, 1145-53.
 Ghaṇṭasālā, Buddhist bas-reliefs from, 409.
 Ginger, 475, 1093.
 GIFFERICH, H., The Bushell Bowl, 1091.
 Gnosticism, home in Babylonia, 1005.
 Gold Medal, Triennial, 545, 837-9; School, 1145-53.
 GOLDSCHMIDT, L., The Appearance of the Prophet in Dreams, 503-6.
 Gondophernes, 680; conquered Kābul, 684.
 Goths in Ancient India, 379-85; equivalent to *gata* in Junnar inscriptions, 383-4.
 GOVINDACĀRYA SVĀMIN, Birthplace of Bhakti, 481-3.
 — Note on word Bhagavān, 483-6.
 — Teṅgalai and Vaḍagalai, 714-17.
 GRIERSON, G. A., Kambojas, 255.

- GRIERSON, G. A., Teṅgalai and Vaḍagalai, 714-17.
 — Kāśmīri Almanacs, 717-21.
 — Progress Report of the Linguistic Survey for 1911, 1079-85.
 GUEST, A. R., Delta in the Middle Ages, 941-80.
 GUIDI, I., The Ethiopic Senkessar, 261.

H

- Hallāj, Šūfi, 570.
 Harappa, seals from, 699-701.
 Haṣūyah, Amīr, 11, 29, 30, 313, 314, 878.
 Hazār Asp, Amīr, 19.
 Herakles only Greek deity on coins of Huvishka, 1004.
 Hindu dimensions of the earth, 463-70.
 Hittite hieroglyphs, Cuneiform tablet from Boghaz Keui with docket in, 1029-38.
 Hsiung-nu overlords of Central Asia, 984.
 HOERNLE, A. F. R., Buddhist Monastic terms *saṃatittika*, *sapadana*, *uttari-bhāṅga*, 736-42.
 Hoji Tāsh, meaning of, 507-8.
 Honan, inscribed bones from, 1021-8.
 HOPKINS, L. C., Chinese Bronze known as the Bushell Bowl, 439-57, 753, 1093.
 — Funeral Elegy and a Family Tree inscribed on Bone, 1021-8.
 HULTZSCH, E., Jātakas at Bharaut, 399-410.
 — "Ginger" derived from Dravidian word, 475.
 — Verses relating to Gifts of Land, 476.
 — Notes on the Meghadūtā, 734-6.
 — Rāpnāth and Sarnāth Edicts of Aśoka, 1053-9.
 Huvishka, Kushan king, 672; his coinage, 987, 1004.

I

- Ibn al-Balkhī, 2.
 Ibn Khafīf, *Ṣūfī*, 556-60.
 Ibn Surāj, 556.
 Imaginative *yōjanas*, 229-39.
 Imra' al-Qais, poem of, 148-50.
 India Office, collection of Iranian MSS., 387-98.
 Inscribed bones, funeral elegy and family tree, 1021-8.
 Inscriptions, Vannic, 107-12; Sanskrit, at *Īsāpur*, 118-19; at *Mōrā*, 120; at *Gaṇishrā*, 121; *Brāhmī*, in Lucknow Museum, 153-79; *Besnagar*, 379; *Nasik*, 379; *Junāgaḍh*, 379; *Junnar*, 380; *Myazedi*, 486; at *Ālikā*, 673; on *Wardak vase*, 673, 1060-3; *Talaing*, on glazed tiles, 689-98; on *Harappa seals*, 701; *Sārnaṭh* of *Aśvaghosha*, 701-7.
 Iranian MSS. in India Office Library, 387-98.
 Irilā, the *yavana*, 380; Gothic origin, 380.
Īsāpur, near *Mathurā*, sacrificial dated post discovered at, 118.
Istakhr city (*Persepolis* and castle), 25-7, 880, 882, 886; district, 19.
 Itineraries in *Fārs*, 881.
 IYENGAR, P. T. S., *Viśiṣṭādvaitam*, 1073.

J

- JACOB, G. A., Note on the Subhagābhikṣhukanyaya, 742.
 — A misunderstood Simile, 744.
 Jāf tribe of *Kurdistan*, 983.
 Jaisinghpura, near *Mathurā*, excavations at, 123.
 Jātakas at *Bharaut*, 399-410.

K

- Kābul conquered in 60 A.D. by Kozoulo Kadphises, 679-81.
 Kālidāsa and the authenticity of the *Rtūsaphāra*, 1066-70.
 Kambōjas, 255-7.

- Kanishka, theories regarding his date, 666; secret found in his coinage, 667; lived in 58 A.C., 668; as an Indian king, 668-88; a Kushan, 670; inscriptions of, 671; supporter of Buddhism, 673; assigned to first century A.C., 685; Vikrama era originated with, 686; converted to Buddhism, 687; coinage of, 981-1012; derived his pantheon from *Babylonia*, 1003; his pantheon Sabaeo and astral, 1006; contains goddess *Nanaia*, 1007.
 Kanishka's *Chaitya* at *Peshāwar* excavated, 114-17.
 Karzuvi Kurds, 11.
 Kashf al-Mahjūb, 551-86; treatise on Sufism, 555.
 Kashmir, catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. from, 587-627.
 Kasā, excavations at, 123-7.
 Kaṭapayādi notation of the second *Ārya-Siddhānta*, 457-62.
 KEIRN, A. B., Origin of Tragedy and the *Ākhyāna*, 411-38.
 — Cremation and Burial in the *Rgveda*, 470-4.
 — Vedic Syntax, 721-6.
 — Age Criteria in the *Rigveda*, 726-9.
 — The Suffix *ait*, 729-34.
 — Authenticity of the *Rtūsaphāra*, 1066-70.
 KENNEDY, J., The Secret of Kanishka, 665-88, 981-1019.
 Khair al-Nassāj, *Ṣūfī*, 560.
 Khalij Miṣr, 944.
 Khalij Saradūs, branch of Nile, 944.
 Khaṭīb, the Tārkh-Baghdād of the, 31-79.
 Khebe, Hittite god, 1031.
 Khēḍ (*Rājputānā*), Brahmanical temple found at, 128-9.
 Khumārtagīn Atabeg, 2, 6, 317, 332.
 Khūrah or Khurrah, 19.
 Kitāb al-Luma', 1087-91.

KNOWLES, Rev. J., *Romanic Letters for Indian Languages*, 751.

KONOW, STEN, *Goths in Ancient India*, 379-85.

Kozoulo Kadphises, Kushan king, 670; called K'ieou tsieou-k'io by Chinese, 675; conquers Kābul, 679-81; coins, 987.

KRENKOW, F., *The Tārīkh-Baghdād of the Khatīb*, 31-79.

Kūrah's of Lower Egypt, 941-80.

Kurdish dialect, Sulaimania, 891-932.

Kushan gold stater, 1001; coinage based on Macedonian, 1001; coinage, history of, 1002; pantheon, 1006-8; uses Dorian alphabet on coins, 1011.

Kushans, one of Tochari principalities, 667-70; established two kingdoms, 670; ruled over Panjāb, 673; struck gold coinage, 684, 981; coins have Greek legends, 982.

L

Labid of 'Amir, poems of, 137.

Lakes in Fārs, 872.

Land grants, verses relating to Indian gifts of, 248-54.

LAUFEL, B., *The Stanzas of Bharatā*, 1070-3.

Lawalijān Kurds, 13.

LE STRANGE, G., *Description of the Province of Fārs in Persia at the beginning of the Twelfth Century*, 1-30, 311-39, 865-89.

LÉVI, S., *Nilakanthadhārāṇi*, 1063-6.

Linguistic Survey of India, Report for 1911, 1079-85.

LÜDERS, H., *Some Brāhmī Inscriptions in Lucknow Provincial Museum*, 153-79.

LYALL, Sir C., *Pictorial Aspects of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, 133-52.

— *The Pearl-diver of al-A'shā*, 499-502.

— *Sibawaihi or Sibūyah*, 749.

M

MACDONALD, D. B., *Arabian Poetry*, 748.

Mahābodhi-jātaka at Bharaut, 399.

Mahājanaka-jātaka at Bharaut, 464.

Mahākapi-jātaka at Bharaut, 402.

Mahishamandala, 241-8.

Maimūn al-A'shā, Arabian poet, 146-7.

Makki, Šāfi, 562.

Mākū, new Vannic inscription at, 107-12.

MSS., Iranian, in India Office Library, 387-98.

MSS. Stein from Miran and Tun-Huang in Turkish Runic script, 181-227.

MSS., Sanskrit, from Kashmir, Catalogue of Stein, 587-627.

Māra's daughters on Talaing glazed tiles, 689-98.

Mas'ādī Kurds, 12, 320, 879.

Mathūra, excavations at, 118-23.

Meadow lands in Fārs, 873.

Mēghadūta, notes on, 734-6.

Mesene, maritime commercial state, 990 et seqq.; trade with India, 990; trade with China, 998.

Mesenean, early traders, 980 et seqq.; carriers of gold, 100-2.

MILLS, L., *Yasua XXX as the Document of Dualism*, 81-109.

Mirdasī chiefs, 15.

Mōrā, excavations at, 120.

Mu'izz canal, 943.

Mukri language, 892.

Munich archaeological collection, 1085.

Myazedi inscription, corrected readings, 486.

N

Nanaia, Mesenean goddess, 1007.

NAKIMAN, G. K., *Kambojas*, 255-7.

NICHOLSON, R. A., *The MSS. of the Kitāb al-Luma'*, 1090-1.

Nilakanthadhārāṇi fragment final, 629-45, 1063-6.

- Nile, branches of, 941-80.
 Nizām al-Mulk, Wazīr, 10, 314.
 Nosal (Kishangarh), Brahmanical temple found at, 128.
 NOTICES OF BOOKS—
 Ball, J. Dyer, *The Chinese at Home*, 529.
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 Harder, E., *Arabic Chrestomathy*, 267.
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 Iyengar, P. T. S., *Shiva-sūtravimarsinī of Kṣēmarāja*, 1107.
 Langdon, S., *Sumerian Grammar*, 269; *Tablets from the Archives of Drehem*, 273.
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 Macdonald, D. B., *Aspects of Islam*, 1132.
 Macgowan, Rev. J., *Beauty: a Chinese Drama*, 525.
 Margoliouth, D. S., *Irshād al-Arib ila Ma'rifat al-Adīb*, 812.
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 Narasimhiengar, M. T., *Brahmanic Systems of Religions and Philosophy*, 287.
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 Schoff, W. H., *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 783.
 Schroeder, L. v., *Kāthaka Saṃhitā*, book iii, 1095-1103.

- Schulemann, G., *Geschichte der Dalailamas*, 517.
- Seidel, A., *Wörterbuch der deutsch-japanischen Umgangssprache*, 277; *Deutsche Grammatik für Japaner*, 277.
- Sen, D. C., *History of the Bengali Language, etc.*, 279.
- Sewell, R., *Indian Chronography*, 780.
- Smith, V. A., *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 531.
- Spat, C., *Maleische Taal*, 1117.
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- Weissbach, F. H., *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, 271; *Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis*, 1142.
- Wiet, G., *‘El-Mawā‘iz wa’l-I‘tibār fi dhikr el-Khitat wa’l-Āthār*, 263.
- O
- Origin of Tragedy and the Ākhyāna, 411-38.
- P
- Paiśaci Prakrit, 711.
- Palmis grown in Irāhistān, 328.
- Pan-ku, 684.
- Paradises, the four earthly, 338.
- Paramārthasāra, 474.
- Paramārthasāra, origin of, 257-61.
- Parasang and yojana, 462-3.
- PARGITER, F. E., *Verses relating to Gifts of Land in Indian Land Grants*, 248-54.
- *Age of the Purāṇas*, 254.
- *Copper-plate from East Bengal alleged spurious*, 710.
- PARGITER, F. E., *Calikāpaiśācika Prakrit*, 711-14.
- *Inscription on the Wardak Vase*, 1060-3.
- Pearl-diver of al-A‘shā, 499-502.
- Pelusian arm of Nile, 945.
- Persepolis, 25-7, 880, 882, 886.
- Persian Gulf trade route, 989.
- Perungalam rock-cut caves explored, 129.
- Peshāwar, recent explorations near, 113-17.
- Phonetic writing for Oriental languages, 647-63, 741.
- Pictorial aspects of ancient Arabian poetry, 133-52.
- Piśācas, 711-14.
- Planetary names of days of week in India, 1039-46.
- POUSSIN, L. DE LA VALLÉE, *Documents Sanscrits de la Seconde Collection Stein*, 355-77.
- & R. GAUTHIOT, *Fragment final de la Nilakanṭhadhāraṇī*, 629-45.
- Purāṇas, age of, 254; note on, 1046-53.
- Purāṇic system of universe, 1050.
- Q
- Qāvurd, Amīr, 5, 18, 317.
- Qubād Khūrah district, 865.
- R
- Rāmāni Kurds, 9.
- Rāmānīrtham, Buddhist monastery excavated at, 129.
- Rāmāyana of Tulāsi Dās, 1078.
- Ramms, Kurdish, 13.
- RANKING, G., *Coronation Chronogram*, 262.
- Rgveda, age criteria in, 726-9.
- Rgveda, cremation and burial in, 470-4.
- Roman character for Oriental languages, 647-63, 741.
- Romanic letters for Indian languages, 647-63, 741.

- Rosetta branch of Nile, 942.
 Rtusaphāra, authenticity of, 1066-70.
 Rāpnāth edict of Aśoka, 477-81.
 Rāpnāth and Sārnāth edicts of Aśoka, 1053-9.

S

- Šāhib 'Ādil, Wazīr, 8, 9, 326.
 Salimi sect of Šāfis, 573 et seqq.
Samatittika, Buddhist monastic term, 736-42.
 Saṃyuktāgama, Buddhist work, 683.
 Sanskrit MSS. from Kashmir Catalogue of Stein Collection, 587-627.
Sapadana, Buddhist monastic term, 736-42.
 Sārnāth inscription of Aśvaghosha, 701-7.
 Sārnāth and Rāpnāth edicts of Aśoka, 1053-9.
Sāt as suffix, 729-34.
 SAYCE, Rev. A. H., A New Vannic Inscription, 107-12.
 — Cuneiform Tablet from Boghaz Keui with Docket in Hittite Hieroglyphs, 1029-38.
 School Medal Presentation, 1145-53.
 Scott, Sir J. G., Shan Buddhism, 496-9.
 Sea trade of Indian Ocean (early), 985; of Persian Gulf, 989.
 Seal of the Dalai Lama, 746.
 Seals from Harappa, 699-701.
 Secret of Kanishka, 665-88, 981-1019.
 Seleucia, history of, 1013-16.
 Shabānkārah, Kurds, 9, 13, 312; province, 311; modern, 321.
 Shāh-jī-ki-jhēri, monastery mound excavated at, 114-17.
 Shan Buddhism, 487-99.
 ash-Shanfarā of Azd, poem by, 144.
 Shāpūr Khūrah district, 330.
 Shirāz, 315-18, 873, 888, 889; roads from, 881.
 Sibawaihi or Sibāyah, 749.
 Silk trade from Kabul to Syria, 984-5, 987.
 Simile, a misunderstanding, 744.
 Sitahati (Burdwan), copper-plate grant found at, 127.
 SMITH, V. A., corrections in review of Mr. Havell's book, 508.
 SOANE, E. B., Kurdish Dialect, Sulaimania, 891-932.
 Sogdian, Nilakanṭhadhāraṇi, 629-45.
 Sogdian datation, 341-53, 631.
 Southern India, archaeological work in, 1910-11, 129-32.
 SOVANI, V. V., Origin of Abhinavagupta's Paramārthasāra, 237-61.
 Stein MSS. in Turkish Runic Script from Miran and Tun-Huang, 181-227; Documents Sanscrits de la seconde collection, 355-77; collection of Sanskrit MSS. from Kashmir, 587-627.
 Subhagābhikshukanyaya, 742.
 Suffix *sāt*, 729-34.
 Šāfi lives, 551-86; notes on, 1087-91.
 Šāfiism, 551-86.
 Sulaimania, Kurdish dialect, 891-932.
 Sulami, his *Ṭabaḳāt al-Sāfiyya*, 555.
 Sunni tribes of Kurds, 892.
 Sūrya-Siddhānta on the dimensions of the earth, 464-8.

T

- Ṭabaḳāt al-Sāfiyya* of Sulami, 555.
 Tāhir b. al-Ḥusain al-Jassās, Šāfi, 559.
 Talang inscriptions on glazed tiles, 689-98.
 Tanitic arm of Nile, 943.
 Tārīkh-Baghdād of the Khaṭīb, 31-79.
 Tawadeintha Pagoda, clay votive tablets found at, 132.
 Teṅgalai and Vaḍagalai, 714-18.

- Territorial divisions of Ancient India, 707-10.
- THOMAS, F. W., Rāpnāth Edict of Aśoka, 477-81.
- Ginger, 1093.
- THOMSEN, V., Dr. Stein's MSS. in Turkish Runic Script from Miran and Tun-Huang, 181-227.
- Tochāri or Yue-che, 668; divided Bactria into five principalities, 669.
- Trade routes across the Himālayas, 984; to Kashgar and Bactria, 984; sea (early), 985; Persian Gulf, 989.
- Tragedy and the Ākhyāna, 411-38.
- Transliteration of Oriental languages, 647-63, 741.
- Triennial Gold Medal awarded to Mr. Fleet, 545, 837-9.
- Tur'at el Fir'auniyah, 943.
- Turkish Kurdistan dialect, Sulaimania, 891-932.
- Turkish "Runic" MSS. from Miran and Tun-Huang, 181-227.
- Tuṣāṣpha, governor of Kāthiāvād, 379.
- U
- Udānavarga de Dharmatrāta, fragments de, 355-77.
- Uttari-bhaṅga, Buddhist monastic term, 736-42.
- V
- Vaḍagalai and Teṅgalai, 714-18.
- Vannic inscription, 107-12.
- Varāhamihira's values for dimensions of the earth, 468.
- Vāsishka, Kushan king, 672.
- Vāsishka, newly discovered Ma-thurā ruler, 118.
- Vasudeva, Kushan king, 673.
- Veda and cremation, 471.
- Vedic Ākhyāna, 430-8.
- Vedic syntax, 721-6.
- VENIS, A., Sarnath Inscription of Aśvaghosha, 701-3.
- Verses relating to gifts of land, 476; in Indian land grants, 248-54.
- Vikrama era, originated with Kanishka, 686; a religious one, 687; marks Kanishka's conversion, 687.
- Visions, the appearance of the prophet in, 503-6.
- Viśistādvaitam, 1073.
- VOGL, J. PH., Archaeological Exploration in India, 1910-11, 113-32.
- W
- Wardak, vase inscription from, 673, 1060-3.
- Week-days, use of planetary names for, in India, 1039-46.
- Wema Kadphises, 675; conquered India, 681; coinage, 987.
- Wu-ti, Hun emperor, 984.
- Y
- Yasna XXX as the document of dualism, 81-109.
- Yavana, 379; not restricted to Greeks, 379.
- Yavanas, 665-88, 981-1019.
- Yojana and parasang, 462-3.
- Yojanas, imaginative, 229-39.
- Z
- Zand Avesta, 28.

For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with
the April and October Numbers of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट ṭ	व v
आ ā	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ṝ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ṝ̄	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ऊ ū

◌̣ (Anusvāra) m

◌̤ (Anuvāsika) ṁ

◌̥ (Visarga) ḥ

◌̦ (Jihvāmūlīya) ḥ

◌̧ (Upadhmanīya) ḥ

◌̨ (Avagraha) ,

◌̩ Udātta ˆ

◌̪ Svarita ˘

◌̫ Anudātta ˜

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit;	ك k	آ ā
elsewhere َ or ِ	ل l	ي ī
ب b	س s	و ū
ت t	ش . s or <u>sh</u>	
ث . t or <u>th</u>	ص . s or z	
ج . j or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or z	
ح h	ط t	
خ . h or <u>kh</u>	ظ z	
د d	ع ʿ	
ذ . d or <u>dh</u>	غ . g or <u>gh</u>	
ر r	ف f	
ز z	ق q	
		DIPHTHONGS.
		اَي ai
		اَوْ au
		wasla ʾ
	VOWELS.	hamza َ or ِ
	ا a	silent t h
	ي ī	letter not pro-
	و u	nounced . . . َ

ADDITIONAL. LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.	PAKHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ک when pro- nounced as g k	پ or ت . t	پ ts
چ . c or <u>ch</u>		د or ذ . . . d	چ g
ژ . z or <u>zh</u>		ر or ز . . . r	ن ṇ
گ g	گ ṅ		ش ksh

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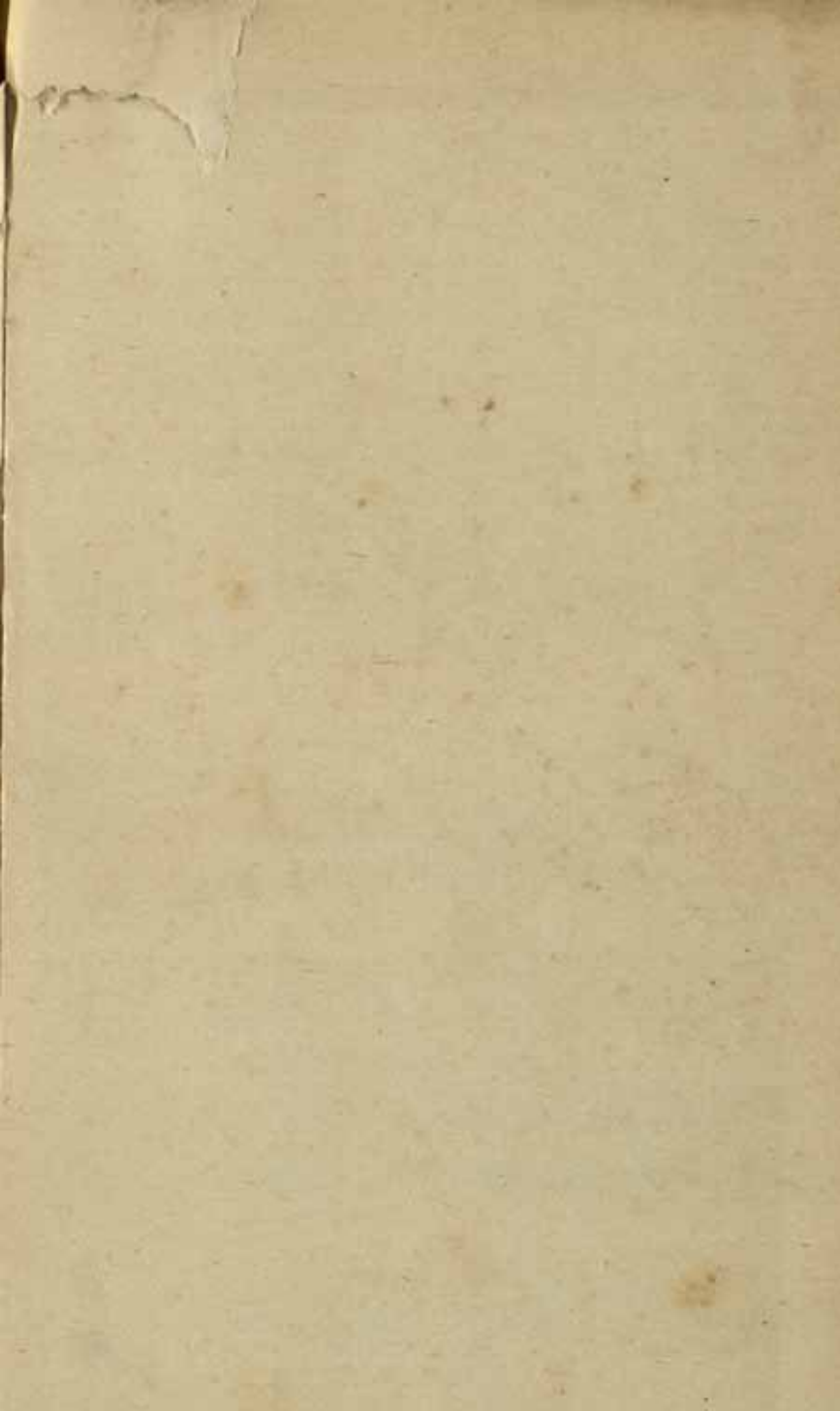
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